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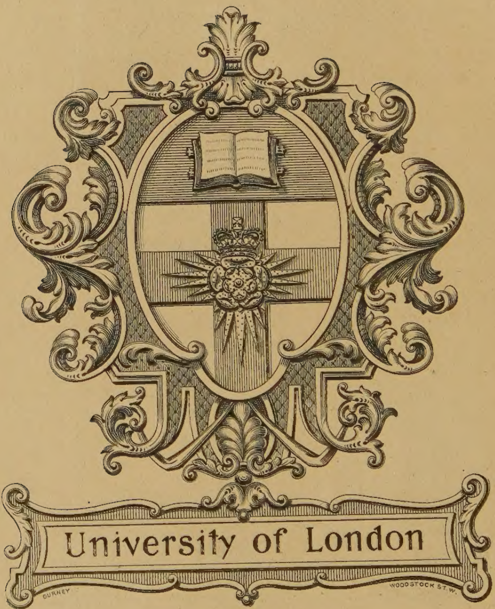

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THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(AUTHORISED EDITION),

FOURTH SERIES.

SIXTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT
OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

5 EDWARD VII.

VOLUME CL.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM THE TWENTY-FOURTH DAY OF JULY
TO THE SECOND DAY OF AUGUST, 1905.

TENTH VOLUME OF SESSION.

1905.

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CHRONOLOGY OF "THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES."

THE PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY contains all that can be collected of the Legislative History of this country from the Conquest to the close of the XVIIIth Century (1803), 36 vols. The chief sources whence these Debates are derived are the Constitutional History, 24 vols.; Sir Simonds D'Ewes' Journal; Debates of the Commons in 1620 and 1621; Chandler and Timberland's Debates, 22 vols.; Grey's Debates of the Commons, from 1667 to 1694, 10 vols.; Almon's Debates, 24 vols.; Debrett's Debates, 63 vols.; The Hardwicke Papers; Debates in Parliament by Dr. Johnson, &c., &c.

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PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with :—North-East London Railway.

And also the Certificate that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have not been complied with :—Wigan Corporation.

The same were ordered to lie on the Table 1

Malvern Water Bill.—Committee to meet to-morrow 1

Dover Harbour Bill [H.L.].—The Chairman of Committees informed the House that the promoters do not intend to proceed further with the Bill. Ordered, That the Bill be not further proceeded with 1

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Rotherham, Maltby and Laughton Railway Bill.—Read 3^{a}, with the Amendments; further Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons 2

Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power Bill; Caledonian Railway Bill; North British Railway (General Powers) Bill; Rhondda Urban District Council Bill; Liverpool Corporation Bill.—Read 3^{a}, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons .. 2

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REDISTRIBUTION.

Moved, "That a Return be prepared showing the estimated population on January 1st, 1905, of the county divisions and boroughs proposed to be disfranchised by the scheme of Redistribution."—(*The Duke of Rutland.*)

The Marquess of Lansdowne 15

On Question, Motion, as amended, agreed to; and ordered accordingly.

Shipowners Negligence (Remedies) Bill.—Read 3ª (according to order), with the Amendment, and passed, and returned to the Commons 15

House adjourned at a quarter-past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: MONDAY, 24TH JULY, 1905.

The House met at Two of the clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz.:—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow 16

Dublin United Tramways Bill; Midland Railway Bill; Skegness Water Bill; Woolwich Borough Council Bill.—Lords' Amendments to be considered To-morrow 16

Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council Bill [LORDS]; Matlock Bath Improvement Bill [Lords]; Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District) Bill [Lords]; Sheffield University Bill [Lords]; South Lancashire Tramways Bill [Lords].—To be read the third time To-morrow .. 16

Bristol Blind Asylum Bill [LORDS]; Corbett Estate Bill [Lords]; County of London Electric Supply Company Bill [Lords]; Humber Conservancy Bill [Lords]; Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board Bill [Lords].—As amended, to be considered To-morrow 16

Earl of Stamford's Cheshire Estate Bill [LORDS]; Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers) Bill [Lords].—To be read a second time To-morrow 16

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill (BY ORDER); Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill (by Order); Edgware and Hampstead Railway Bill (by Order); London and North Western Railway Bill (by Order); Metropolitan Electric Tramways Bill (by Order).—Consideration of Lords' Amendments deferred till To-morrow 16

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Formby Township Bill [Lords] (by Order); Workington Harbour and Dock Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Third Reading deferred till To-morrow 17

Littlehampton Urban District Council Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Consideration, as amended, deferred till To-morrow 17

London Building Acts (Amendment) Bill (by Order).—Consideration, as amended, deferred till Wednesday (Evening Sitting) 17

Shepton Mallet Gas Company (Electric Lighting) Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Consideration, as amended, deferred till To-morrow 17

Channel Ferry Railway and Quay Bill.—Order [February 20th], that the Channel Ferry Railway and Quay Bill be read a second time, read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn.—(*Mr. Caldwell*) 17

Message from the Lords.—That they have agreed to—Local Government Provisional Order (No. 16) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 17) Bill; Inverness Gas and Water Provisional Order Bill; Port Glasgow Improvement Provisional Order Bill; Great Northern Railway (Ireland) Bill, without Amendment.

Drunkenness (Ireland) Bill; Bootle Corporation Bill; London Gas Bill; Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway (No. 1) Bill, with Amendments.

Amendments to—Gas Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [Lords]; Southend and Colchester Light Railways Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Esk Valley Power Gas." [Esk Valley Power Gas Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Stonehaven Harbour." [Stonehaven Harbour Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Edinburgh Corporation." [Edinburgh Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Colchester Corporation Tramways, King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Council Tramway, Luton Corporation Tramways, Portobello and Musselburgh Tramways (Amendment), and Southampton Corporation Tramways." [Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Glasgow Corporation." [Glasgow Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.]

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act for increasing the capital of the South Barracas (Buenos Ayres) Gas and Coke Company, Limited, by the creation of paid-up shares, and providing for the issue thereof to the shareholders and for other purposes." [South Barracas (Buenos Ayres) Gas and Coke Company, Limited, Bill [Lords.] 17

Esk Valley Power Gas Order Confirmation Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; and, under Section 7 of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, ordered to be considered upon Wednesday 18

Stonehaven Harbour Order Confirmation Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; and, under Section 7 of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, ordered to be considered upon Wednesday 18

Edinburgh Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; and, under Section 7 of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, ordered to be considered upon Wednesday 19

Glasgow Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; and, under Sections 8 and 9 of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, ordered to be read a second time upon Wednesday, and to be printed. [Bill 282.] 19

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 283.] 19

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Evictions (Ireland).—Copy presented, of Return of Evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended June 30th, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table .. 19

Land Judge's Court (Ireland).—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered July 17th; *Mr. T. W. Russell*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 256.] 19

Trade (Foreign Countries and British Possessions).—Copy presented, of Annual Statement of the Trade of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and British Possessions for 1904. Volume II. [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 19

Colonial Import Duties, 1905.—Copy presented, of Return relating to the Rates of Import Duties levied upon the principal and other Articles imported into British Colonies, Possessions, and Protectorates [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 19

North-West of Canada.—Copy presented, of Report to the Board of Trade on the North-West of Canada, with special reference to Wheat Production for Export, by James Mavor, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Toronto, Canada, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 20

Colonial Statistics.—Copy presented, of Statistical Tables relating to British Colonies, Possessions, and Protectorates. Part XXVIII. for the year 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 20

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TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3444 and 3453 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 20

TREATY SERIES (NO. 19, 1905).—Copy presented, of Agreement between the United Kingdom and the Netherlands providing for the Settlement by Arbitration of certain Classes of Questions which may arise between the two Governments. Signed at London, February 15th, 1905 [Ratifications exchanged at London, July 12th, 1905] [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 20

CIVIL SERVICES ESTIMATES, 1905-6.—Copy presented, of Revised Estimate, Class 7, Vote 4 (Ireland Development Grant) [by Command]; referred to the Committee of Supply, and to be printed. [No. 257.] 20

LAND REGISTRY.—Account presented, of Receipts and Payments in respect of the Land Registry for the year ended March 31st, 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 258.] 20

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE AND COURT OF APPEAL, ETC.—Copy presented, of Account showing the Receipts and Expenditure in respect of the High Court of Justice and the Court of Appeal during the year ended March 31st, 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 259.] .. 20

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CONDITIONS OF BUILDING GRANT TO KILMEEDY (COUNTY LIMERICK) SCHOOLS.—Question, Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 21

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SALES ON THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY'S ANTRIM ESTATE.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 24

GRANT TO PATRICK COONEY ON THE LESLIE ESTATE, DRUMBINIS (COUNTY CAVAN).—Question, Mr. Samuel Young (Cavan, C.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 25

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ULSTER PIG REARING INDUSTRY.—Question, Mr. Liddell (Down, W.); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.) 48

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.—Fourth Report, with Minutes of Evidence, brought up, and read.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 260.] 49

CHAIRMEN'S PANEL.—Leave to make a Special Report; Special Report brought up and read; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 261.]

Minutes of Proceedings to be printed. [No. 261.] 49

THE GOVERNMENT DEFEAT—STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER.—The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 49

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) 70
Mr. John Redmond (*Waterford*) 75
Sir J. Fergusson (*Manchester, N.E.*) 82
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Mr. Lloyd-George (*Carnarvon Boroughs*) 107
Sir Edward Grey (*Northumberland, Berwick*) 112
Mr. A. J. Balfour 118

Question put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at twenty-two minutes after Seven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: TUESDAY, 25TH JULY, 1905.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that no Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bill;—Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law) (No. 2).

The same was ordered to lie on the Table 125

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.—Report from, That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the Wigan Corporation Bill ought to be dispensed with, and the Bill allowed to proceed. Read, and agreed to 125

Ealing Corporation Bill.—Reported, with Amendments 125

Wemyss Dock Bill [H.L.].—Report from the Select Committee, That it is not expedient to proceed further with the Bill; read, and ordered to lie on the Table 125

Thames Conservancy Bill.—Moved, That the order made on the 16th day of March last, "That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 27th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bill be now read 2ª; agreed to. Bill read 2ª accordingly, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection. 125

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London County Council (Money) Bill.—Read 3^a (according to order), and passed 125

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill.—Moved, That the order made on the 16th day of March last, "That no Provisional Order Confirmation Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 27th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bills be now read 2^a; agreed to. Bills read 2^a accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next 125

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.].—Commons Amendment considered (according to order), and agreed to 126

Glasgow University Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—Read 3^a (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons 126

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS.—ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3450. Sweden (Gothenburg).
No. 3451. Germany (Dantzig).
No. 3452. China (Kiukiang).
No. 3453. Brazil (Porto Alegre).
No. 3454. Italy (Lombardy).
No. 3455. China (Swatow).
No. 3456. Germany (Finances of the German Empire) 126

STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS (BOARD OF TRADE (LABOUR DEPARTMENT).—Report on strikes and lock-outs in the United Kingdom in 1904, and on conciliation and arbitration boards.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 126

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE AND COURT OF APPEAL, ETC.—Account showing the receipts and expenditure in respect of the High Court of Justice and Court of Appeal during the year ended March 31st, 1905 126

LAND REGISTRY.—Account of receipts and payments in respect of the land registry, for the year ended March 31st, 1905 126

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS (INCORPORATION OF WIMBLEDON).—Charter of Incorporation of the borough of Wimbledon, dated July 24th, 1905.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table .. 126

Public Health Acts (Amendment) Bill [H.L.].—Report from the Select Committee (with the Proceedings of the Committee and Appendix), made, and to be printed. (No. 154.) Minutes of Evidence laid upon the Table, and to be delivered out. Bill reported, with Amendments, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Friday next; and to be printed as amended. (No. 153.) 127

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Compensation for Damage to Crops Bill.—House in Committee (according to order). Bill reported without Amendment; and recommitted to the Standing Committee 127

County Courts (Ireland) Bill [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to order). Bill reported without Amendment. Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^a on Tuesday next 127

Coal Mines (Weighing of Minerals) Bill—Reported from the Standing Committee without Amendment; and to be read 3^a on Thursday next .. 127

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The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Lansdowne) .. 127

Public Roads (Ireland) Bill.—House in Committee (according to Order).

The Earl of ONSLOW in the Chair.

Clause 1.

The Lord President of the Council and President of the Board of Education (The Marquess of Londonderry) 128

On question, drafting Amendments agreed to.

Remaining clauses agreed to.

The Report of Amendments to be received on Thursday next

THE ARMY.

Lord Tweedmouth 129

Moved to resolve, "That this House is of opinion that the supply, training, and conditions of service of officers in all branches of the King's Army require the instant attention of His Majesty's Government."—(*Lord Tweedmouth.*)

Lord Lovat 138
The Earl of Erroll 143
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The Under-Secretary of State for War (The Earl of Donoughmore) .. 154
Lord Tweedmouth 167
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On Question, Motion agreed to.

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Lord Avebury 169
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The Duke of Northumberland 170

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The Earl of Wemyss 171
The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury 172
The Earl of Aberdeen 173

House adjourned at half-past Seven o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter-past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 25TH JULY, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz.:—Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow 173

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill [LORDS].—As amended, to be considered To-morrow 173

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill (BY ORDER); Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill (by Order); Edgware and Hampstead Railway Bill (by Order); London and North Western Railway Bill (by Order); Metropolitan Electric Tramways Bill (by Order); Dublin United Tramways Bill (by Order); Midland Railway Bill (by Order); Skegness Water Bill (by Order); Woolwich Borough Council Bill (by Order).—Consideration of Lords Amendments deferred till To-morrow 174

Formby Township Bill [LORDS] (BY ORDER); Workington Harbour and Dock Bill [Lords] (by Order); Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council Bill [Lords] (by Order); Matlock Bath Improvement Bill [Lords] (by Order); Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District) Bill [Lords] (by Order); Sheffield University Bill [Lords] (by Order); South Lancashire Tramways Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Third Reading deferred till To-morrow 174

Bangor (County Down) Water and Improvement Bill [LORDS] (BY ORDER).—Consideration, as amended, deferred till Monday next (Evening Sitting) 174

Littlehampton Urban District Council Bill [LORDS] (BY ORDER); Shepton Mallet Gas Company (Electric Lighting) Bill [Lords] (by Order); Bristol Blind Asylum Bill [Lords] (by Order); Corbett Estate Bill [Lords] (by Order); County of London Electric Supply Company Bill [Lords] (by Order); Humber Conservancy Bill [Lords] (by Order); Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Consideration, as amended, deferred till To-morrow 174

Earl of Stamford's Cheshire Estate Bill [LORDS] (BY ORDER); Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers) Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Second Reading deferred till Thursday (Evening Sitting) 174

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Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill [Lords].—Second Reading deferred till To-morrow 174

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [Lords] (By Order).—Consideration, as amended, deferred till Thursday (Evening Sitting) .. 175

South Barracas (Buenos Ayres) Gas and Coke Company, Limited, Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 175

Message from the Lords.

That they have agreed to—Shipowners' Negligence (Remedies) Bill; Rotherham, Maltby, and Laughton Railway Bill; Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power Bill; Caledonian Railway Bill; North British Railway (General Powers) Bill; Rhondda Urban District Council Bill; Liverpool Corporation Bill, with Amendments.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Paisley District Tramways." [Paisley District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.]

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Glasgow Corporation Tramways." [Glasgow Corporation (Tramways Consolidation) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.] 175

Paisley District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill Lords].—Read the first time; and ordered, under Section 9 of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, to be read a second time upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 282.] 175

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Municipal Corporations.—Copy presented, of Charter of Incorporation of the Borough of Wimbledon, dated July 24th, 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 176

Shipping Casualties (1903-4).—Copy presented, of Abstract of the Returns of Shipping Casualties which occurred on or near the Coasts or in Rivers and Harbours of the United Kingdom from July 1st, 1903, to June 30th, 1904, and of the Returns of Shipping Casualties to British Vessels elsewhere than on the Coasts of the United Kingdom, and to Foreign Vessels on or near the Coasts, or in Rivers and Harbours, of British Possessions Abroad, etc., with Charts and Appendices [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 176

Strikes and Lock-Outs.—Copy presented, of Report on Strikes and Lock-outs of 1904, and on Conciliation and Arbitration Boards [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 176

Power Brakes on Railway Locomotives.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered April 10th; *Mr. Bell*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 256.] 177

Trade Reports (Annual Series).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3454 to 3456 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 177

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Arrests for Drunkenness (Ireland).—Return ordered, "giving the number of Arrests for Drunkenness within the Metropolitan Police District of Dublin and the cities of Belfast, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, from the hour of 8 a.m. on Sunday till 2 p.m., from 2 p.m. to 7 p.m., from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m., from 9 p.m. to 12 midnight, from 12 midnight to 8 a.m. on Monday, between May 1st, 1904, and April 30th, 1905, both days inclusive, the arrests being given from 8 a.m. on Sundays till 8 a.m. on Mondays."

"And, similar Returns for the rest of Ireland from May 1st, 1904, to April 30th, 1905."—(*Mr. Sloan.*) 177

Cyprus.—Return ordered, "of all sums paid in the years 1903–4 and 1904–5 respectively, out of the moneys arising from the revenues of Cyprus, in discharge of the interest upon the Turkish Loan guaranteed by this country and France in 1855; of all sums voted by Parliament during the same period in aid of the administration of Cyprus; and of the surplus remaining in each year over and above the payments made, with interest thereon (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 360, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Pierpoint.*) 177

Trinity College (Intermediate Scholarships).—Return ordered, "of Copy of Correspondence between Trinity College, Dublin, and the Board of Intermediate Education in Ireland, on the subject of Intermediate Scholarships in Trinity College, together with the Board's Resolutions in the matter."—(*Mr. Walter Long.*) 177

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Payment of Overdue Salaries of Teachers in Montgomeryshire Voluntary Schools.—Question, Lieut.-Col. Pryce-Jones (Montgomery Boroughs); Answer, Sir William Anson 178

Issue of Notes of Less Value than £5.—Question, Sir Thomas Dewar (Tower Hamlets, St. George's); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 179

Assaults and Murders Committed by Indian Natives on White People.—Question, Colonel Long (Worcestershire, Evesham); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 179

Travelling Allowances to Riding Masters and Quartermasters in India.—Question, Sir Seymour King (Hull, Central); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 180

Assaults and Murders Committed on Natives of India by Foreigners.—Question, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree (Bethnal Green, N.E.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 180

Epizootic Lymphangitis and Glanders Amongst Horses in Ireland—Compensation for Compulsory Slaughter.—Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 181

Redistribution Scheme—Representation of the City of Bath.—Question, Colonel Wyndham Murray (Bath); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 18

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Drunkenness (Ireland) Bill—Lords Amendments to be considered upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 284.] 197

PUBLIC PETITIONS COMMITTEE.—Fourth Report brought up, and read; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 197

REGISTRATION OF NURSES.—Report from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence, brought up, and read. Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 257.] 198

NEW BILLS.

Metropolitan Borough Councils Association (No. 2) Bill.—"To authorise expenditure by Metropolitan Borough Councils in connection with certain associations," presented by Captain Jessel; supported by Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. W. F. D. Smith, Mr. Hayes Fisher, Dr. Macnamara, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Mr. Remnant, and Mr. Crooks; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 285.] 198

National Galleries of Scotland Bill.—" To establish a Board of Trustees to manage the National Galleries of Scotland, and for other purposes connected with the promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland," presented by The Lord Advocate ; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 286.] 198

SUPPLY [16TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. GRANT LAWSON (Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1905–6.

CLASS IV.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That a sum, not exceeding £631,721 be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for the Expenses of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, including a Grant in Aid of the Teachers' Pension Fund, Ireland."

Mr. Churchill (Oldham) 198
Mr. John Redmond (Waterford) 200
Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E.) 200

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That item A (salaries and wages) be reduced by £1,000."—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.) 215
Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.) 222
Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.) 228
Colonel Nolan (Galway, N.) 230
Mr. Thomas O'Donnell (Kerry, W.) 232
Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.) 237
Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.) 241
Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.) 242
Colonel Saunderson (Armagh, N.) 243
The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.) 243
Mr. Dillon 253

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

SUPPLY [16TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. GRANT LAWSON (Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1905–6.

CLASS III.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum not exceeding £32,416, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland."

Mr. Joseph Devlin (*Kilkenny, N.*) 255

Motion made and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £31,416, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Joseph Devlin.*)

Mr. Flynn (*Cork, N.*) 263
Mr. Kilbride (*Kildare, S.*) 266
Mr. Duffy (*Galway, S.*) 271
The Attorney-General for Ireland (*Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.*) .. 274
Mr. T. P. O'Connor (*Liverpool, Scotland*) 281

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 200 ; Noes, 260. (Division List No. 304.)

Original Question again proposed.

And, it being after Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again to-morrow.

NAVAL WORKS [CONSOLIDATED FUND.].—Resolution reported, "That it is expedient to make further provision for the construction of works in the United Kingdom and elsewhere for the purposes of the Royal Navy, and to authorise the issue, out of the Consolidated Fund, of such sums not exceeding £5,835,000 as may be required for those purposes, and to make provision for raising in the manner provided by Section 5 of the Naval Works Act, 1895, the sums so issued by Terminable Annuities for a period not exceeding thirty years from the dates of the borrowing."

Resolution read a second time.

Mr. Soares (*Devonshire, Barnstaple*) 287
Mr. Courtenay Warner (*Staffordshire, Lichfield*) 288

Amendment proposed—

"In line 2, after the word 'works' to insert the words 'already commenced.'"—(*Mr. Soares.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (*Mr. Arthur Lee, Hampshire, Fareham*) 289
Mr. McKenna (*Monmouthshire, N.*) 290
Mr. Lough (*Islington, W.*) 291
Mr. Field (*Dublin, St. Patrick*) 291
Mr. Churchill (*Oldham*) 292

Mr. A. J. Balfour rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided :—Ayes, 230 ; Noes, 181. (Division List No. 305.)

Question put accordingly, "That those words be there inserted."

The House divided :—Ayes, 178 ; Noes, 229. (Division List No. 306.)

Mr. Rea (*Gloucester*) 303
Mr. Ainsworth (*Argyllshire*) 304

Amendment proposed—

"In line 4, to leave out '£5,835,000,' and to insert '£3,835,000.'"—(*Mr. Rea.*)

Question proposed, "That '£5,835,000' stand part of the said Resolution."

Mr. Arthur Lee 305
Mr. Sydney Buxton (*Tower Hamlets, Poplar*) 307
Mr. McKenna 308

Mr. A. J. Balfour rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided :—Ayes, 218 ; Noes, 170. (Division List No. 307.)

Question put accordingly, "That '£5,835,000' stand part of the said Resolution."

The House divided :—Ayes, 219 ; Noes, 168. (Division List No. 308.)

Mr. A. J. Balfour claimed, "That the Main Question be now put."

Question put accordingly, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

The House divided :—Ayes, 219 ; Noes, 159. (Division List No. 309.)

Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Pretyman, and Mr. Lee.

Naval Works Bill.—" To make further provision for the construction of works in the United Kingdom and elsewhere for the purposes of the Royal Navy," presented accordingly, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Friday, and to be printed. [Bill 287.]

Companies Acts Amendment (Dentists) Bill.—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn 323

Companies Acts Amendment (Physicians), Etc., Bill.—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn 323

NEW BILLS.

FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS.—Bill to amend the law relating to Factories and Workshops, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Tennant, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Sir Charles Dilke, Sir John Stirling Maxwell, Mr. John Burns, Mr. Talbot, Mr. McKenna, and Mr. Haldane.

Factories and Workshops Bill.—" To amend the law relating to Factories and Workshops," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Tuesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 288] 223

SUMMARY JURISDICTION (CHILDREN) (No. 2).—Bill to amend the law relating to the Trial and Detention of Children, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Tennant, Sir Howard Vincent, Mr. Mildmay, Mr. Crooks, Mr. Melville, Sir John Gorst, and Mr. Toulmin.

Summary Jurisdiction (Children) (No. 2) Bill.—" To amend the law relating to the Trial and Detention of Children," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Tuesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 289] 324

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (SUPPLY).—Motion made, and Question put, " That the three additional days be allotted to the Business of Supply."—(*Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

The House divided :—Ayes, 169 ; Noes, 216. (Division List No. 310) .. 324

CONGESTED DISTRICTS (SCOTLAND) (RATES).—Order [18th July] for a Return relative thereto, read, and discharged.—(*Mr. John Dewar.*) 327

And, it being after One of the clock, Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to the Standing Order.

Adjourned at Three O'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: WEDNESDAY, 26TH JULY, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill (by Order); Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill (by Order) ; Edgware and Hampstead Railway Bill (by Order) ; London and North Western Railway Bill (by Order) ; Metropolitan Electric Tramways Bill (by Order) ; Dublin United

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Tramways Bill (by Order); Midland Railway Bill (by Order); Skegness Water Bill (by Order); Woolwich Borough Council Bill (by Order). Consideration of Lords Amendments deferred till To-morrow 331

Formby Township Bill [Lords] (by Order); Workington Harbour and Dock Bill [Lords] (by Order); Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council Bill [Lords] (by Order); Matlock Bath Improvement Bill [Lords] (by Order); Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District) Bill [Lords] (by Order); Sheffield University Bill [Lords] (by Order); South Lancashire Tramways Bill [Lords] (by Order). Third Reading deferred till To-morrow 331

Littlehampton Urban District Council Bill [Lords] (by Order); Shepton Mallet Gas Company (Electric Lighting) Bill [Lords] (by Order); Bristol Blind Asylum Bill [Lords] (by Order); Corbett Estate Bill [Lords] (by Order); County of London Electric Supply Company Bill [Lords] (by Order); Humber Conservancy Bill [Lords] (by Order); Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board Bill [Lords] (by Order); Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill [Lords] (by Order). Consideration, as amended, deferred till To-morrow 331

Central London Railway Bill (by Order).—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn 331

Great Northern, Piccadilly and Brompton Railway (No. 2) Bill (by Order).—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged Bill withdrawn 331

Edinburgh Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords].—Esk Valley Power Gas Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Stonehaven Harbour Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Consideration deferred till To-morrow .. 331

Glasgow Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords].—Second Reading deferred till To-morrow 331

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords].—Second Reading deferred till Monday next (Evening Sitting) 332

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill [Lords] (By Order).—Second Reading deferred till Monday next (Evening Sitting) 332

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London, No. 1) Bill [Lords].—Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time To-morrow .. 332

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill [Lords].—Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time To-morrow 332

Central Electric Supply Bill [Lords]; Oldham and Saddleworth District Tramways Bill [Lords]; Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 332

Rhymney and Aber Valleys Gas and Water Company Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table . .. 332

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PETITIONS.

Churches (Scotland) Bill.—Petition from Montrose, in favour; to lie upon the Table 332

Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act (1886) Amendment (No. 2) Bill.—Petition from Montrose, in favour; to lie upon the Table 333

Land Values Taxation (Scotland) Bill.—Petition from Montrose, in favour; to lie upon the Table 333

Singh, Maharajah Madho.—Petition from Bellary and other places in India, for inquiry into his case; to lie upon the Table 333

Sunday Trading (Scotland) Bill.—Petition from Montrose, in favour; to lie upon the Table 333

Workmen's Compensation Bill.—Petition from Barnsley, for alteration; to lie upon the Table 333

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Inland Revenue.—Copy presented, of Forty-eighth Report of the Commissioners, for the year ended 31st March, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 333

Post Office.—Copy presented, of Fifty-first Report of the Postmaster-General [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 333

Colonial Reports (Annual).—Copy presented, of Colonial Report No. 451 (Hong-Kong, Annual Report for 1904) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 333

Bankruptcy Act, 1890 (Rule).—Copy presented, of General Rule made pursuant to Section 25 of The Bankruptcy Act, 1890 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 333

Trade Reports (Annual Series).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3457 to 3459 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 333

Army (Pensions).—Return presented, relative thereto [Address 20th March; *Captain Norton*]; to lie upon the Table 333

Ordnance Survey.—Copy presented, of Report of the Progress of the Ordnance Survey to the 31st March, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table .. 333

Papers Laid upon the Table by the Clerk of the House.

1. Inquiry into Charities (County of Wilts). Further Return relative thereto [ordered 9th August, 1901; *Mr. Griffith Boscawen*]; to be printed. [No. 266.]

2. Royal University of Ireland. Copy of Account of Receipts and Expenditure of the Royal University of Ireland for the year ended 31st March, 1905, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 267.] 334

Inquiry into Charities (Administrative County of Devon).—Return ordered, "comprising (1) the Reports made to the Charity Commissioners in the result of an Inquiry held in every parish wholly or partly within the administrative county of Devon into Endowments, subject to the provisions of the Charitable Trusts Acts, 1853 to 1894, and appropriated in whole or

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in part for the benefit of that county, or of any part thereof, together with the Reports on those Endowments of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities, 1818 to 1837; (2) a Digest showing in the case of each such parish, whether any, and if any, what, such Endowments are recorded in the books of the Charity Commissioners in the parish; and (3) an Index, alphabetically arranged, of names and places mentioned in the Reports."—(*Mr. Griffith Boscawen.*) 334

Inquiry into Charities (County Borough of Saint Helens).—Return ordered, "comprising (1) the Reports made to the Charity Commissioners in the result of an Inquiry held in the county borough of St. Helens into Endowments, subject to the provisions of the Charitable Trusts Acts, 1853 to 1894, and appropriated in whole or in part for the benefit of that county borough, or of any part thereof, together with the Reports on these Endowments of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities, 1818 to 1837; (2) a Digest showing whether any, and, if any, what such Endowments are recorded in the books of the Charity Commissioners in the county borough; and (3) an Index, alphabetically arranged of names and places mentioned in the Reports."—(*Mr. Griffith Boscawen.*) 334

Inquiry into Charities (County Borough of Preston).—Return ordered, "comprising (1) the Reports made to the Charity Commissioners in the result of an Inquiry held in the county borough of Preston into Endowments, subject to the provisions of the Charitable Trusts Acts, 1853 to 1894, and appropriated in whole or in part for the benefit of that county borough, or of any part thereof, together with the Reports on those Endowments of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities, 1818 to 1837; (2) a Digest showing whether any, and, if any, what such Endowments are recorded in the books of the Charity Commissioners in the county borough; and (3) an Index, alphabetically arranged, of names and places mentioned in the Reports."—(*Mr. Griffith Boscawen.*) 335

Local Rates in Congested Districts (Scotland).—Return ordered, "giving the amount of Local Rates per pound levied during the years 1892–3 to 1903–4, inclusive, in each parish within the Congested Districts in Scotland, as specified in the Sixth Annual Report of the Congested Districts Board (Scotland):—

County and Parish.	Year.	Parish Rates.		County Rates.		Total.		Notes as to Rates levied in Special Districts.
		Owners.	Occupiers.	Owners.	Occupiers.	Owners.	Occupiers.	
Argyll: A......	1892–3 ... 1893–4 ... &c. 1903–4 ...							
	Increase or Decrease between 1892–3 & 1903–4 ...							
B......	1892–3 ... &c.							

—(*Mr. John Dewar.*) 336

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CRIMINAL AND JUDICIAL STATISTICS (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Criminal and Judicial Statistics of Ireland for the year 1904. Part I. Criminal Statistics [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 335

TRINITY COLLEGE (INTERMEDIATE SCHOLARSHIPS).—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 25th July; *Mr. Walter Long*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 264.] 335

NAVY (STATEMENT OF EXCESS), 1903–4.—Copy presented, of Statement of the Sum required to be voted in order to make good Excesses of Navy Expenditure beyond the Grants, for the year ended 31st March, 1904 [by Command]; referred to the Committee of Supply, and to be printed. [No. 265.] 335

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

SOUTHAMPTON POST OFFICE—DANGEROUS APPROACH.—Question, Mr. Tankerville Chamberlayne (Southampton); Answer, Lord Balcarres 336

CROWN LAND FARMS VACANT.—Question, Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston); Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 338

MAILS FROM NORTH OF IRELAND TO LONDON.—Question, Mr. Liddell (Down, W.); Answer, Lord Stanley 339

SORTING CLERKS AND TELEGRAPHISTS IN THE SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT.—Question, Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green); Answer, Lord Stanley .. 339

POST OFFICE—RECLASSIFICATION OF OFFICES SCHEME.—Question, Mr. Schwann (Manchester, N.); Answer, Lord Stanley 340

PRIVY COUNCIL AND LIST OF PENSIONS.—Question, Sir John Leng (Dundee); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 340

WRONGFUL IMPRISONMENT OF FREDERICK COOPER AT SALFORD.—Question, Mr. Groves (Salford, S.); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 341

HALL-MARKING OF FOREIGN WATCHES.—Question, Mr. Arthur Stanley (Lancashire, Ormskirk); Answer, Mr. Bonar Law 342

NEW DRILL OF ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.—Question, Mr. Charles Craig (Antrim, S.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 342

IMPRISONMENT OF INDENTURED INDIAN LABOURERS IN TRINIDAD.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel (Yorkshire, Cleveland); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 342

COST OF LAND SETTLEMENT IN TRANSVAAL AND ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—Question, Mr. Lambert (Devonshire, South Molton); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 343

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ROYAL MARINE BARRACKS—SALES OF TICKETS TO RECRUITS.—Questions, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Pretyman, Suffolk, Woodbridge) 344

THE WHITMARSH COALFIELDS.—Questions, Mr. Markham (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield); Answer, Mr. Pretyman 344

THE VOLUNTEERS.—Questions, Major Seely (Isle of Wight); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster) and Mr. Speaker .. 345

ALEXANDRA HARBOUR—WRECKAGE OBSTRUCTIONS.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.) 346

THE UNEMPLOYED WORKMAN'S BILL.—Question, Mr. David MacIver (Liverpool, Kirkdale); Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Gerald Balfour (Leeds, Central) 346

PAYMENT OF EDUCATION GRANTS.—Questions, Mr. Soares (Devonshire, Barnstaple); Answers, The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education (Sir William Anson, Oxford University) 347

ISLAND OF LEWIS FISHING INDUSTRY.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, The Lord-Advocate (Mr. Scott Dickson, Glasgow, Bridgton) 347

THE BEAUFORT CASTLE SHOOTING CASE.—Questions, Mr. Weir; Answers, Mr. Scott Dickson 348

GIRLS' SCHOOLS IN IRELAND—RULE 127 (*b*).—Questions, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.) and Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E.); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.) 349

THE IRISH DEVELOPMENT GRANT.—Questions, Sir Thomas Esmonde (Wexford, N.), Mr. Dillon, Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.), Mr. Clancy (Dublin County, N.), Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 350

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ROYAL HIBERNIAN ACADEMY.—Questions, Mr. Boland and Mr. Mooney (Dublin County, S.); Answers, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.) 354

MINISTER OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.—Question, Mr. D. A. Thomas (Merthyr Tydvil); Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 354

THE UNEMPLOYED WORKMEN BILL.—Questions, Mr. Keir Hardie (Merthyr Tydvil), Mr. Crooks (Woolwich), and Mr. Sydney Buxton (Tower Hamlets, Poplar); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 354

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BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Questions, Sir Henry Fowler (Wolverhampton, E.), Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.); Mr. George White (Norfolk, N.W.), Mr. Joseph Devlin, Mr. Bryce (Aberdeen, S.), and Mr. Shackleton (Lancashire, Clitheroe); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 357

THE COLONIAL CONFERENCE.—Questions, Mr. Soares, Mr. Lloyd-George (Carnarvon Boroughs), and Mr. T. W. Russell; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 358

Shipowners' Negligence (Remedies) Bill.—Lords Amendment to be considered upon Friday, and to be printed. [Bill 293] 360

NEW BILLS.

Isle of Man Customs Bill.—"To amend the Law with respect to Customs Duties in the Isle of Man," presented by Mr. Victor Cavendish; to be read a second time To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 292] 360

Highways (No 2) Bill.—"To provide for the establishment of a Highway Commission for England and Wales and for the Amendment of the Laws relating to Highways and Bridges in England and Wales, and for other purposes," presented by Mr. Arthur Stanley; supported by Sir Alfred Hickman, Mr. Lough, Mr. Griffith Boscawen, Mr. Perks, Mr. Bull, Mr. Scott-Montagu, and Mr. Tennant; to be read a second time To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 294] 360

Expiring Laws Continuance Bill.—"To continue various Expiring Laws," presented by Mr. Victor Cavendish; to be read a second time To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 296] 360

London (Equalisation of Rates) Bill.—"To make provision for the taking of a census in 1906 for the purposes of The London (Equalisation of Rates) Act, 1894," presented by Mr. Gerald Balfour; supported by Mr. Jeffreys; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 295.] 360

Marine Works (Ireland) Bill.

Sir Thomas Esmonde (*Wexford, N.*) 360

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to extend the Marine Works (Ireland) Act, 1902, to districts out of the congested districts."—(*Sir Thomas Esmonde.*)

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill to extend the Marine Works (Ireland) Act, 1902, to districts outside of the Congested Districts, ordered to be brought in by Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. Cogan, and Mr. Power.

Marine Works (Ireland) Bill.—"To extend The Marine Works (Ireland) Act, 1902, to districts outside the Congested Districts," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 297.]

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DURATION OF PARLIAMENTS.

Mr. Churchill (*Oldham*) 363

Motion made, and Question put, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to limit the duration of Parliaments to five years."—(*Mr. Churchill.*)

The House divided :—Ayes, 176 ; Noes, 239. (Division List No. 311.)

Churches (Scotland) Bill.—As amended, considered.

Mr. Thos. Shaw (*Hawick Burghs*) 369

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 14, after the word, 'shall,' to insert the words 'having regard to congregational contributions and other income of the Free Church.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The Lord-Advocate (*Mr. Scott Dickson, Glasgow, Blackfriars*) 370
Mr. Whitley (*Halifax*) 370

Question put, and agreed to.

Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, N.*) 371
Mr. Scott Dickson 372
Mr. Thomas Shaw 372

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 15, after the word 'support,' to insert the words 'subject to payment of the usual annual contributions (if any).'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, lines 17 and 18, to leave out the words 'supplementing congregational contributions towards.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 20, after the word 'Act,' to insert the words 'for itinerant preachers.'"—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 21, to leave out the words 'and for itinerant preachers.'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 31 and 32, to leave out the words 'and any orders so made,' and insert the words 'Any such orders.'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 32, after the word 'Act,' to insert the words 'may be recorded in the usual manner in the Register of Sasines or other appropriate register.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 41, to leave out the first word 'or.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 41, after the word 'burdens,' to insert the words 'or debts.'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 2, after the word 'of,' to insert the word 'that.'" —(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 3, after the word 'of,' to insert the word 'that.'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, lines 15 and 16, to leave out the words 'executions or any judgments,' and insert the word 'execution.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 16, after the word 'be,' to insert the word 'permanently.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 21, after the first word 'the,' to insert the words 'orders or other.'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 21, after the word 'such,' to insert the words 'orders or.'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 4, line 16, after the first word 'was,' to insert the words 'vested in or.'"—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 4, line 23, after the word 'shall,' to insert the words 'notwithstanding anything that has taken place since said date.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. Black (*Banffshire*) 374

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 4, line 25, to leave out the words 'properly made' and insert the words 'made in good faith.'—(*Mr. Black*)—instead thereof."

Question proposed, "That the words 'properly made' stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Scott Dickson 374

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 4, line 35, after the word 'legacies' to insert the words 'bequests or conveyances of property.'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 5, line 4, after the word 'be,' to insert the word 'permanently.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. George White (*Norfolk, N.W.*) 375
Mr. Compton Rickett (*Scarborough*) 379

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 5, line 8, to leave out Clause 5."—(*Mr. George White.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out to the word 'and,' in page 5, line 10, stand part of the Bill."

Sir J. Fergusson (*Manchester, N.E.*) 380
Mr. Munro-Ferguson (*Leith Burghs*) 381
Mr. Elliott (*Durham*) 383
Mr. Brigg (*Yorkshire, W.R., Keighley*) 385
Mr. Parker Smith (*Lanarkshire, Partick*) 385
Mr. Haldane (*Haddingtonshire*) 387
Mr. Middlemore (*Birmingham, N.*) 389
Mr. Perks (*Lincolnshire, Louth*) 390
Sir Mark Stewart (*Kirkcudbrightshire*) 392
Mr. Helme (*Lancashire, Lancaster*) 393
Mr. Bryce 393
Mr. Lloyd-George (*Carnarvon Boroughs*) 395
Sir Robert Reid (*Dumfries Burghs*) 397

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 270 ; Noes, 157. (Division List No. 312.)

Mr. Bryce 403

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 5, line 10, to leave out from the word 'established' to the word 'shall' in line 12."—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

The House divided :—Ayes, 255 ; Noes, 168. (Division List No. 313.)

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 5, line 21, after the word 'and,' to insert the words 'unless the context otherwise requires,'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, column 1, lines 10 and 11, to leave out the words 'supplementing congregational contributions towards 'the.' "—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, column 2, line 13, to leave out the words 'General Church,' and insert the words 'these or similar.' "—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill.—

"In page 6, column 1, line 15, after the word 'Act,' to insert the words 'and for itinerant preachers.' "—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, column 1, line 16, to leave out paragraph (b), line 16 to end, and insert the words '(5) General purposes of administration and management.' "—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, column 1, lines 16 and 17, to leave out the words 'of the church, including expenses.' "—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, column 1, lines 18 and 19, to leave out the words 'provision for itinerant preachers,' and insert the words 'management of the Free Church.' "—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, column 2, line 23, to leave out the words 'for teachers.' "—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, column 2, line 23, to leave out the word 'training.'"
—(The Lord-Advocate.)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, column 2, line 24, at end to insert the words 'or given.'"
—(The Lord-Advocate.)

Amendment agreed to.

Question, "That the Bill be now read a third time," put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time and passed.

Irish Education (Afflicted Children) Bill—[Second Reading].—Order for Second Reading read.

The Chief Secretary for Ireland (*Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.*) 410

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. John Redmond (*Waterford*) 412
Mr. Walter Long 412
Mr. Dillon (*Mayo, E.*) 413
Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) 414
Mr. Clancy (*Dublin County, N.*) 414
Mr. Field (*Dublin, St. Patrick*) 415
Mr. Hemphill (*Tyrone, N.*) 415
Mr. Courtenay Warner (*Staffordshire, Lichfield*) 416
Mr. Walter Long 416
Mr. T. Harrington (*Dublin, Harbour*) 417
Mr. Cullinan (*Tipperary, S.*) 417

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for To-morrow.

Osborne Estate Act (1902) Amendment Bill—[Second Reading].—Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. Caldwell (*Lanarkshire, Mid.*) 418

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

London Building Acts (Amendment) Bill—(By Order).—As amended considered.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Standing Orders 223 and 243 be suspended and that the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr.* Caldwell.)

Sir Albert Rollit (*Islington, S.*) 420

Question put, and agreed to.

(King's Consent and Prince of Wales' Consent signified.)

Bill read the third time, and passed.

Public Accounts Committee.

Sir A. Hayter (*Walsall*) 420
Mr. Gibson Bowles (*Lynn Regis*) 423

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the four Reports of the Public Accounts Committee be now taken into consideration."—(*Sir A. Hayter.*)

Sir Walter Foster (*Derbyshire, Ilkeston*) 430
Mr. Duke (*Plymouth*) 432
Mr. Goddard (*Ipswich*) 434
Sir Edgar Vincent (*Exeter*) 439
Mr. Churchill (*Oldham*) 441
The Secretary of State for War (*Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, N.*) .. 444
Dr. Macnamara (*Camberwell, N.*) 449
Mr. Maconochie (*Aberdeenshire, E.*) 453
The Financial Secretary to the War Office (*Mr. Bromley Davenport, Cheshire, Macclesfield*) 456

Question put, and agreed to.

Ordered, "That the four Reports of the Public Accounts Committee be now taken into consideration."—(*Sir A. Hayter.*)

Trade Marks Bill.—As amended, considered; Amendments made; Bill read the third time, and passed 459

Public Meetings (Facilities) Bill [Lords].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1.

Committee report Progress; to sit again To-morrow 459

Motor-Car Act (1903) Amendment Bill.—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn 46

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Congested Districts (Scotland) Bill.—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn 460

Ferries (Acquisition by Local Authorities) Bill.—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn 460

NATIONAL BOARD OF EDUCATION (IRELAND) (SCHOOL COMMITTEES).—Return ordered, "showing the number of Schools under the National Board of Education where there is a School Committee recognised by the Board as patron of the School; the number of such Schools under the management of the Roman Catholic, the Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Methodist Churches respectively."—(*Mr. T. W. Russell*) 460

IRISH EDUCATION (AFFLICTED CHILDREN) [EXPENSES].—Committee to consider of authorising the payment, out of moneys provided by Parliament for Public Education in Ireland, of the Expenses of Education given to Afflicted Children, in pursuance of any Act of the present session to make better provision for the Elementary Education of Afflicted Children in Ireland (King's Recommendation signified), To-morrow.—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood*) .. 460

Adjourned at ten minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: THURSDAY, 27TH JULY, 1905.

INTRODUCED.—ALFRED BARON MILNER, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., having been created Viscount Milner, of St. James' in the county of London, and Capetown in the Cape Colony, was (in the usual manner) introduced 461

SAT FIRST.

The Lord SANDYS sat first in Parliament after the death of his brother 461

The Lord HASTINGS sat first in Parliament after the death of his father 461

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Hessle Gas Bill [H.L.]; Great Central Railway (Pension Fund) Bill [H.L.]. Commons Amendments considered and agreed to 461

London County Council (General Powers) Bill.—The King's consent, and the consent of the Prince of Wales, signified; and Bill reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments 461

Malvern Water Bill.—Reported, with Amendments 461

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill—Reported from the Select Committee, without Amendment, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow 461

Rathmines and Rathgar Extension and Improvement Bill—Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments 461

North-East London Railway Bill; Wigan Corporation Bill. Moved, That the order made on the 16th day of March last, "That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 27th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bills be now read 2^{a}; agreed to. Bills read 2^{a} accordingly and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 461

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill. House in Committee (according to order). Bills reported without Amendment. Standing Committee negatived; and Bills to be read 3^{a} To-morrow 462

London Building Acts (Amendment) Bill.—Brought from the Commons; read 1^{a}; and referred to the Examiners 462

Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill.—House in Committee (according to order). Amendments made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow 462

Thames Conservancy Bill; North-East London Railway Bill; Wigan Corporation Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee for the consideration of the said Bills; (viz.

V. Colville of Culross,
L. Clonbrock,
L. Ramsay (*E. Dalhousie*),
L. Deramore,
L. Ludlow (Chairman);

agreed to; and the said Lords appointed accordingly. The Committee to meet on Monday next, at Twelve o'clock; and all petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bills to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills 462

London Government Scheme (London and Middlesex) Bill; London Government Scheme (Hackney and Edmonton Unions) Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Earl of Stamford and the Earl of Lauderdale be proposed to the House as members of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Viscount Falmouth and the Lord Kintore (*E. Kintore*), and that the Earl of Lauderdale be Chairman of the said Committee; read, and agreed to 462

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Churches (Scotland) Bill.—Extracts from the proceedings of—(1) The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; (2) The General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland 463

COLONIES (ANNUAL).—No. 451. Hong-Kong (Report for 1904) 463

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TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3457. Japan (Nagasaki).
No. 3458. Spain (Malaga).
No. 3459. Turkey (Beirut and Coast of Syria).
No. 3460. Spain (Barcelona).
No. 3461. Uruguay (Supplementary Report).
No. 3462. France (Corsica) 463

JUDICIAL STATISTICS (IRELAND), 1904.—Part I. Criminal statistics 463

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES.—Report of the progress of the Ordnance Survey, to the 31st March, 1905 463

INLAND REVENUE.—Forty-eighth Report of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Inland Revenue, for the year ended 31st March, 1905 463

POST OFFICE.—Fifty-first Report of the Postmaster-General on the Post Office 463

NAVY (STATEMENT OF EXCESS).—Statement of the sum required to be voted in order to make good excesses of Navy expenditure beyond the grants, for the year ended 31st March, 1904.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 463

BISHOPRICS ACT, 1878, AND BISHOPRICS OF SOUTHWARK AND BIRMINGHAM ACT, 1904.—Order in Council of the 11th July, 1905, approving a Scheme of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners with respect to the Bishopric of Birmingham, and for other purposes 463

BANKRUPTCY.—General rule made pursuant to Section 25 of the Bankruptcy Act, 1890.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 464

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES (INTELLIGENCE DIVISION).—Annual report of proceedings under the Sale of Food and Drugs Acts, 1875 to 1899, the Merchandise Marks Acts, 1887 and 1894, the Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Act, 1893, and the Board of Agriculture Act, 1889 (Section 2, Subsection 3), for the year 1904.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 464

Public Roads (Ireland) Bill.—Amendments reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3^{a} To-morrow 464

Coal Mines (Weighing of Minerals) Bill.—Read 3^{a} (according to order), and passed 464

Churches (Scotland) Bill.—Brought from the Commons; read 1^{a}; to be printed; and to be read 2^{a} on Monday next.—(*Marquess of Linlithgow.*) (No. 155.) 464

Trade Marks Bill.—Brought from the Commons; read 1^{a}; and to be printed. (No. 156.) 464

TRAINING COLLEGES IN SCOTLAND.

Lord Tweedmouth 464
The Secretary for Scotland (The Marquess of Linlithgow) 465

ARMY RESERVE.

Lord Rosmead 465

Moved to resolve, "That, in the opinion of this House, the emoluments received by the pensioned officers of the Reserve who were called up for service during the late war in South Africa, compare most unfavourably with those of other Reserve officers called up for similar service, but who had retired with gratuities; and the consequent grievances of the pensioned officers should be favourably considered by His Majesty's Government with a view to removing the disparity complained of."—(*Lord Rosmead.*)

The Under-Secretary of State for War (The Earl of Donoughmore) .. 467
Lord Tweedmouth 469
The Earl of Wemyss 469
Viscount Templeton 470

On Question, their Lordships divided:—Contents, 53; Not-Contents, 73.

TARIFF REFORM.

The Duke of Devonshire 471

Moved to resolve, "(1). That this House disapproves of any proposal to establish a General or Penal Tariff; (2). That this House disapproves of any system of Colonial Preference based on the taxation of food.' —(*The Duke of Devonshire.*)

The Earl of Minto 486
The Earl of Camperdown 496

Amendment moved—

"That the previous Question be put, whether the said Question shall be now put."—(*The Earl of Camperdown.*)

Lord Robertson 500
The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (The Duke of Marlborough) 507
The Earl of Feversham 513
The Duke of Manchester 516
Lord Avebury 518
Lord Grimthorpe 525
The Lord President of the Council and President of the Board of Education (The Marquess of Londonderry) 534
The Earl of Crewe 535
Viscount Goschen 541
iscount Ridley 551
Earl Spencer 558
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Lansdowne) 561
Lord Balfour of Burleigh 568

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On Question, "Whether the said Question be now put," their Lordships divided :—Contents, 57 ; Not-Contents, 121.

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before One o'clock a.m., till half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS : THURSDAY, 27TH JULY, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Bootle Corporation Bill.—On the order for the consideration of the Lords Amendments to the Bootle Corporation Bill being read.

Mr. Crooks (*Woolwich*) 577
Mr. John Redmond (*Waterford*) 578
Mr. MacVeagh (*Down, S.*) 579

Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway (No. 1) Bill; London Gas Bill; Rhondda Urban District Council Bill; Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to 579

Blackpool Improvement Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered ; Amendments made ; Bill to be read the third time 579

North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered ; to be read the third time 579

Nottingham Corporation Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered ; Amendments made ; Bill to be read the third time 579

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill (BY ORDER) ; Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill (by Order) ; Edgware and Hampstead Railway Bill (by Order) ; London and North Western Railway Bill (by Order) ; Metropolitan Electric Tramways Bill (by Order) ; Dublin United Tramways Bill (by Order) ; Midland Railway Bill (by Order) ; Skegness Water Bill (by Order) ; Woolwich Borough Council Bill (by Order). Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to 580

Formby Township Bill [LORDS] (BY ORDER).—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 580

Workington Harbour and Dock Bill [LORDS] (BY ORDER) (KING'S CONSENT SIGNIFIED).—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 580

Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council Bill [LORDS] (BY ORDER) ; Matlock Bath Improvement Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 580

Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District) Bill [LORDS] (BY ORDER).—Read the third time, and passed, with an Amendment .. 580

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Sheffield University Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Third Reading deferred till to-morrow 580

South Lancashire Tramways Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 580

Littlehampton Urban District Council Bill [Lords] (by Order).—As amended, considered; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time 580

Shepton Mallet Gas Company (Electric Lighting) Bill [Lords] (by Order); Bristol Blind Asylum Bill [Lords] (by Order); Corbett Estate Bill [Lords] (by Order). As amended, considered; to be read the third time 580

Private Bills (Group K).—Sir James Kitson reported from the Committee on Group K of Private Bills; That, for the convenience of parties, they had adjourned till Monday next, at half-past Eleven of the clock.

Report to lie upon the Table 581

Message from the Lords.—That they have agreed to—London County Council (Money) Bill, without Amendment.

Amendment to—Gas and Water Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords]. —Without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, " An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to the M'Callum Celtic Lectureship in the University of Glasgow." [Glasgow University Order Confirmation Bill] [Lords.] 581

Glasgow University Order Confirmation Bill [Lords].—Ordered, under Section 7 of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1889, to be considered upon Monday next 581

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Civil Services (Supplementary Estimates, 1905–6).—Estimate presented, of the Further Sums required to be voted for the Service of the year ending 31st March, 1906 [by Command]; referred to the Committee of Supply, and to be printed. [No. 268.] 581

Churches (Scotland) Bill.—Copy presented, of Extracts from the Proceedings of (I.) the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; and of (II.) the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 581

Bishoprics Act, 1878, and Bishoprics of Southwark and Birmingham Act, 1904.—Copy presented, of Order in Council of the 11th July, 1905, approving a scheme of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners with respect to the Bishopric of Birmingham, and for other purposes [by Act]; to lie upon the Table .. 582

Army.—Copy presented, of Statement of sum of money granted, in pursuance of Royal Warrant of 1st March, 1856, as compensation to the son of an officer killed at the Battle of Abu Klea [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 582

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Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (Intelligence Division).—Copy presented, of Annual Report of Proceedings under the Sale of Food and Drugs Acts, 1875 to 1899, the Merchandise Marks Acts, 1887 to 1894, and other Acts for the year 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 582

Trade Reports (Annual Series).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3460 to 3462 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 582

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Fining and Imprisonment of Chinese Coolies in the Transvaal.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel (Yorkshire, Cleveland); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton .. 582

Applications to English and Welsh Local Authorities for Loans under the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act.—Question, Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 583

Rate of Wages Paid to Chinese Coolies on the Rand.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 584

Number of Wives and Children of Chinese Coolies in the Transvaal.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 585

Repatriation of Chinese Coolies.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 585

Mosquito Nets for Railway Employees in West Africa.—Question, Mr. Cathcart Wason (Orkney and Shetland); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 585

Reduction of Duty on Scotch Herrings into Russia.—Question, Mr. Harmsworth (Caithnessshire); Answer, Earl Percy 585

International Fisheries Conference—The Three-Mile Limit.—Question, Mr. Noel Buxton (Yorkshire, N.R., Whitby); Answer, Earl Percy .. 586

Cheap Cottages—Modifying the Modern Bye-Laws of District Councils.—Question, Mr. Noel Buxton; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 586

Report of Salmon Fishery Commission—Proposed Legislation.—Question, Mr. Noel Buxton; Answer, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes 586

Suggested Increase in the Salaries of County Court Judges on Account of Increased Work.—Question, Mr. Brotherton (Wakefield); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 587

Interest on Money Borrowed under the Naval Works Bill.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 588

Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces—Appointments for Indian Natives.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, Mr. Brodrick .. 588

Application of Lieutenant-General Pakenham for Advance under Land Act.—Question, Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 588

Delay in Construction of Poulduff Pier, County Wexford.—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde (Wexford, N.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 589

Turbary Rights on Mr. Barrett's Holding at Parke, Near Castlebar.—Question, Dr. Ambrose (Mayo, W.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 598

Salary of Teacher of Mohorough National School.—Question, Mr. Kendal O'Brien (Tipperary, Mid.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 590

Native Government Hospital at Calabar.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 591

Death Rate of Indentured Indians in Northern Australia.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 591

Contracts for Supply of Military Badges—Machine and Hand Labour.—Question, Mr. Moon (St. Pancras, N.); Answer, Mr. Bromley Davenport.. 591

The Uneployed Bill.—Question, Mr. Levy (Leicestershire, Loughborough); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 592

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Proposed Expenditure at Rosyth.—Questions, Mr. Ainsworth (Argyllshire), and Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answers, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Arthur Lee, Hampshire, Fareham) 592

School Cadet Corps and Rifle Clubs.—Questions, Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central); Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) .. ..

Bengal Excise Bill.—Question, Mr. Herbert Roberts (Denbighshire, W.); Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) 594

Macedonia—The Mürzsteg Programme.—Question, Mr. Corbett (Glasgow, Tradeston); Answer, The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.) 595

Chicory.—Question, Mr. Lough (Islington, W.); Answer, The Chancellor of of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E. 595

The Telephone Purchase Agreement.—Questions, Mr. Lough, Mr. John Ellis (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe), and Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answer, The Postmaster-General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton), and The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 595

The Motor-Car Inquiry.—Question, Mr. Soares (Devonshire, Barnstaple); Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central) 597

Housing Loans to Local Authorities.—Question, Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 593

National Vaccine Institution, London—Carcasses of Calves Sold for Food.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 598

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WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT—LEEDS CASE.—Questions, Mr. Keir Hardie (Merthyr Tydvil) and Mr. Crooks (Woolwich); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers-Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's, 599

CRUELTY TO CHILDREN.—Question, Mr. Vincent Kennedy; Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 600

MINE FATALITIES.—Question, Mr. T. Richards (Monmouthshire); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 600

AGRICULTURAL LABOURER'S WAGES.—Question, Mr. Black (Banffshire); Answer, The President of the Board of Agriculture (Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes, Huntingdonshire, Ramsey) 601

IRISH BEE-KEEPING INDUSTRY.—Question, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.); Answer, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes 601

GOMSHALL RAILWAY ACCIDENT—COMPENSATION.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. Bonar Law, Glasgow, Blackfriars) 602

VEAL AND VACCINE.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Colonel Lockwood (Essex, Epping) 602

PHYSICAL EXERCISE IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent; Answer, The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education (Sir William Anson, Oxford University) 603

ISLAND OF LEWIS SCHOOLS.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, The Lord-Advocate (Mr. Scott Dickson, Glasgow, Bridgton) 604

THE SCHOOLMASTER AT LEMREWAY.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. Scott Dickson 604

GALWAY ASSIZES—TREATMENT OF JURORS.—Questions, Mr Vincent Kennedy, Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.), Mr. T. Harrington (Dublin Harbour), Mr. Charles Devlin (Galway), and Mr. Roche (Galway, E.); Answer, The Attorney-General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.) 604

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DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE FORCE FINANCE.—Question, Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 606

TEACHERS AND IRISH TRAINING COLLEGES.—Question, Mr. Boland; Answer, Mr. Walter Long 607

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MULLORY ESTATE, COUNTY ROSCOMMON.—Question, Mr. Tully (Leitrim, S.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 610

ALLEGED OUTRAGE AT DRUMDOE.—Questions, Mr. Tully, Mr. James O'Kelly (Roscommon, N.), Mr. Hayden (Roscommon, S.), Mr. John Redmond (Waterford), and Mr. Patrick O'Brien (Kilkenny); Answers, Mr. Walter Long 611

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ROSSCARBERY EVICTED TENANTS.—Questions, Mr. Edward Barry (Cork County, S.); Answers, Mr. Walter Long 614

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IRISH TEACHERS' PENSION FUND.—Questions, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. Walter Long 617

PURCHASES OF ARMY HORSES IN ULSTER.—Questions, Mr. Edward Mitchell (Fermanagh, N.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 617

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POST OFFICE PROPERTY IN DUBLIN.—Question, Mr. T. Harrington; Answer, Lord Stanley 618

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Irish Provident Assurance Company.—Questions, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell and Mr. Flavin; Answers, Mr. Bonar Law 619

Business of the House.—Question, Mr. John Redmond and Mr. Gibson Bowles, Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 619

Foreign Ships (Statutory Requirements).—Report from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence, brought up, and read.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 269.] 620

Workmen's Trains.—Report from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence and an Appendix, brought up, and read.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 270.]

NEW BILL.

Land Values Assessment (Scotland) Bill.—"To amend the Law relating to the Assessment of Land Values in Scotland," presented by Mr. Munro Ferguson; supported by Mr. Dalziel, Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Lamont; to be read a second time upon Saturday, 12th August, and to be printed. [Bill 298.]

Supply [17th Allotted Day].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. Grant Lawson (Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) in the Chair.]

Civil Services and Revenue Departments Estimates, 1905-6. Class II.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £28,920, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, including a Grant in Aid of certain Expenses connected with Emigration."

Mr. Sydney Buxton (*Tower Hamlets, Poplar*) 621
Mr. Peel (*Manchester, S.*) 625
Mr. Fuller (*Wiltshire, Westbury*) 627
Mr. Worseley-Taylor (*Lancashire, Blackpool*) 630
Mr. Black (*Banffshire*) 633
Sir Robert Reid (*Dumfries Burghs*) 634
Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) 640
Major Seely (*Isle of Wight*) 644
The Secretary of State for the Colonies (*Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington*) 644
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) 655
Mr. J. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) 659
Mr. Herbert Samuel (*Yorkshire, Cleveland*) 665

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A (Salaries, Wages, and Allowances) be reduced by £100, in respect of the Salary of the Secretary of State for the Colonies."—(*Mr. Herbert Samuel.*)

Mr. Bright (*Shropshire, Oswestry*) 672
Sir Brampton Gurdon (*Norfolk, N.*) 675

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

County of London Electric Supply Company Bill [Lords] (by Order); Humber Conservancy Bill [Lords] (by Order); Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board Bill [Lords] (by Order); Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill [Lords] (by Order).—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 678

Earl of Stamford's Cheshire Estate Bill [Lords] (by Order); Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers) Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Read a second time, and committed 678

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London, No. 1) Bill [Lords] (by Order); Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment 678

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [Lords] (by Order).—As amended, considered.

Mr. Butcher (*York*) 678

Amendment proposed—

"In page 14, line 1, to leave out the words 'to the end of schedule (Tralee and Fenit Pier and Harbour Order).'"—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out to the word 'time,' in page 16, line 6, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Thomas O'Donnell (*Kerry, W.*) 679
Mr. Flavin (*Kerry, N.*) 680
Mr. Field (*Dublin, St. Patrick*) 679
Mr. Murphy (*Kerry, E.*) 681

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Murphy.*)

Mr. Butcher 681
Mr. Thomas O'Donnell 681
Mr. Dillon (*Mayo, E.*) 682

Question put, and agreed to.

Debate to be resumed upon Monday next.

Glasgow Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords] (by Order); Paisley District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [Lords] (by Order); Glasgow Corporation (Tramways Consolidation) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Read a second time; and ordered to be considered upon Monday next.

SUPPLY [17TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. GRANT LAWSON (Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1905–6.

CLASS II.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £28,920, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, including a Grant in Aid of certain Expenses connected with Emigration."

Mr. Herbert Samuel 683

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A (Salaries, Wages, and Allowances) be reduced by £100, in respect of the Salary of the Secretary of State for the Colonies."—(*Mr. Herbert Samuel.*)

Sir Brampton Gurdon 683
Mr. John Stroyan (*Perthshire, W.*) 683
Mr. Burt (*Morpeth*) 686
Mr. Lyttelton 688
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 702
The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.*) 706

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 170: Noes, 237. (Division List No. 314.)

Original Question again proposed.

And, it being after Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again To-morrow.

IRISH EDUCATION (AFFLICTED CHILDREN) [EXPENSES].—Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys provided by Parliament for Public Education in Ireland, of the Expenses of Education given to Afflicted Children, in pursuance of any Act of the present session to make better provision for the Elementary Education of Afflicted Children in Ireland.—(*Mr. Walter Long.*)

Resolution to be reported this day 715

Motor-Car (Alien Drivers) Licences Bill.—Bill read a second time, and committed for Monday next 715

Valuation (Ireland) Bill.—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged Bill withdrawn 715

LOCAL TAXATION LICENCES, 1904–5.—Return ordered, "Of the amount received in respect of each administrative county and county borough in England and Wales for Local Taxation Licence Duties and Penalties, under The Local Government Act, 1888, in the year ended March 31st, 1905 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 300, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Jeffreys*) 715

LONDON (EQUALISATION OF RATES) ACT, 1894 (ACCOUNTS UNDER SECTION 1 (7) OF THE ACT.—Return ordered, "Showing, according to the accounts for the twelve months preceding the 31st day of March, 1905, furnished to the Local Government Board under Section 1 (7) of The London (Equalisation of Rates) Act, 1894—

(1) The amounts paid during the year out of the Equalisation Fund under the Act to the Corporation of the City of London and each of the Councils of the Metropolitan Boroughs to whom payments out of that fund were made.

(2) The amount of the expenses incurred during the year by each of these authorities (a) under The Public Health (London) Act, 1891 (including expenses of scavenging streets); (b) in respect of lighting; and (c) in respect of streets (other than the expenses of scavenging); and

(3) The amount expended during the year by each such authority out of the sums received by them under the Act (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 325, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Jeffreys*) .. 715

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

The Parliamentary Secretary of the Treasury (*Sir A. Acland-Hood, Somersetshire, Wellington*) 716

Question, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned at a quarter after Twelve o'clock.

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HOUSE OF LORDS: FRIDAY, 28TH JULY, 1905.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Heckmondwicke Improvement Bill.—Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments 717

Bolton Corporation Bill.—Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments 717

North Eastern Railway Bill.—The King's consent signified; and Bill reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments 717

North Eastern Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill.—Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments 717

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to 717

Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District) Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with an Amendment. The said Amendment considered, and agreed to 717

Workington Harbour and Dock Bill [H.L.]; South Lancashire Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Matlock Bath Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Formby Township Bill [H.L.]; Sheffield University Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to 717

Midland Railway Bill; Bootle Corporation Bill; London Gas Bill; Caledonian Railway Bill; North British Railway (General Powers) Bill; Rhondda Urban District Council Bill; Rotherham, Maltby, and Laughton Railway Bill; Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power Bill; Woolwich Borough Council Bill; Skegness Water Bill; Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway (No. 1) Bill; Metropolitan Electric Tramways Bill; Dublin United Tramways Bill; London and North-Western Railway Bill; Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill; Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill; Edgware and Hampstead Railway Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to 717

Wemyss Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—Read 2ª (according to order), and (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act), deemed to have been reported from the Committee; and Bill to be read 3 on Monday next 718

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill.—House in Committee (according to order). Bill reported without Amendment. Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3ª on Monday next 718

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill.—Read 3ª (according to order), and passed 718

Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill.—Amendments reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3ª on Monday next 718

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.—Suggestions for the consideration of teachers and others concerned in the work of public elementary schools 718

COLONIES (ANNUAL).—No. 452. Gambia (Report for 1904) 718

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3463. Netherlands (Dutch Guiana).
No. 3464. Siam (Chiengmai).
No. 3465. Chile 718

ARMY.

1. Abstract of recommendations of the Royal Commission on the care and treatment of the sick and wounded during the South African Campaign, together with the action taken.

2. Sum of money granted as compensation to the son of an officer killed at the battle of Abu Klea 718

MERCHANT SHIPPING (LOSS OF LIFE).—Return showing the lives lost by wreck, drowning, or other accident in British seagoing merchant ships registered in the United Kingdom, during the years 1891 to 1904, inclusive (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper [Cd. 2232]).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 719

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE.—Rules of the Supreme Court (July) 1905. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table .. 719

AGRICULTURAL PROSPECTS IN INDIA.

The Under-Secretary of State for India (*The Marquess of Bath*) 719

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894 (LOCAL MARINE BOARDS).

Lord Muskerry 719

Moved to resolve, "That, in the opinion of this House, the Board of Trade should, without delay, appoint Local Marine Boards at these ports in accordance with Section 244 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, and that steps should be taken to secure the due representation of captains and engineers upon both existing and future Local Marine Boards."—(*Lord Muskerry.*)

The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (*The Duke of Marlborough*) 733

Motion, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

ORGANISATION FOR WAR.

The Earl of Wemyss 735
The Lord Chancellor (*The Earl of Halsbury*) 743

Earl Spencer .. 743
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) 744
The Under-Secretary of State for War (*The Earl of Donoughmore*) .. 745

War Correspondence.

Lord Ellenborough .. 746
The Secretary for Scotland (*The Marquess of Linlithgow*) .. 748

Aliens Bill—[Second Reading].—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Lord Belper .. 749

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*Lord Belper*).

Earl Spencer .. 755
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) 761
Lord James of Hereford .. 765
Lord Coleridge .. 772
Lord Tweedmouth .. 774

On Question, Bill read 2ª accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

The Volunteers.

The Earl of Albermarle .. 775
The Under-Secretary of State for War (*The Earl of Donoughmore*) .. 777
Lord Tweedmouth .. 779

House adjourned at ten minutes past Eight o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: FRIDAY, 28th JULY, 1905.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Private Bills [Lords] (Standing Orders not Previously Inquired into Complied with).—Mr. Speaker laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz.:—South Barracas (Buenos Ayres) Gas and Coke Company Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time .. 780

Provisional Order Bills [Lords] (Standing Orders Applicable Thereto Complied with).—Mr. Speaker laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the follow-

ing Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz. :—Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time upon Monday next 780

aledonian Railway Bill; North British Railway (General Powers) Bill; Rotherham, Maltby, and Laughton Railway Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to. 781

reat Central Railway Bill [Lords].—As amended, considered; a clause added; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time 781

heffield University Bill. [Lords] (By Order).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a third time."

Sir Albert Rollit (*Islington, S.*) 781

Mr. Dillon (*Mayo, E.*) 781

Mr. Samuel Roberts (*Sheffield, Ecclesall*) 781

Bill read a third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers) Bill [Lords].—Ordered, That, in the case of the Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers) Bill [Lords], Standing Orders 82, 211, 236, and 237 be suspended, and that the Committee of Selection have leave to appoint the Committee on the Bill to sit and proceed forthwith.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means*) 782

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

oss of Life at Sea.—Copy presented, of Return showing the lives lost by Wreck, Drowning, or other accidents in British seagoing Merchant Ships registered in the United Kingdom during the years 1891 to 1904, inclusive [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 782

olonial Reports (Annual).—Copy presented, of Colonial Report No. 452 (Gambia, Annual Report for 1904) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 783

Osborne (Medical Report).—Copy presented, of the Report of the Medical Officer for the period from 7th April, 1904, to 31st March, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 783

Board of Education (Suggestions for Teachers).—Copy presented, of Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and others concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 783

Trade Reports (Annual Series).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3463 to 3465 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 783

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LOCAL TAXATION ACCOUNT, 1904–5.—Return ordered, "showing, in respect of the financial year ended the 31st day of March, 1905, the distribution of the proceeds of the Local Taxation Licence Duties, Estate Duty, and Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Duties paid into The Local Taxation Account, in pursuance of the provisions of The Local Government Act, 1888, The Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, and The Finance Act, 1894 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 298, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Jeffreys.*) 783

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

DUAL DUTIES IN THE CENTRAL TELEGRAPH OFFICE.—Question, Mr. Claude Hay (Shoreditch, Hoxton); Answer, Lord Stanley 783

LABOURERS' COTTAGES IN COUNTY ANTRIM.—Question, Mr. Charles Craig (Antrim, S.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 784

INSPECTION OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES ON BRITISH SHIPS.—Question, Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green); Answer, Mr. Bonar Law 785

UNLICENSED PERSONS ENGAGING CREWS FOR BRITISH STEAMERS.—Question, Mr. Nannetti; Answer, Mr. Bonar Law 785

UNPAID LEARNER IN TIPPERARY P.O.—Question, Mr. Cullinan (Tipperary, S.); Answer, Lord Stanley 786

BELFAST ASSIZES—CASE OF ROBERT M'WHIRTER.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Lord Stanley 786

SUPPLY OF CASH AT BELFAST P.O. MONEY ORDER COUNTER.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Lord Stanley 786

ARMY RECRUITING.—Question, Mr. Charles Hobhouse (Bristol, E.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 787

Naval Works Bill.—[SECOND READING.]—Order for Second Reading read.

The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (*Mr. Arthur Lee, Hampshire, Fareham*) 787

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. Buchanan (*Perthshire, E.*) 795
Mr. Lough (*Islington, W.*) 802

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out from the word 'That' to the end of the Question, in order to add the words, 'this House declines to agree to the Second Reading of a Bill which, by continuing for a further period the system of loan expenditure for Naval Works, renders the Sinking Fund ineffective, and injures the credit of the country'"—(*Mr. Buchanan*) instead thereof.

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Question proposed, " That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee) 808
Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis) 812
Mr. McKenna (Monmouthshire, N.) 818
The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 821
Mr. Ainsworth (Argyllshire) 827
Mr. Courtenay Warner (Staffs., Lichfield) 828
Mr. Flynn (Cork, N.) 829

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 203 ; Noes, 129. (Division List No. 315.)

Main Question put, and agreed to :—Bill read a second time, and committed for Monday next.

Bills of Exchange Act (1882) Amendment Bill [Lords].—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn. 833

Military Manœuvres Bill [Lords].—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn 833

Reserve Forces Bill [Lords].—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn 833

Marine Insurance Bill.—Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on Second Reading [30th March] read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn 834

Merchant Shipping (Scottish Trawlers) Bill.—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn 834

Merchant Shipping Bill.—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn 834

Provisional Order (Marriages) Bill.—[Second Reading.]—Order for Second Reading read.

The Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Cochrane, Ayrshire, N.) 835

Question, " That the Bill be now read a second time," put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for Monday next.

Irish Education (Afflicted Children) [Expenses].—Resolution reported, " That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys provided by Parliament for Public Education in Ireland, of the Expenses of Education given to Afflicted Children, in pursuance of any Act of the present session to make better provision for the Elementary Education of Afflicted Children in Ireland."

Resolution agreed to. 835

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entered for consideration on the Minutes of the day shall have the same precedence which Bills have on Tuesdays and Thursdays.—(*The Marquess of Lansdowne.*)

Earl Spencer 840

Motion, as amended, agreed to ; and ordered accordingly.

Churches (Scotland) Bill—[SECOND READING].—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

The Secretary for Scotland (*The Marquess of Linlithgow*) 840

Moved, " That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Marquess of Linlithgow.*)

Lord Robertson 849
The Earl of Aberdeen 858
Lord Balfour of Burleigh 862
Lord Overtoun 868
The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury 874
Lord Tweedmouth 876
The Earl of Leven and Melville 877
Lord Kinnaird 878
The Earl of Rosebery 880

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Friday next.

THE LOSS OF THE " KHYBER."

Lord Muskerry 882
The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (*The Duke of Marlborough*) 882

THE CHANTREY BEQUEST.

The Earl of Carlisle 883
The First Commissioner of Works (*Lord Windsor*) 886

RUSSIA AND NEUTRAL SHIPPING.

The Earl of Camperdown 887
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) 890

COLONIAL APPEALS.

Lord Ludlow 893
The Lord-Chancellor (*The Earl of Halsbury*) 893
Earl Carrington 895

Public Roads (Ireland) Bill—Read 3ª (according to order), with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons 896

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: MONDAY, 31ST JULY, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Liverpool Corporation Bill.—Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to 897

Blackpool Improvement Bill [LORDS].—Bristol Blind Asylum Bill [Lords]; Corbett Estate Bill [Lords]; County of London Electric Supply Company Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 897

Humber Conservancy Bill [LORDS] (KING'S CONSENT SIGNIFIED).—Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 897

Littlehampton Urban District Council Bill [LORDS] (KING'S CONSENT SIGNIFIED).—Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments .. 897

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill [LORDS].—North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill [Lords]; Nottingham Corporation Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 897

Shepton Mallet Gas Company (Electric Lighting) Bill [LORDS] (PRINCE OF WALES' CONSENT SIGNIFIED).—Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 897

Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 897

Central Electric Supply Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 897

Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation Bill [LORDS].—As amended, to be considered To-morrow 897

Oldham and Saddleworth District Tramways Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 897

Preston Corporation (Ribble Navigation) Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered; clauses added; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time 898

Rhymney and Aber Valley Gas and Water Company Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 898

Sandgate Urban District Council Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered; a clause added; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time. [New Title.] 898

Edinburgh Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment 898

Esk Valley Power Gas Order Confirmation Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed, with an Amendment 898

Stonehaven Harbour Order Comfirmation Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment 898

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Glasgow University Order Confirmation Bill [Lords].—Considered ; to be read the third time upon Wednesday 898

Glasgow Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords] ;—Glasgow Corporation (Tramways Consolidation) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords] ; Paisley District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Considered ; to be read the third time upon Wednesday 898

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [Lords].—Adjourned. Debate on Amendment proposed on consideration, as amended [27th July], further adjourned till To-morrow (Evening Sitting) 898

Tramway Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords].—Read a second time, and committed 898

Message from the Lords.—That they have agreed to—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill ; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill ; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) ill, without Amendment.

Malvern Water Bill; Rathmines and Rathgar Extension and Improvement Bill ; Ealing Corporation Bill, with Amendments.

Amendment to—Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District) Bill [Lords].

Amendments to—Workington Harbour and Dock Bill [Lords] ; South Lancashire Tramways Bill [Lords] ; Matlock Bath Improvement Bill [Lords] ; Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council Bill [Lords] ; Formby Township Bill [Lords] ; Sheffield University Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, " An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Wemyss Tramways." [Wemyss Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [Lords] 898

Wemyss Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [Lords].—Read the first time ; and ordered, under Section 9 of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, to be read a second time upon Wednesday, and to be printed. [Bill 303] 899

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Charitable Donations and Bequests (Ireland).—Copy presented, of Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table 899

Supply of Food and Raw Material in Time of War (Royal Commission).—Copy presented, of Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the subject of the Supply of Food and Raw Material in Time of War, with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices (Vol. I. Report. Vol. II. Minutes of Evidence. Vol. III. Appendices) [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table 899

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ROYAL PATRIOTIC FUND CORPORATION.—Copy presented, of First Report of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation, for the year 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 900

SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904 (CLOSING ORDER, BOROUGH OF NEWPORT, MON.).—Copy presented, of Order made by the Corporation of the Borough of Newport, Mon., and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the Hours of Closing for Barbers' and Hairdressers' Shops within the Borough [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 900

BY-LAWS IN RURAL DISTRICTS.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 17th April; *Mr. Henry Hobhouse*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 272] 900

LOCAL TAXATION RETURNS (ENGLAND).—Copy presented, of the Annual Local Taxation Returns for 1903–4 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 273] 900

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES.—Copy presented, of Annual Report of Proceedings under the Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries Acts, etc., for the year 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 900

HORSE BREEDING (ROYAL COMMISSION).—Copy presented, of Tenth Report of the Royal Commission on Horse Breeding, with Appendices [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 900

CUSTOMS.—Copy presented, of Forty-ninth Report of the Commissioners of Customs for the year ended March 31st, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 900

TAXES AND IMPOSTS.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered April 12th; *Mr. Goddard*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 274] 900

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered July 20th; *Mr. Mount*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 275] .. 901

IRISH LAND COMMISSION.—Copy presented, of Report of the Commissioners for the period from April 1st, 1904, to March 31st, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 901

EAST INDIA (RAILWAYS).—Copy presented, of Administration Report on the Railways in India for the year 1904, by the Railway Board [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 901

PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.—Supreme Court (Rules), Copy of Rules of the Supreme Court, dated July 27th, 1905 [by Act] 901

Public Works Loans Bill.—Copy presented, "of Statement of Particulars of Loans of which the Balances outstanding are proposed to be remitted or written off (in whole or in part) from the Assets of the Loca Loans Fund." —(*Mr. Victor Cavendish.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 276] 901

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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS IN INDIA.—Question, Sir Manchergee Bhownaggree (Bethnal Green, N.E.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 901

THE LAND ACT, 1903—TRINITY COLLEGE ESTATES.—Question, Mr. John O'Connor (Kildare, N.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 902

THE KING-HARMAN ESTATE.—Question, Mr. Tully (Leitrim, S.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 902

IMPRISONMENT OF SEAMEN AT HONG-KONG FOR REFUSAL TO SAIL IN VESSELS CARRYING CONTRABAND OF WAR.—Questions, Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green); Answers, Mr. Lyttelton 902

SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANY PROMOTING.—Question, Mr. Vincent Kennedy (Cavan, W.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 903

MOVEMENT OF TROOPS AND SHIPS OF WAR AT CAPE COAST, WEST AFRICA.—Question, Mr. John O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 904

CONSULAR REPORTS—IRISH TRADE.—Question, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.); Answer, Earl Percy 904

CLOSING OF THE PENTLAND FIRTH TO TRAWLERS.—Question, Mr. Harmsworth (Caithness-shire); Answer, Earl Percy 905

ERECTION OF BOATSLIPS ON THE CAITHNESS COAST.—Question, Mr. Harmsworth; Answer, Mr. Scott-Dickson 905

SCOTCH HERRING FISHERY—LOANS FOR PURCHASE OF BOATS.—Question, Mr. Harmsworth; Answer, Mr. Scott-Dickson 905

NEW POST OFFICE FOR TRALEE.—Question, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell (Kerry, W.); Answer, Lord Stanley 906

POSTAL BANK.—Question, Mr. Nannetti; Answer, Lord Stanley 906

BALLYSHANNON POST OFFICE.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.); Answer, Lord Stanley 906

BALLYSHANNON AND BUNDORAN POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, Lord Stanley 907

BALLYSHANNON MORNING DELIVERY OF LETTERS. — Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, Lord Stanley 908

AUTHENTICITY OF TELEGRAMS.—Question, Mr. James O'Connor (Wicklow, W.); Answer, Lord Stanley 908

ULSTER SPINNERS AND THE NEW FACTORY REGULATIONS.—Question, Mr. Joseph Devlin (Kilkenny, N.); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 908

CUSTOMS TEA OFFICE.—Question, Mr. James O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 909

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THE LANCASHIRE ELECTRIC RAILWAY ACCIDENT.—Question, Mr. Marshall Hall (Lancashire, Southport); Answer, Mr. Bonar Law 909

CALCUTTA JUTE TAX.—Question, Sir John Levy (Dundee); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 910

MAJOR BROOKE MURRAY.—Question, Sir Seymour King (Hull, Central); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 910

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CATHOLIC CLERKS IN THE IRISH AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.—Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 912

BELFAST TRAM FARES.—Question, Mr. Joseph Devlin; Answer, Mr. Walter Long 912

DUNDONALD CEMETERY.—Question, Mr. Joseph Devlin; Answer, Mr. Walter Long 913

IRISH SCHOOL BUILDINGS GRANT.—Question, Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 913

MARLBOROUGH STREET TRAINING COLLEGE.—Question, Mr. Dillon; Answer, Mr. Walter Long 914

COST OF AMMUNITION FOR RIFLE CLUBS.—Question, Captain Sinclair (Forfar); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 914

MESSRS. COX AND COMPANY, ARMY AGENTS—CONTRACT WITH THE GOVERNMENT.—Question, Dr. Hutchison (Sussex, Rye); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster .. 915

WAR OFFICE CONTRACTS WITH MACONOCHIE BROTHERS.—Question, Mr. Keir Hardie (Merthyr Tydvil); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 916

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REPAIR BEFORE SALE OF OBSOLETE CRUISERS.—Question, Sir A. Hayter (Walsall); Answer, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Arthur Lee, Hampshire, Fareham) 921

GENERAL SIR FORESTIER WALKER.—Questions, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.); Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) 922

EMPLOYMENT FOR EX-SOLDIERS.—Questions, Sir Carne Rasch (Essex, Chelmsford) and Mr. Keir Hardie (Merthyr Tydvil); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 923

ARMAMENT OF VOLUNTEER ARTILLERY.—Questions, Mr. Samuel Roberts (Sheffield, Ecclesall) and Sir Albert Rollit (Islington, S.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 925

OFFICERS' ADDRESSES.—Question, Mr. Hayden (Roscommon, S.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 926

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE-GENERAL.—Questions, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answers, Mr. Arnold-Forster 926

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Military Sports on Sundays.—Question, Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 926

Epizootic Lymphangitis in Ireland.—Questions, Mr. Cullinan (Tipperary, S.) and Mr. Power (Waterford, E.); Answers, Mr. Arnold-Forster 927

Lord Curzon and the Indian Army Administration.—Question, Sir Henry Fowler (Wolverhampton, E.); Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) 928

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Prison Photographs of Unconvicted Prisoners.—Question, Mr. Moss and Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.) 930

Prevention of Cruelty to Children.—Question, Mr. Vincent Kennedy (Cavan, W.); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 931

Relief Works and Voters' Qualifications.—Question, Sir A. Hayter; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central) 932

The Unemployed Workmen Bill.—Questions, Mr. Crooks (Woolwich) and Mr. Keir Hardie; Answers, Mr. Gerald Balfour 932

Ireland and the Swine Fever Regulations.—Question, Mr. Liddell (Down, W.) and Mr. Kilbride (Kildare, S.); Answers, The President of the Board of Agriculture (Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes, Huntingdonshire, Ramsey) 933

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Companies Steamers.—Questions, Sir William Tomlinson (Preston); Answers, The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. Bonar Law, Glasgow, Blackfriars) 934

The Vice-Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster.—Questions, Mr. Swift MacNeill and Sir Lees William Knowles (Salford, W.); Answers, The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Sir William Walrond, Devonshire, Tiverton) 935

Cooscroum Harbour Improvements.—Question, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.) .. 935

Bi-Lingual Schools in Ireland.—Question, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell, (Kerry, W.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 936

Constable Masterton's Disappearance. — Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 936

Labourers' Cottages in Antrim.—Questions, Mr. Charles Craig (Antrim, S.) and Mr. Kilbride; Answers, Mr. Walter Long 936

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POLICE AND PUBLIC MEETINGS AT KILKENNY.—Questions, Mr. Patrick O'Brien (Kilkenny), Mr. John Redmond (Waterford) and Mr. Speaker; Answers, Mr. Walter Long 939

WEXFORD PRISON.—Question, Mr. Ffrench (Wexford, S.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 940

ALLEGED OUTRAGE AT BOYLE.—Questions, Mr. James Kelly (Roscommon, N.), Mr. Hayden, Mr. John Redmond and Mr. Disraeli (Cheshire, Altrincham); Answers, Mr. Walter Long 942

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION INSPECTORS IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Flynn (Cork, N.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 943

EVICTIONS IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Flynn; Answer, Mr. Walter Long .. 943

MR. ARTHUR DEANE, J.P.—Questions, Mr. Edward Barry (Cork County, S.) and Mr. Thomas O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. Walter Long 944

CLONAKILTY EVICTED TENANTS.—Questions, Mr. Edward Barry; Answers, Mr. Walter Long 944

TRINITY COLLEGE ESTATES.—Questions, Mr. Cullinan, Mr. Kilbride and Mr. T. W. Russell; Answer, Mr. Walter Long 945

EVICTED TENANTS ON THE COLTSMANN ESTATE, COUNTY, KERY.—Question, Mr. Murphy (Kerry, E.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 945

GORTUMLOE GRAZING FARMS.—Questions, Mr. Tully (Leitrim, S.); Answers, Mr. Walter Long 946

CASE OF MR. MURPHY.—Questions, Mr. Roche (Galway, E.) and Mr. Kilbride; Answers, Mr. Walter Long 947

GALWAY ASSIZE TRIALS.—Question, Mr. Roche; Answer, The Attorney-General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.) 947

IRISH LOAN FUNDS.—Question, Mr. Edward Mitchell (Fermanagh, N.); Answer, Mr. Atkinson 948

CITY OF GALWAY WOOLLEN MILLS.—Question, Mr. Charles Devlin(Galway); Answer, The Financial Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.) 948

PROPOSED IRISH TELEGRAPH EXTENSIONS.—Questions, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.); Answers, The Postmaster-General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) 949

STATUS OF IRISH SUB-POSTMASTERS.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Lord Stanley 949

IRISH LANGUAGE IN THE IRISH POST OFFICE.—Questions, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell; Answers, Lord Stanley 950

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Questions, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 950

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POST OFFICE (TELEPHONE AGREEMENT).—Report from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence, brought up, and read.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 271.] 950

Extradition Bill [LORDS].—Read the first time; to be read a second time To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 304.] 951

NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1903–4.

Motion made, and Question put, "That this House will, To-morrow, resolve itself into a Committee to consider the Savings and Deficiencies upon Navy and Army Grants for 1903–4, and the temporary sanction obtained from the Treasury by the Navy and Army Departments to the Expenditure not provided for in the Grants for that year. That the Appropriation Accounts for the Navy and Army Departments, which were presented upon the 20th day of February last, be referred to the Committee."—(*Mr. Victor Cavendish.*)

The House divided:—Ayes, 210; Noes, 122. (Division List No. 316.) .. 951

NEW BILLS.

Purchase of Land Bill.—"To provide for the purchase of land by local authorities," presented by Mr. George White; supported by Mr. Cremer, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Higham, Mr. Mansfield, Mr. Richards, and Mr. Shackleton; to be read a second time upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 299.] 953

Secretaries of State for Trade and Local Government Bill.—"To make the Board of Trade and the Local Government Board Offices of a Secretary of State," presented by Mr. Balfour; to be read a second time to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 300.] 955

Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports Bill.—"To make provision with respect to the office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports," presented by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas; supported by Mr. Cochrane; to be read a second time to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 301.] 955

Public Works Loans Bill.—"To grant money for the purpose of certain local loans out of the Local Loans Fund, and for other purposes relating to local loans," presented by Mr. Victor Cavendish; to be read a second time to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 302.] 955

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (GOVERNMENT BUSINESS).—

The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 955

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, for the remainder of the session, Government Business be not interrupted, except at half-past Seven of the clock at an Afternoon Sitting, under the Provisions of any Standing Order regulating the Sittings of the House, and may be entered upon at any hour though opposed; that at the conclusion of Government Business each day Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House without Question put, and that no Motions be made for leave to bring in Bills under Standing Order No. 11."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

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Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs) 960
Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) 967
Mr. John Redmond (Waterford) 972
Mr. Keir Hardie (Merthyr Tydvil) 981
Mr. Sydney Buxton (Tower Hamlets. Poplar) 986
Mr. Churchill (Oldham) 988
Mr. Fenwick (Northumberland, Wansbeck) 998
Sir Henry Fowler (Wolverhampton, E.) 1001
Mr. A. J. Balfour 1006
Mr. Crooks (Woolwich) 1013

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

Bangor (County Down) Water and Improvement Bill [LORDS] (BY ORDER).—As amended, considered; to be read the third time. 1018

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill [LORDS] (BY ORDER); Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Read a second time, and committed. 1018

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (GOVERNMENT BUSINESS)—Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Question [31st July], "That, for the remainder of the session Government Business be not interrupted, except at half-past Seven of the Clock at an Afternoon Sitting, under the provisions of any Standing Order regulating the Sittings of the House, and may be entered upon at any hour though opposed; that at the conclusion of Government Business each day Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House without Question put, and that no Motion be made for leave to bring in Bills under Standing Order No. 11." —(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Question again proposed.

Sir Albert Rollit (Islington, S.) 1018
Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.) 1021

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided:—Ayes, 211; Noes, 110. (Division List No. 317.)

Question put accordingly.

The House divided:—Ayes, 223; Noes, 119. (Division List No. 318.)

Ordered, that for the remainder of the Session, Government Business be not interrupted, except at half-past Seven of the clock at an Afternoon Sitting, under the provisions of any Standing Order regulating the Sittings of the House, and may be entered upon at any hour though opposed; that at the conclusion of Government Business each day Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House without Question put, and that no Motions be made for leave to bring in Bills under Standing Order No. 11.

SUPPLY.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. GRANT LAWSON (Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1905–6.—CLASS VII

£20,000, Relief of (Distress in Ireland.)

Mr. John Redmond (*Waterford*) 1031
Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) 1032
The Chief Secretary for Ireland (*Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.*) 1032
Mr. Ainsworth (*Argyllshire*) 1035
Mr. Courtenay Warner (*Staffordshire, Lichfield*) 1035

Vote agreed to

CIVIL SERVICE (EXCESS), 1903–4.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,345 17s. 4d., be granted to His Majesty, to make good an Excess on the Grant for Diplomatic and Consular Buildings for the year ended on the 31st day of March, 1904."

Mr. Sloan (*Devonshire, Barnstaple*) 1036
Mr. Weir (*Ross and Cromarty*) 1036

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum not exceeding £1,295 17s. 4d. be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Weir.*)

Lord Balcarres (*Lancashire, Chorley*) 1036
Mr. Weir 1037

Question put, negatived.

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. Keir Hardie (*Merthyr Tydvil*) 1038

Original Question put, and agreed to.

NAVY (EXCESSES), 1903–4.

£100, Navy (Excesses), 1903–4.

The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (*Mr. Arthur Lee, Hampshire, Fareham*) 1038

Vote agreed to.

Resolutions to be reported To-morrow; Committee to sit again To-morrow.

East India Loans (Railways) Bill.—[SECOND READING.]—Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. Caldwell (Lanarkshire, Mid.) 1039
Mr. Wylie (Dumbartonshire) 1043
Sir Samuel Hoare (Norwich) 1044
The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) .. 1046
Sir Henry Fowler (Wolverhampton, E.) 1047
Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick) 1048
Mr. Bright (Shropshire, Oswestry) 1049
Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty) 1049

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time and committed for To-morrow.

Isle of Man Customs Bill.—[Second Reading.]—Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. Caldwell (Lanarkshire, Mid.) 1050
Mr. Soares (Devonshire, Barnstaple) 1051
The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.) 1051
Major Seely (Isle of Wight) 1051
The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 1051

Question put, and agreed to

Bill read a second time, and committed for To-morrow.

Alkali, Etc., Works Bill.—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn 1052

Service of Militiamen Bill. [Lords].—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn 1052

Post Office (Money Orders) Bill.—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn 1052

Sailors' and Soldiers' False Characters Bill [Lords].—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn 1052

Poor Law (Scotland) Bill.—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn 1052

Whereupon, in pursuance of the Order of the House of the 31st day of July, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

Adjourned at twenty minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: TUESDAY, 1st AUGUST, 1905.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Gosport and Fareham Tramways Bill [H.L.]—Commons Amendments considered, and agreed to 1053

North-Eastern Railway Bill; North Eastern Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill. Read 3a, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons 1053

Edinburgh Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Stonehaven Harbour Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to 1053

Esk Valley Power-Gas Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with an Amendment. The said Amendment to be considered on Thursday next 1053

Bristol Blind Asylum Bill [H.L.]; Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Blackpool Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Corbett Estate Bill [H.L.]; County of London Electric Supply Company Bill [H.L.]; Nottingham Corporation Bill [H.L.]; North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to 1053

Humber Conservancy Bill [H.L.]; Littlehampton Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Shepton Mallet Gas Company (Electric Lighting) Bill [H.L.]; Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments 1053

Liverpool Corporation Bill.—Returned from the Commons, with the Amendments agreed to 1053

Bristol Corporation Bill.—The King's consent signified; and Bill reported, with Amendments 1053

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Parliamentary Agency.—Rules to be observed by the officers of the House and by all Parliamentary agents and solicitors engaged in prosecuting proceedings in the House of Lords upon any petition or Bill. Ordered to be laid before the House.—(*The Chairman of Committees.*) 1054

New Zealand Appeals.—Return of appeals from New Zealand to His Majesty in Council, from January, 1903, to July, 1905, inclusive. Ordered to be laid before the House.—(*The Lord Chancellor.*) 1054

Canada.—Correspondence relating to the garrisons of Halifax and Esquimalt .. 1054

Navy (Health).—Statistical Report of the Health of the Navy, for the year 1904 1054

Cape of Good Hope (Observatory).—Report of His Majesty's Astronomer at the Cape of Good Hope to the Secretary of the Admiralty, for the year 1904 1054

TRAMWAY ORDERS.—Report by the Board of Trade of their proceedings under the Tramways Act, 1870, during the Session of 1905 1054

TRADE REPORTS—I. (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3466. France (Martinique).
No. 3467. Turkey (Smyrna).
No. 3468. China (Amoy). 1054

II. (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).—No. 635. Japan (Report on Japanese Paper-making) 1054

EXPLOSIVES (EXPLOSIVES FACTORIES AND TESTING STATIONS IN BELGIUM, GERMANY, AND HOLLAND).—Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, by Captain M.B. Lloyd and Captain A. P. H. Desborough, His Majesty's Inspectors of Explosives, on visits to certain explosive factories and testing stations in Belgium, Germany, and Holland 1054

COLONIES (ANNUAL).—No. 450. Wei-hai-Wei (Report for 1904).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 1055

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF HERTFORD).—Order made by the county council of the county of Hertford dividing the Northern or Hitchin Parliamentary Division into polling districts 1055

SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904.—Closing order made by the Ballymoney Urban District Council 1055

FORESHORES.—Treasury Minute, dated 29th July, 1905, directing the application of moneys received by the Board of Trade in the year ended 31st March 1905, in respect of the rights and interests of the Crown in the foreshores of the United Kingdom.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table .. 1055

Compensation for Damage to Crops Bill.—Reported from the Standing Committee without Amendment; and to be read 3 on Thursday next .. 1055

Public Health Acts (Amendment) Bill [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to Order).

[The Earl of ONSLOW in the Chair.]

Clause 1:

Lord Stanley of Alderley 1055

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 9, after the word 'London,' to insert the words 'and of such places as have received their authority in reference to public health, or to regulations affecting building, from local Acts of Parliament.'"—(*Lord Stanley of Alderley.*)

Lord Hylton 1056
Lord Stanley of Alderley 1056

Amendment, by leave of the Committee, withdrawn.

Clause 1 agreed to.

Clauses 2 and 3 agreed to.

Clause 4:

Lord Burghclere 1057
Lord Kenyon 1059
Lord Hylton 1059
Lord Stanley of Alderley 1060

On Question, Clause 4 agreed to.

Clause 5:

Lord Stanley of Alderley 1061

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 19, after the word 'sessions' to insert the words 'and to such other appeal as may now by law be open to him.'"—(*Lord Stanley of Alderley.*)

Lord Kenyon 1061
Lord Stanley of Alderley 1062
The Lord Chancellor (*The Earl of Halsbury*) 1062
Lord Hylton 1063
Lord Burghclere 1063
The Lord Chancellor 1064
Lord Stanley of Alderley 1064

Amendment, by leave of the Committee, withdrawn.

On Question, Clause 5 agreed to.

The Amendments proposed by the Select Committee made; further Amendments made. Standing Committee negatived; Bill to be read 3ª on Monday next; and to be printed as amended. (No. 159.)

Matrimonial Causes Bill [H.L.]—[SECOND READING].—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Earl Russell 1064

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*Earl Russell.*)

The Lord Chancellor (*The Earl of Halsbury*) 1067

Amendment moved—

"To leave out the word 'now' and add at the end of the Motion the words 'this day three months.'"—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

On Question, whether the word "now" shall stand part of the Motion, their Lordships divided:—Contents, 4; Not-Contents, 44.

Trade Marks Bill—[SECOND READING].—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Earl Spencer 1071

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*Earl Spencer.*)

The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (*The Duke of Marlborough*) 1071

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER.

Lord Stanmore 1072

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire and report with respect to the unfinished condition of the rooms in the Palace of Westminster appropriated to the service of this House and their approaches."—(*Lord Stanmore.*)

Earl Spencer 1074
The First Commissioner of Works (*Lord Windsor*) 1075

On Question, Motion agreed to; and ordered accordingly.

INDIA (ARMY ADMINISTRATION).

The Marquess of Ripon 1075

Moved, "That an Humble Address be presented to His Majesty for Minute of Sir Donald Stewart in June, 1898, on the subject of Indian Army Administration, recorded in the India Office."—(*The Marquess of Ripon.*)

Earl Roberts 1095
The Under-Secretary of State for India (*The Marquess of Bath*) 1098
Lord Sandhurst 1110
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) 1117
The Marquess of Ripon 1123

On Question, Motion agreed to; and ordered accordingly.

House adjourned during pleasure; and resumed by the Earl Waldegrave.

MEMORIAL TO THE LATE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY.

Lord Hawkesbury 1129

Moved, to resolve, "That this House, whilst anxious that a suitable site should be found in Westminster Abbey for the national memorial to the late Marquess of Salisbury, desires to express its opinion that the monument to Captain James Cornewall (the first monument erected by vote of Parliament to a naval officer who, when in command of H.M.S. 'Marlborough' in the action off Toulon in February, 1743–44, lost both his legs, but remained on the quarter-deck and fought his ship till he died) ought not to be removed without due notice being given to Parliament."—(*Lord Hawkesbury.*)

Earl Spencer 1133
The Earl of Camperdown 1135
The Marquess of Lansdowne 1137
Lord Stanley of Alderley 1139

Motion, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

Parliamentary Agency.—Rules respecting. Laid before the House (pursuant to order of this day), and to be printed. [No. 160] 1139

New Zealand Appeals.—Return respecting. Laid before the House (pursuant to order of this day), and to be printed. [No. 161] 1139

House adjourned at half-past Nine o'clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 1st AUGUST, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Great Central Railway Bill [Lords] (King's Consent, on Behalf of the Crown and of the Duchy of Lancaster, Signified).—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 1140

Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Consideration, as amended, deferred till this Evening's Sitting 1140

Message from the Lords.—That they have agreed to—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill, without Amendment.

Public Roads (Ireland) Bill; Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill; North Eastern Railway Bill; North Eastern Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill, with Amendments.. 1140

PETITIONS.

Poor Law (Scotland) Bill.—Petition from Paisley, in favour; to lie upon the Table 1141

Post Office (Telephone Agreement).—Petition from Chester, for Annulment; to lie upon the Table 1141

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SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS (SUNDAY) BILL.—Petition from Carlisle, in favour; to lie upon the Table 1141

SINGH, MAHARAJAH MADHO.—Petition from Bellary, for inquiry into his case; to lie upon the Table 1141

UNEMPLOYED WORKMEN BILL.—Petition from Glasgow, for extension to Scotland; to lie upon the Table 1141

UNEMPLOYED WORKMEN BILL.—Petition from Swansea, in favour; to lie upon the Table 1141

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LONDON (EQUALISATION OF RATES) ACT, 1894 (ACCOUNTS UNDER SECTION 1 (7) OF THE ACT).—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 27th July; *Mr. Jeffreys*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 277] 1141

BOROUGHS (ENGLAND AND WALES) (OUTSTANDING LOANS).—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 25th May; *Sir Gilbert Parker*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 278] 1142

SMALLPOX.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 8th May; *Sir John Tuke*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 279] 1142

LOCAL TAXATION LICENCES, 1904–5.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 27th July; *Mr. Jeffreys*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 280] 1142

CYPRUS.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 25th July; *Mr. Pierpoint*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 281] 1142

FORESHORES.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 29th July, 1905, directing the application of moneys received by the Board of Trade in the year ended 31st March, 1905, in respect of the rights and interests of the Crown in the Foreshores of the United Kingdom [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 1142

EXPLOSIVES (FACTORIES AND TESTING STATIONS).—Copy presented, of Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, by Captain M. B. Lloyd and Captain A. P. H. Desborough, His Maresty's Inspectors of Explosives, on visits to certain Explosives Factories and Testing Stations in Belgium, Germany, and Holland [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1142

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF HERTFORD).—Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of the County of Hertford, dividing the Northern or Hitchin Parliamentary Division into Polling Districts [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 1142

TRAMWAY ORDERS.—Copy presented, of Report by the Board of Trade of their Proceedings under the Tramways Act, 1870, during the session of 1905 (by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1142

CANADA.—Copy presented, of Correspondence relating to the Garrisons of Halifax and Esquimalt [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1143

GRADUATED INCOME-TAX.—Further Return presented, relative thereto [Address 11th August, 1904; *Mr. Herbert Samuel*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 282] 1143

ARMY.—Copy presented, of Abstract of Recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Care and Treatment of the Sick and Wounded during the South African Campaign, together with the action taken [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1143

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3466 to 3468 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1143

TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).—Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, No. 635 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1143

SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904 (CLOSING ORDER, BALLYMONEY URBAN DISTRICT).—Copy presented, of Order made by the Urban District Council of Ballymoney, and confirmed by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, closing certain shops within the Urban District of Ballymoney [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 1143

NAVY (HEALTH).—Copy presented, of Statistical Report of the Health of the Navy for the year 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 283.] 1144

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE OBSERVATORY.—Copy presented, of Report of the Astronomer to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for the year 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1144

ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS UNDER STANDING ORDER NO. 10.—Return ordered, "of Motions for Adjournment under Standing Order No. 10, showing the date of such Motion, the name of the Member proposing, the definite matter of urgent public importance, and the result of any Division taken thereon during Session 1905 (in the same form as, and in continuation of, Parliamentary Paper No. 302, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*) 1144

CLOSURE OF DEBATE (STANDING ORDER NO. 26).—Return ordered, "respecting application of Standing Order No. 26 (Closure of Debate) during Session 1905, under the following heads:—

1. Date when Closure moved.	2. By whom moved.	3. Question before House or Committee when moved.	4. Whether in House or Committee.	5. Whether assent given to Motion or withheld by Speaker or Chairman.	6. Assent withheld because, in the opinion of the Chair, a decision would shortly be arrived at without that Motion.	7. Result of Motion, and, if a Division, Numbers for and against.

(in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 303, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*) 1144

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DIVISIONS OF THE HOUSE.—Return ordered, "of the number of Divisions of the House in Session 1905; stating the subject of the Division, and the number of Members in the majority and minority, Tellers included; also the aggregate number in the House on each Division; distinguishing the Divisions on Public Business from Private; and also the number of Divisions before and after midnight (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 0.188, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*) 1144

PUBLIC BILLS.—Return ordered, "of the number of Public Bills, distinguishing Government from other Bills, introduced into this House, or brought from the House of Lords, during Session 1905; showing the number which received the Royal Assent; the number which were passed by this House, but not by the House of Lords; the number passed by the House of Lords, but not by this House; and distinguishing the stages at which such Bills as did not receive the Royal Assent were dropped or postponed and rejected in either House of Parliament (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 0.192, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*) 1145

PUBLIC PETITIONS.—Return ordered, "of the number of Public Petitions presented and printed in Session 1905; with the total number of signatures in that year (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 0.190, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*) 1145

SELECT COMMITTEES.—Return ordered, "of the number of Select Committees appointed in Session 1905, including the Standing Committees and the Court of Referees; the subjects of inquiry; the names of the members appointed to serve on each, and of the Chairman of each; the number of days each Committee met, and the number of days each member attended; the total expense of the attendance of witnesses at each Select Committee, and the name of the member who moved for such Select Committee; also the total number of Members who served on Select Committees (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper No. 0.189, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Caldwell*) .. 1145

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE.—Return ordered, "of the number of days on which the House sat in Session 1905, stating for each day the date of the month and day of the week, the hour of the meeting, and the hour of adjournment; and the total number of hours occupied in the Sittings of the House, and the average time; and showing the number of hours on which the House sat each day, and the number of hours after midnight; and the number of entries in each day's Votes and Proceedings (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 0.191, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*) 1145

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (DAYS OCCUPIED BY GOVERNMENT AND BY PRIVATE MEMBERS).—Return ordered, "showing, with reference to Session 1905, (1) the number of Sittings at which, in accordance with the Standing Orders, Government Business had precedence; (2) the number of Evening Sittings on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, and the number of Sittings on Fridays at which Private Members had precedence under the Standing Orders; (3) the number of Sittings at which Government Business had precedence under a special order of the House; (4) the number of Saturday Sittings; (5) the total number of Sittings at which Government Business had precedence; (6) the total number of days on which the House sat; (7) the total number of Motions for Adjournment of the House on a matter of urgent public importance; and (8) the number of days on which Business of Supply was considered (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 304, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*) 1146

Private Bills and Private Business.—Return ordered, " of the number of Private Bills, Hybrid Bills, and Bills for confirming Provisional Orders introduced into the House of Commons and brought from the House of Lords, and of Acts passed in Session 1905, classed according to the following subjects :—Railways ; Tramways ; Tramroads ; Subways ; Canals and Navigations ; Roads and Bridges ; Water ; Waterworks ; Gas ; Gas and Water ; Lighting and Improvement ; Police and Sanitary Regulations ; Corporations, etc. (not relating to Police and Sanitary Regulations or to Lighting and Improvement Schemes) ; Ports, Piers, Harbours, and Docks ; Churches, Chapels, and Burying Grounds ; Markets and Fairs ; Gaols and other County Buildings ; Inclosure and Drainage Estate ; Divorce ; Naturalisation ; Hospitals, and Miscellaneous."

" Of all the Private Bills, Hybrid Bills, and Bills for confirming Provisional Orders which in Session 1905 have been reported on by Committees on Opposed Private Bills or by Committees nominated partly by the House and partly by the Committee of Selection, together with the names of the selected Members who served on each Committee ; the first and also the last day of the sitting of each Committee ; the number of days on which each Committee sat ; the number of days on which each selected Member has served ; the number of days occupied by each Bill in Committee ; the Bills the Preambles of which were reported to have been proved ; the Bills the Preambles of which were reported to have been not proved ; and, in the case of Bills for confirming Provisional Orders, whether the Provisional Orders ought or ought not to be confirmed."

" Of all Private Bills and Bills for confirming Provisional Orders which, in Session 1905, have been referred by the Committee of Selection, or by the General Committee on Railway and Canal Bills, to the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, together with the names of the Members who served on each Committee ; the number of days on which each Committee sat ; and the number of days on which each Member attended."

" And, of the number of Private Bills, Hybrid Bills, and Bills for conconfirming Provisional Orders withdrawn or not proceeded with by the parties, those Bills being specified which have been referred to Committees and dropped during the sittings of the Committee (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 0.187, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*) 1146

County Courts (Plaints and Sittings).—Address for " Returns from every County Court in England and Wales of the total number of Plaints, etc., entered in each Court from the 1st day of January to the 31st day of December, 1904, both days inclusive, distinguishing those not exceeding £20, those above £20 and not exceeding £50, and those by agreement over £50."

" And, of the Sittings of the County Courts in England and Wales holden before the Judges of such Courts in the year 1904 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 246, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Cochrane.*) 1147

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Flogging of Boys in the Navy.—Questions, Mr. Hunt (Shropshire, Ludlow) ; Answers, Mr. Pretyman 1148

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MONASTIC AND CONVENTUAL INSTITUTIONS REMOVED FROM FRANCE TO ENGLAND DURING THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS.—Question, Mr. Fuller (Wiltshire, Westbury); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 1149

TRUCK ACT AND MESSRS. HARRISONS' IMPORTED LABOURERS AT LIVERPOOL DOCKS.—Question, Mr. Shackleton (Lancashire, Clitheroe); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 1149

FOREIGN CREW OF THE BRITISH STEAMER "RODDAM."—Question, Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 1150

PAYMENT OF GRANTS TO SCHOOLS WITHOUT PLAYGROUNDS.—Question, Mr. Goddard (Ipswich); Answer, Sir William Anson 1150

ENFORCEMENT OF BRITISH CLAIMS AGAINST THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT.—Question, Sir Seymour King (Hull, Central); Answer, Earl Percy .. 1151

GAMBLING IN COTTON OPTIONS AND FUTURES.—Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick); Answer, Mr. Bonar Law 1152

ELECTRIC TRAIN ACCIDENTS—BUFFER CARRIAGES.—Question, Mr. Marshall Hall (Lancashire, Southport); Answer, Mr. Bonar Law 1152

NORWEGIAN TRAWLERS CONVICTED OF ILLEGAL TRAWLING AT WICK.—Question, Mr. Harmsworth (Caithness-shire); Answer, Sir Robert Finlay 1153

CLOSING OF LAMBAY COASTGUARD STATION.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Pretyman 1153

RETURNS OF IRISH IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1154

THE LATE IRISH CHIEF CROWN AND TREASURY SOLICITOR AND THE DE L'HERAULT ESTATE.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.); Answer, Mr. Atkinson 1154

CATHOLIC OFFICIALS IN THE VETERINARY BRANCH OF THE IRISH DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.—Question, Mr. Joseph Devlin (Kilkenny, N.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1155

THREATENING ATTITUDE OF KAFFIRS IN THE MOOI RIVER DISTRICT.—Question, Mr. Coghill (Stoke-upon-Trent); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1156

THEFTS OF SHEEP BY KAFFIRS IN THE MOOI RIVER DISTRICT.—Question, Mr. Coghill; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1156

COMMISSIONER AND ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER OF BRITISH BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE.—Question, Master of Elibank (Edinburgh, Midlothian); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1157

THE 1ST BATTALION OF THE 5TH FUSILIERS.—Question, Mr. Reginald Lucas (Portsmouth); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1157

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QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Alleged Defective Ammunition at Aldershot.—Question, Mr. Louis Sinclair (Essex, Romford); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) 1157

Quebec Licence Duty on Commercial Travellers.—Question, Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington) 1158

Pay of Chinese Coolies in the Transvaal.—Questions, Mr. Herbert Samuel (Yorkshire, Cleveland), Mr. J. A. Pease (Essex, Saffron Walden), Mr. Lough (Islington, W.), Mr. Leif Jones (Westmoreland, Appleby), Mr. Crooks (Woolwich), and Mr. Whitley (Halifax); Answers, Mr. Lyttelton 1160

Alleged Support of German Subsidised Steamships by the British Government.—Question, Mr. Hoult (Cheshire, Wirrall); Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) 1161

Proposed Partition of Bengal.—Questions, Mr. Herbert Roberts (Denbighshire, W.); Answers, Mr. Brodrick 1161

The London Police and the King of Spain's Visit.—Question, Mr. Lough; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers-Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's) 1162

Postal Arrangements at Strathcarron, Ross-shire.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, The Postmaster-General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) 1162

Cost of North Sea Fisheries Investigation.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.) 1163

British Monumental Art.—Question, Sir Elliott Lees (Birkenhead); Answer, The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education (Sir William Anson, Oxford University) 1163

Public Schools at Lochs, Isle of Lewis.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, The Lord-Advocate (Mr. Scott Dickson, Glasgow, Bridgton) 1164

Inverness Procurator-Fiscal.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. Scott Dickson 1164

Dog Poisoning by Gamekeepers in Inverness-shire.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. Scott Dickson 1164

North Sea Fisheries Investigation.—Question, Mr. Black (Banffshire); Answer, Mr. Scott Dickson 1165

Trawling in the Moray Firth.—Question, Mr. Black; Answer, Mr. Scott Dickson 1165

Labourers' Cottages and Allotments.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.); Answer, The Attorney-General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.) 1166

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LAND PURCHASE IN COUNTY LONGFORD.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Atkinson 1166

WARBURTON ESTATE, QUEEN'S COUNTY.—Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.) 1166

EVICTED TENANTS ON LORD LANSDOWNE'S LUGGACURRAN ESTATE.—Question, Mr. Delany; Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1167

ESTATES COMMISSIONERS AND EVICTED HOLDINGS.—Question, Mr. Cullinan (Tipperary, S.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1167

CONDITION OF FARMERS ON THE BARROW TRALEE SEA COAST.—Question, Mr. Thomas O'Donnell (Kerry, W.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1168

KILLARNEY EVICTED TENANT.—Questions, Mr. Murphy (Kerry, E.) Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1168

CUSACK ESTATE, COUNTY LONGFORD.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1169

SOUTH OF IRELAND FISHERIES...Questions, Mr. Crean (Cork, S.E.); Answers, Mr. Walter Long 1169

PROJECTED RAILWAY BETWEEN DROMAHAIR AND ARIGNA.—Question, Mr. P. A. M'Hugh (Leitrim, N.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1170

CARNATALL SCHOOL MISTRESS.—Question, Mr. Joseph Devlin (Kilkenny, N.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1171

BELFAST GUARDIANS AND KATE BENSON.—Questions, Mr. Joseph Devlin; Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1171

ALLEGED ATTACK ON KERRY POLICE.—Questions, Mr. Charles Craig (Antrim, S.), Mr. Thomas O'Donnell, and Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1173

THE ALLEGED OUTRAGE AT BOYLE.—Questions, Mr. Charles Craig, Mr. Hayden (Roscommon, S.), Mr. Patrick O'Brien (Kilkenny), and Mr. Disraeli (Cheshire Altrincham); Answers, Mr. Walter Long 1173

BUNCRANA TELEPHONE SERVICE.—Question, Mr. Muldoon (Donegal, N.); Answer, Lord Stanley 1175

IRISH PUBLIC FINANCE.—Questions, Sir Thomas Esmonde (Wexford, N.); Answers, Mr. Victor Cavendish and The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 1176

IRISH FRANCISCAN MANUSCRIPTS.—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 1177

TRAWLING IN THE MORAY FIRTH.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 1177

THE TELEPHONE AGREEMENT.—Question, Mr. John Ellis (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1178

WELSH STEAM COAL.—Questions, Mr. D. A. Thomas (Merthyr Tydvil) and Colonel Lucas (Suffolk, Lowestoft); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1178

THE COLONIAL CONFERENCE.—Question, Mr. Black, Mr. Soares (Devonshire, Barnstaple), and Mr. Lloyd-George (Carnarvon Burghs); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour and Mr. Speaker 1179

SUPPLY.—Question, Mr. Lough, Mr. John Ellis, and Mr. Keir Hardie (Merthyr Tydvil); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1181

THE MANCHESTER UNEMPLOYED DISTURBANCE.—Question, Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Sydney Buxton (Tower Hamlets, Poplar), Sir Robert Reid (Dumfries Burghs), Sir J. Fergusson (Manchester, N.E.), and Mr. Crooks; Answers, Mr. Akers-Douglas, Mr. A. J. Balfour, and Mr. Speaker 1182

SUPPLY [18TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. GRANT LAWSON (Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1905–6.

CLASS IV.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,652,548, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on March 31st, 1906, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Board of Education, and of the various Establishments connected therewith, including sundry Grants in Aid."

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education (Sir William Anson, Oxford University) 1185
Mr. Lloyd George (Carnarvon Boroughs) 1206
Sir John Gorst (Cambridge University) 1220
Mr. Bryce (Aberdeen, S.) 1229
Mr. Cripps (Lancashire, Stretford) 1234
Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.) 1240
Sir Francis Powell (Wigan) 1246

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [LORDS].—Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment proposed on Consideration of the Bill, as amended [27th July].

Which Amendment was—

"In page 14, line 1, to leave out to the end of schedule (Tralee and Fenit Pier and Harbour Order.)"—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out to the word 'time' in page 16, line 6, stand part of the Bill."

Question put, and negatived.

Bill to be read the third time To-morrow 1248

SUPPLY [18TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[MR. GRANT LAWSON (Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1905-6.

CLASS IV.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,652,548, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Board of Education and of the various Establishments connected therewith, including sundry Grants in Aid."

Sir Francis Powell 1249
Sir Alfred Thomas (Glamorganshire, E.) 1252

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,652,448, be granted for the said Service."—(*Sir Alfred Thomas.*)

Lieut.-Col. Pryce-Jones (Montgomery Boroughs) 1255
Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston) 1257
Sir Carne Rasch (Essex, Chelmsford) 1262
Mr. Samuel Smith (Flintshire) 1263
Mr. Ernest Gray (West Ham, N.) 1264
Mr. Edwards (Radnor) 1267
Mr. Louis Sinclair (Essex, Romford) 1271
Mr. Leif Jones (Westmoreland, Appleby) 1273
Col. Lockwood (Essex, Epping) 1276
Sir William Anson 1277

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 220 ; Noes, 250. (Division List No. 319.)

Original Question again proposed.

And, it being after Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again To-morrow.

Expiring Laws Continuance Bill.—[SECOND READING.]—Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. Flynn (*Cork, N.*) 1288
Mr. Churchill (*Oldham*) 1290
Major Seely (*Isle of Wight*) 1291

Amendment proposed—

" To leave out all the words after the word 'That,' and add the words 'in the opinion of this House, it is inexpedient that when important Acts of Parliament have been passed for a limited period any of such Acts should be included in a general Bill for the Continuance of Expiring Laws brought in at the close of the session without affording any fair opportunity of considering the propriety of their discontinuance or of their modification.' "—(*Mr. Churchill.*)

Question proposed, " That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. Swift MacNeill (*Donegal, S.*) 1292
Mr. Whitley (*Halifax*) 1293
Mr. Healy (*Louth, N.*) 1294
The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.*) 1294
Mr. MacVeagh (*Down, S.*) 1295
Mr. John O'Connor (*Kildare, N.*) 1296

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR rose in his place, and claimed to move, " That the Question be now put."

Question put, " That the Question be now put."

The House divided :—Ayes, 206 ; Noes, 162. (Division List No. 320.)

Question put accordingly, " That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The House divided :—Ayes, 206 ; Noes, 161. (Division List No. 321.)

Mr. A. J. Balfour claimed, "That the Main Question be now put."

Main Question put accordingly, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for Two-morrow.

Whereupon, in pursuance of the Order of the House of the 31st day of July, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put.

Adjourned at nineteen minutes before Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: WEDNESDAY, 2ND AUGUST, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

South Barracas (Buenos Ayres) Gas and Coke Company Bill [Lords].—Read a second time, and committed 1305

Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No 3) Bill.—Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to 1305

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [Lords].—Verbal Amendments made; Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments .. 1305

Glasgow Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Glasgow Corporation (Tramways Consolidation) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Glasgow University Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Paisley District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [Lords].—Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment 1305

Wemyss Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [Lords].—Read a second time; to be considered upon Friday 1305

Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers) Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 1305

Earl of Stamford's Cheshire Estate Bill [Lords].—Reported, without Amendment. Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Bill to be read the third time 1305

PETITIONS.

Workmen's Compensation Bill.—Petition from Walsall, for alteration; to lie upon the Table 1305

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RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

County Courts (Plaints and Sittings).—Return presented, relative thereto [Address 1st August ; *Mr. Cochrane*] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed [No. 284] 1306

Deaths from Starvation or Accelerated by Privation (London).—Return presented, relative thereto [Address 24th March ; *Mr. Talbot*] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 285] 1306

National Schools (Ireland) (Teachers).—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 4th May ; *Mr. Dillon*] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 286] 1306

China (No. 1, 1905).—Copy presented, of Report by Mr. A. Hosie, His Majesty's Consul-General at Chengtu, on a journey to the Eastern Frontier of Tibet (with a map) [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table 1306

Papers laid upon the Table by the Clerk of the House.

1. Adjournment Motions under Standing Order No. 10. Return relative thereto [ordered 1st August ; *Mr. Caldwell*] ; to be printed. [No. 287] 1306

2. Closure of Debate (Standing Order No. 26). Return relative thereto [ordered 1st August ; *Mr. Caldwell*] ; to be printed. [No. 288] 1306

3. Divisions of the House. Return relative thereto [ordered 1st August ; *Mr. Caldwell*] ; to be printed 1306

4. Public Bills. Return relative thereto [ordered 1st August ; *Mr. Caldwell*] ; to be printed 1306

5. Public Petitions. Return relative thereto [ordered 1st August ; *Mr. Caldwell*] ; to be printed 1307

6. Select Committees. Return relative thereto [ordered 1st August ; *Mr. Caldwell*] ; to be printed 1307

7. Sittings of the House. Return relative thereto [ordered 1st August ; *Mr. Caldwell*] ; to be printed 1307

8. Business of the House (Days occupied by Government and by Private Members). Return relative thereto [ordered 1st August ; *Mr. Caldwell*] ; to be printed. [No. 289] 1307

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Congested Districts County.	Rural district.	Poor rate per £ of valuation for							Total poor rate per £ of valuation.
		General purposes.				Separate charges.			
		County at large charges.	Union charges.	District charges.	Total of Columns 3, 4, and 5.	Railway and harbour charges.	Other charges.	Total of Columns 7 and 8.	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.

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Appointment of Chaplains to Belfast Workhouse Sanatorium.—Question. Mr. Joseph Devlin (Kilkenny, N.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1320

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SUPPLY [19TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. GRANT LAWSON (Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1905–6.

CLASS II.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That a sum, not exceeding £108,629, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department and Subordinate Offices."

Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) 1351

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That a sum, not exceeding £108,529, be granted for the said service."—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.) 1358
Mr. T. Richards (Monmouthshire, W.) 1361
Mr. T. L. Corbett (Down, N.) 1370
Mr. Noel Buxton (Yorkshire, N.R., Whitby) 1371
Mr. Shackleton (Lancashire, Clitheroe) 1374
Mr. Coghill (Stoke-upon-Trent) 1379
Mr. Tennant (Berwickshire) 1381
Sir John Gorst (Cambridge University) 1386
Mr. Emmott (Oldham) 1388
Mr. Fenwick (Northumberland, Wansbeck) 1392
The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers-Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's) 1397

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

Supply [19th Allotted Day].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. Grant Lawson (Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) in the Chair.]

Civil Services and Revenue Departments Estimates, 1905-6.

Class II.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed, " That a sum, not exceeding £108,629, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department and Subordinate Offices."

Sir Alfred Thomas (*Glamorganshire, E.*) 1403

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That a sum, not exceeding £108,529, be granted for the said Service."—(*Sir Alfred Thomas.*)

Mr. Renwick (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*) 1405
Mr. Keir Hardie (*Merthyr Tydvil*) 1407
Mr. Burt (*Morpeth*) 1408
Mr. Akers Douglas 1409

And, it being Ten of the clock, the Chairman proceeded, in pursuance of Standing Order No. 15, to put forthwith the Questions necessary to dispose of the Vote under consideration.

Question put, " That a sum, not exceeding £108,529, be granted for the said Service."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 188 ; Noes, 246. (Division List No. 322.)

Original Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 245 ; Noes, 190. (Division List No. 323.)

The Chairman then proceeded to put severally the Questions, That the total amounts, of the Votes outstanding in each Class of the Civil Service Estimates, including Supplementary Estimates, and the total amount of the Votes outstanding in the Estimates for the Navy, Army (including Ordnance Factories), and Revenue Departments, be granted for the Services defined in those Classes and Estimates.

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Class I.

2. Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding £1,528,761, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for Expenditure on the following Services included in Class I. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
3. Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens	62,400
4. Houses of Parliament Building (Supplementary)	3,150
5. Miscellaneous Legal Buildings, Great Britain	33,960
6. Art and Science Buildings, Great Britain	29,000
7. Diplomatic and Consular Buildings	40,900
8. Revenue Buildings	433,700
9. Public Buildings, Great Britain	284,000
10. Surveys of the United Kingdom	117,650
11. Harbours under the Board of Trade	16,565
12. Peterhead Harbour	22,000
13. Rates on Government Property	356,295
14. Public Works and Buildings, Ireland	104,509
15. Railways, Ireland	24,632
	£1,528,761

Class II.

3. Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding £1,319,058, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for Expenditure in respect of the following Services included in Class II. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
1. House of Lords Offices	10,051
2. House of Commons Offices	20,500
3. Treasury and Subordinate Offices	58,505
5. Foreign Office	40,103
6. Colonial Office	28,920
7. Privy Council Office	6,370
9. Mercantile Marine Services	69,919
10. Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade	5
11. Board of Agriculture and Fisheries	65,605
12. Charity Commission	15,689
13. Civil Service Commission	24,905
14. Exchequer and Audit Department	40,155
15. Friendly Societies Registry	4,680
16. Local Government Board	146,954
17. Lunacy Commission, England	10,458
18. Mint, including Coinage	48
19. National Debt Office	7,063
20. Public Record Office	14,560
21. Public Works Loan Commission	19
22. Registrar-General's Office, England	22,895
23. Stationery and Printing	413,283
24. Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, etc., Office	12,633
25. Works and Public Buildings Office	43,395
26. Secret Service	25,000

Scotland.

28. Fishery Board	14,786
29. Lunacy Commission	3,384
30. Registrar-General's Office	2,781

Ireland.

32. Household of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland	2,822
33. Chief Secretary for Ireland, Offices	13,950
34. Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction	111,692
35. Charitable Donations and Bequests Office	1,042
36. Local Government Board	39,097
37. Public Record Office, Ireland	3,359
38. Public Works Office	23,111
39. Registrar-General's Office	7,510
40. Valuation and Boundary Survey	13,719
	£1,319,058

Class III.

4. Question put, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,997,391, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for Expenditure in respect of the following Services included in Class III. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz.:—

	£
1. Law Charges	32,202
2. Miscellaneous Legal Expenses	21,516
3. Supreme Court of Judicature	181,574
4. Land Registry	26,102
5. County Courts	6,000
6. Police, England and Wales	26,945
7. Prisons, England and the Colonies	406,443
8. Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain	119,799
9. Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum	23,806

Scotland.

10. Law Charges and Courts of Law	51,841
11. Register House, Edinburgh	27,481
12. Crofters' Commission	2,545
13. Prisons	50,750

Ireland.

14. Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions	32,416
15. Supreme Court of Judicature and other Legal Departments	58,025
17. County Court Officers, etc.	65,423
18. Dublin Metropolitan Police	37,906
19. Royal Irish Constabulary	699,413
20. Prisons	68,430
21. Reformatory and Industrial Schools	55,281
22. Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum	3,493
	1,997,391"

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 248; Noes, 191. (Division List No. 324.)

Class IV.

5. Question put, " That a sum, not exceeding £7,619,937, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for Expenditure in respect of the following Services, included in Class IV. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
1. Board of Education	5,652,548
2. British Museum	100,501
3. National Gallery	9,014
4. National Portrait Gallery	2,619
5. Wallace Collection	3,593
6. Scientific Investigation, etc., United Kingdom	29,900
7. Universities and Colleges, Great Britain, and Intermediate Education, Wales	137,300
8. Public Education, Scotland	1,047,290
9. National Gallery, etc., Scotland	405
Ireland.	
10. Public Education	631,721
11. Endowed Schools Commissioners	510
12. National Gallery (including a Supplementary Sum of £1,390)	1,986
13. Queen's Colleges	2,550
	£7,619,937"

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 245 ; Noes, 187. (Division List No. 325.)

Class V.

6. Question put, " That a sum, not exceeding £1,032,445, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for Expenditure on the following Services included in Class V. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
1. Diplomatic and Consular Services	303,847
2. Colonial Services	671,703
3. Telegraph Sudsidies and Pacific Cable	41,645
4. Cyprus (Grant in Aid)	1,000
5. Treasury Chest Fund	14,250
	1,032,445"

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 246 ; Noes, 144. (Division List No. 326.)

Class VI.

7. Question put, " That a sum, not exceeding £497,002, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for Expenditure in

respect of the following Services included in Class VI. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
1. Superannuation and Retired Allowances	348,378
2. Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions	800
3. Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances	572
4. Hospital and Charities, Ireland	263
5. Savings Banks' and Friendly Societies' Deficiencies	146,989
	497,002"

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 244 ; Noes, 122. (Division List No. 327.)

CLASS VII.

8. Question put, " That a sum, not exceeding £137,772, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on 31st day of March, 1906, for Expenditure in respect of the following Services included in Class VII. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
1. Temporary Commissions	12,804
2. Miscellaneous Expenses	6,308
3. Repayments to the Local Loans Fund	698
4. Ireland Development Grant	85,000
5. Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales (Visit to India)	20,000
6. Repayment to Civil Contingencies Fund	12,962
	£137,772 "

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 242 ; Noes, 117. (Division List No. 328.)

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1905–6.

9. Resolved, " That a sum, not exceeding £9,399,300, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for Expenditure on the following Navy Services, viz. :—

	£
2. Victualling and Clothing for the Navy	2,256,600
3, Medical Establishments and Services	277,500
4. Martial Law, etc.	14,000
5. Educational Services	161,900
6. Scientific Services	69,300
7. Royal Naval Reserves	420,600
9. Naval Armaments	2,986,000
11. Miscellaneous Effective Services	454,000
12. Admiralty Office	336,400
13. Half-pay, Reserved, and Retired Pay	800,900
14. Naval and Marine Pensions, Gratuities, and Compassionate Allowances	1,233,900
15. Civil Pensions and Gratuities	388,200
	£9,399,300 "

ARMY ESTIMATES, 1905–6.

10. Question put, " That a sum, not exceeding £15,082,100, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for Expenditure on the following Army Services, including Army (Ordnance Factories), viz. :—

	£
2. Medical Establishment, Pay, etc.	482,000
3. Militia : Pay, Bounty, etc.	817,000
4. Imperial Yeomanry : Pay and Allowances	438,000
5. Volunteer Corps : Pay and Allowances	1,220,000
6. Quarterings, Transport, and Remounts	2,190,000
8. Ordnance Department Establishments, and General Stores	838,000
9. Armaments and Engineer Stores	2,489,000
10. Works and Buildings	2,330,000
11. Establishments for Military Education	130,000
12. Miscellaneous Effective Services	72,000
13. War Office and Army Accounts Department ..	545,000
14. Retired Pay, Half Pay, and other Non-Effective Charges for Officers, etc.	1,677,000
15. Pensions and other Non-Effective Charges for Warrant Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, Men, and others	1,673,000
16. Civil Superannuation, Compensation, Compassionate Allowances, and Gratuities	181,000
Ordnance Factories	100
	£15,082,100 "

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 233 ; Noes, 111. (Division List No. 329.)

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1905–6.

11. Question put, " That a sum, not exceeding £12,005,475, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for Expenditure in respect of the following Services included in the Estimates for Revenue Departments, viz.:—

	£
1. Customs	574,600
2. Inland Revenue	1,403,000
3. Post Office	6,920,538
4. Post Office Packet Service	531,790
5. Post Office Telegraphs	2,572,547
	£12,005,475 "

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 228 ; Noes, 104. (Division List No. 330.)

Resolutions to be reported To-morrow.

NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1903-4.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Whereas it appears by the Navy Appropriation Account for the year ended the 31st day of March, 1904, and the statement appended thereto, as follows, viz. :—

(a.) That the gross expenditure for certain Navy Services exceeded the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £272,038 9s. 7d., as shown in Column No. 1 of the schedule hereto appended ; while the gross expenditure for other Navy Services fell short of the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £174,087 14s. 2d., as shown in Column No. 2 of the said appended schedule, so that the gross actual expenditure for the whole of the Navy Services exceeded the gross estimated expenditure by the net sum of £97,950 15s. 5d.

(b.) That the receipts in aid of certain grants for Navy Services fell short of the total estimated receipts by the sum of £5,310 9s. 8d., as shown in Column No. 3 of the said appended schedule, while the receipts in aid of other Navy Services exceeded the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £121,284 10s. 2d., as shown in Column No. 4 of the said appended schedule, so that the total actual receipts in aid of the grants for Navy Services exceeded the total estimated receipts by the net sum of £115,974 0s. 6d.

(c.) That the resulting differences between the Exchequer Grants for Navy Services and the net expenditure are as follows, viz. :—

	£	s.	d.
Total Surpluses	255,627	10	3
Total Deficits	237,604	5	2
Net Surplus	£18,023	5	1

And whereas by a Vote of Parliament during the present session (House of Commons Paper, No. 265, of 1905) a further sum of £100 has been granted for the expenditure of the year 1903-4, and the appropriation of additional receipts in aid of such expenditure has been sanctioned to the amount of £97,850 15s. 5d.

And whereas the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application of so much of the said total surpluses on certain grants for Navy Services as is necessary to cover the said total deficits on other grants for Navy Services.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed "That the application of such sums be sanctioned."

Mr. Whitley (Halifax) 1457
Mr. Higham (Yorks, W.R., Sowerby) 1457
The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Pretyman, Suffolk, Woodbridge) .. 1458

Question put, and agreed to.

Schedule.

Number of Vote.	Navy Services, 1903–1904. Votes.	Gross Expenditure.		Appropriations in Aid.	
		Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure. 1.	Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure. 2.	Deficiencies of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 3.	Surpluses of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 4.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1 ..	Wages, etc., of Officers, Seamen, and Boys, Coastguard, and Royal Marines	43,638 16 5	..	271 6 3	
2 ..	Victualling and Clothing for the Navy	82,112 2 7	..	..	11,180 16 11
3 ..	Medical Establishments and Services	..	3,692 4 5	..	601 9 10
4 ..	Martial Law	..	1,294 15 11	84 11 8	
5 ..	Educational Services	..	4,160 17 9	..	940 0 0
6 ..	Scientific Services	..	654 5 3	..	31 7 7
7 ..	Royal Naval Reserves	..	13,384 3 1	3,337 18 11	
8 ..	Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, etc.:				
Sec. 1 ..	*Personnel*	..	589 17 2	..	1,192 15 1
Sec. 2 ..	*Materiel*	17,715 13 4	..	..	47,382 6 1
Sec. 3 ..	Contract Work	8,123 18 2	..	..	2,053 4 5
9 ..	Naval Armaments	..	94,281 12 4	..	46,759 12 11
10 ..	Works, Buildings, and Repairs at Home and Abroad	..	56,029 18 3	..	5,770 8 6
11 ..	Miscellaneous Effective Services	92,483 17 9	..	..	5,857 15 1
12 ..	Admiralty Office	3,477 8 9	..	..	14 13 9
13 ..	Half-Pay, Reserved and Retired Pay	6,612 11 0	..	704 0 0	
14 ..	Naval and Marine Pensions, Gratuities, and Compassionate Allowances	4,590 19 11	..	822 1 3	
15 ..	Civil Pensions and Gratuities	6,818 18 4	..	90 11 7	
	Amount written off as irrecoverable	6,464 3 4			
		272,038 9 7	174,087 14 2	5,310 9 8	121,284 10 2
	Add Excess Vote ..	..	100 0 0		
		272,038 9 7	174,187 14 2	5,310 9 8	121,284 10 2
		Net Deficit, £97,850 15 5		Net Surplus, £115,974 0 6	

Net Surplus .. £18,123 5 1

Whereas it appears by the Army Appropriation Account for the year ended the 31st day of March, 1904, as corrected in accordance with the Third Report of the Committee of Public Accounts of the present session, and the statement appended thereto, as follows, viz. :—

(a.) That the gross expenditure for certain Army Services exceeded the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £742,114 16s. 1d., as shown in column No. 1 of the Schedule hereto appended ; while the gross expenditure for other Army Services fell short of the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £1,079,388 0s. 9d., as shown in Column No. 2 of the said appended Schedule ; so that the gross actual expenditure for the whole of the Army Services fell short of the gross estimated expenditure by the net sum of £337,273 4s. 8d.

(*b*.) That the receipts in aid of certain Army Services fell short of the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £405,336 0s. 2d., as shown in Column No. 3 of the said appended Schedule ; while the receipts in aid of other Army Services exceeded the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £309,669 1s. 6d., as shown in column No. 4 of the said appended Schedule ; so that the total actual receipts in aid of the Grants for Army Services fell short of the total estimated receipts by the net sum of £95,666 18s. 8d.

(c.) That the resulting differences between the Exchequer Grants for Army Services and the net expenditure are as follows, viz. :—

	£.	s.	d.
Total Surpluses - - - - - - - -	1,143,259	15	4
Total Deficits - - - - - - - -	901,653	9	4
Net Surplus	£241,606	6	0

And whereas the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application, in reduction of the net charge on Exchequer Grants for certain Army Services, of the whole of the sums received in excess of the estimated Appropriation-in-Aid, in respect of the same Services, and have also temporarily authorised the application of so much of the said total supluses on certain grants for Army Services as is necessary to cover the said total deficits on other Grants for Army Services.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the application of such sums be sanctioned."—(*Mr. Victor Cavendish.*)

Major Seely (*Isle of Wight*) 1461
The Secretary of State for War (*Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.*) .. 1463
Mr. Guest (*Plymouth*) 1464
Mr. Courtenay Warner (*Staffordshire, Lichfield*) 1464
Mr. Bright (*Shropshire, Oswestry*) 1465
Mr. Charles Allen (*Gloucestershire, Stroud*) 1465
The Financial Secretary to the War Office (*Mr. Bromley Davenport, Cheshire, Macclesfield*) 1465

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 169 ; Noes, 55. (Division List No. 331.)

Schedule.

Number of Vote.	Army Services, 1903-1904. Votes.	Gross Expenditure.		Appropriations-in-Aid.	
		Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure. 1.	Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure. 2.	Deficiencies of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 3.	Surpluses of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 4.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1	Pay, etc., of Army (General Staff, Regiments, Reserve, and Departments) ..		180,560 0 0	..	32,546 17 4
2	Medical Establishments: Pay, etc.	69,254 2 7	..	..	28,109 15 0
3	Militia: Pay, Bounty, etc.	..	183,430 8 4	..	1,100 11 10
4	Imperial Yeomanry: Pay and Allowances	..	64,367 12 7	..	135 2 6
5	Volunteer Corps: Pay and Allowances	..	46,865 3 0	..	1,465 13 5
6	Transport and Remounts	318,972 19 3	..	152,584 19 4	..
7	Provisions, Forage, and other Supplies	..	104,383 9 4	189,651 6 10	..
8	Clothing Establishments, and Services	17,647 7 10	..	..	78,317 15 4
9	Warlike and other Stores: Supply and Repair	..	380,789 2 8	..	132,296 19 10
10	Works, Buildings, and Repairs: Cost, including Staff for Engineer Services	..	93,864 16 1	53,918 17 3	..
11	Establishments for Military Education	..	1,576 13 11	4,715 19 5	..
12	Miscellaneous Effective Services ..	65,778 16 4	..	..	31,391 14 5
13	War Office: Salaries and Miscellaneous Charges	18,848 0 10	..	..	273 7 3
14	Non-effective Charges for Officers, etc.	141,930 10 0	..	..	4,031 4 7
15	Non-effective Charges for Men, etc. ..	..	17,754 9 0	4,452 0 5	
16	Superannuation, Compensation, and Compassionate Allowances	..	5,796 5 10	12 16 11	
	Balances irrecoverable	109,682 19 3			
		742,114 16 1	1,079,388 0 9	405,336 0 2	309,669 1 6
		Net Surplus, £337,273 4 8		Net Deficit, £95,666 18 8	
		Net Surplus ... £241,606 6 0			

Resolutions to be reported this day.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

1. Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to His Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1904, the sum of £1,445 17s. 4d. be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

2. Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to His Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, the sum of £66,495,748 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Resolutions to be reported this day.

Whereupon, in pursuance of the Order of the House of the 31st day of July, Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put.

Adjourned at half after One o'clock.

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THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(*AUTHORISED EDITION*)

IN THE

SIXTH SESSION OF THE *TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT* OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF *GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*, IN THE
FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.

TENTH VOLUME OF SESSION.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 24th July, 1905.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with :—North-East London Railway.

And also the Certificate that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have not been complied with :—Wigan Corporation.

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Malvern Water Bill. Committee to meet to-morrow.

Dover Harbour Bill [H.L.]. The CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES informed the House that the promoters do not intend to proceed further with the Bill. Ordered, That the Bill be not further proceeded with.

Wigan Corporation Bill. Examiners' Certificate of non-compliance with the Standing Orders referred to the Standing Orders Committee to-morrow.

Rotherham, Maltby, and Laughton Railway Bill. Read 3^a, with the Amendments; further Amendments made: Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power Bill; Caledonian Railway Bill; North British Railway (General Powers) Bill; Rhondda Urban District Council Bill; Liverpool Corporation Bill. Read 3a, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with an Amendment. The said Amendment to be considered to-morrow.

Great Central Railway (Pension Fund) Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments.

Paisley District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Glasgow Corporation (Tramways Consolidation) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Read 3ª (according to order); Amendments made; Bills passed, and sent to the Commons.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND).

Return of evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended June 30th, 1905.

TRADE.

Annual Statement of the Trade of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and British Possessions, 1904, compared with the four preceding years. Volume II. (Abstract and detailed tables of trade with each country and at each port); and miscellaneous tables.

NORTH-WEST OF CANADA.

Report to the Board of Trade on the North-West of Canada, with special reference to wheat production for export, by James Mavor, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Toronto, Canada.

COLONIAL IMPORT DUTIES, 1905.

Return relating to the rates of import duties levied upon the principal and other articles imported into the British Colonies, Possessions, and Protectorates.

STATISTICS (COLONIES).

Statistical Tables relating to British Colonies, Possessions, and Protectorates. Part XXVIII., 1903.

SHIPPING CASUALTIES.

Shipping casualties which occurred on or near the coasts, or in rivers and harbours, of the United Kingdom, from July 1st, 1903, to June 30th, 1904; and shipping casualties which occurred to British vessels elsewhere than on the coasts of the United Kingdom, and to foreign vessels on or near the coasts, or in rivers and harbours, of British Possessions abroad, reported during the same period, etc., etc.; with charts and appendices.

UNEMPLOYED WORKMEN BILL.

The Unemployed Workmen Bill showing how the Bill would run if the Amendments of which Mr. Gerald Balfour has given notice were made in it.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

THE DEFEAT OF THE GOVERNMENT.

EARL SPENCER: My Lords, I wish to ask the noble Marquess the Leader of the House whether he has any statement to make as to the position of the Government after the vote in another place last week.

***THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE)**: My Lords, I take it that the Question which the noble Earl has addressed to me means this: Do His Majesty's Government, in consequence of the vote of the House of Commons on Thursday night, consider that it is their duty to advise His Majesty to dissolve Parliament, or do they think they are themselves called upon to place their resignation in his hands? I answer these Questions in the negative. We do not consider that there are any constitutional reasons for which we should adopt either of those courses. We believe that the precedents, which are numerous, point entirely the other way, and that our resignation or the dissolution of Parliament at the present moment would be attended by grave public inconvenience. We do not consider that the vote to which the noble Earl referred can be regarded as indicating the deliberate judgment of Parliament. The whole of the conditions under which that vote was taken, and the information which has reached us with regard to the circumstances in which that decision was arrived at, lead us to believe, on the contrary, that the vote was far from representing the deliberate judgment of the House. We consider, moreover, that there is a very easy way of testing our interpretation and of ascertaining whether the present Government has or has not lost the confidence of the House of Commons. I believe that in the business of the other House is included a Motion that will give to that House ample opportunity for expressing itself in clear and unmistakeable terms upon that broad issue. In these circumstances we propose to proceed with the remaining business of the session without reference to the incident to which the noble Earl has referred.

EARL SPENCER: My Lords, I hardly like to leave the words of the noble Marquess without some Answer. I conceive that the noble Marquess is not quite correct in saying that all precedents, or a great many precedents, are in favour of the course now proposed to be adopted by His Majesty's Government. I could quote numerous precedents where votes of the House of Commons taken in an even less deliberate way than that taken last week have led immediately to dissolution or resignation. If we refer to what passed last week we shall see that this was not a snap vote or one of inconsiderable importance. His Majesty's Government had to withdraw from their intention of proceeding with a redistribution of seats owing to the decision of the Speaker; that alone is an important fact. Upon that a meeting of the Party was held, and the followers of the Government were invoked to give their careful and constant support to the Government, that they might not be taken at an unguarded moment. And yet on the very night of that meeting the Government had to keep the debate going by three or four speakers who were ready with their voices in order to avoid a division.

On the next day there were unusually strong methods adopted for convening the Party for both afternoon and evening sittings; and yet the Government were defeated by three or four votes, a serious matter, as showing the opinion of the House of Commons. It is not right, I think, to say, considering all the circumstances of the session, that that division does not show that the House has not confidence in the present Government. By-elections in the country have gone steadily against the Government. It is well known that this Parliament was called together on one particular cry—namely, the Boer War—and upon that the Government majority was returned. The noble Marquess says there will be an opportunit in another place this evening for the House to decide upon a vote of confidence upon the Motion of my right hon. friend· but perhaps the noble Marquess is not aware that this Motion was withdrawn in the other House in the sudden change of circumstances. That was a Motion to declare that before a Colonial Conference should be held there should be a dissolution of Parliament; but now circumstances have quite altered; and we say that the dissolution should take place immediately.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: My Lords, I do not think that the weighty remarks of my noble friend should be met once more with the resolute silence which appears to oppress the Treasury Bench when questions of their honour are under discussion. The Prime Minister has said, advisedly, he should not care to carry on the Government of this country unless he were able to do so with due regard to his dignity and that of his Government. If he is able now to conduct the affairs of the country with such dignity as he thinks is fitting, he will be in a very changed position from that which he has occupied during the whole of the session. This vote of censure will mark a new departure. Never has a Government undergone so much indignity, so much loss of all that personal weight which should be dear to every Government of this country, as has been the fortune of His Majesty's present advisers.

I do not contest for a moment that they are right in saying that it will be a matter of no difficulty to them to appeal to the House of Commons for a deliberate vote of confidence and to receive that vote. It has never been impossible at any period during the last two years, after many of the best of their Cabinet had left them, to obtain such a vote, and I presume it will not be difficult until this Parliament comes to an end. There is, however, something which is even more valuable than the confidence of Parliament, and that is the confidence of the country. You have the confidence of this House, you have the mechanical confidence of the other House, because as between the votes of hon. Members in the other House and occasional expression of opinion and criticism there seems to be a pretty wide discrepancy. You have the confidence of 1,200 individuals within the walls of Parliament, half of them never subjecting themselves to election at all, and the other half elected under an issue false at the time, and which has absolutely ceased to have any effect or any foundation at the present moment. But outside the House the case is very different.

My Lords, His Majesty's Government refuses to-night, as it has constantly refused before, to appeal to the sense of our fellow-countrymen—that is to say, to voluntarily appeal to the sense of their fellow-countrymen; for in the course of the last two or three years they have been compelled involuntarily to take the opinion of their fellow-countrymen in various parts of the United Kingdom, and with one uniform result, which has never varied except in degree, that the reply has been invariably the utterance of want of confidence in His Majesty's present advisers. What are the consequences? One is temporary, another is permanent. The noble Marquess says there are many precedents for the course the Government propose to take and which guide the Government in their administration of the affairs of the country with dignity and honour without an appeal to the constituencies. You have these constitutional precedents, but it would be more gratifying to us if we had the opportunity of examining these precedents upon which His Majesty's Government rely.

I am not here to dispute what has been done under the procedure of the House of Commons, and as the precedents have not been brought forward we cannot criticise them. But how is it as regards the spirit of the Constitution? It seems to me the Government by their action are straining the spirit of the Constitution, they are straining the very structure of the Constitution in a manner that threatens its foundations. Every day there is piled up in the country a feeling of animosity and distrust against the present Government, and every day that follows, while the Government do not choose to take the sense of the country, will increase that feeling with compound interest; and if it be delayed—as it appears to the Government consistent with honour and dignity to delay the appeal to the country—if it be much longer delayed, who can tell what will be the result, how violent will be the reaction, and what kind of Party may be returned by a majority representing a feeling of revolt against what has taken place, a Party that may even have instincts which I will not further characterise? I am glad to see noble Lords opposite smile, conscious of their honour and dignity. I wonder whether they will smile after the next election? But, at any rate, whether that be so or not, depend upon it, by refusing to dissolve after a vote of the House of Commons—not so deliberate as a vote of censure, but sufficiently deliberate to characterise the opinion of the House of Commons—they are violently straining the spirit of the Constitution. That, I believe, to be a large issue, and it will come home to the mind of the nation in time.

But there is another question I venture to urge—no doubt it has been canvassed in the councils of the Cabinet. What is the position they will occupy in the face of the Empire and the world, as representing, not the sense of the country, but of a Parliament elected five years ago? The noble Marquess said, with that unconscious humour of which he has an occasional flash even in the gravest deliberations, that the Government did not think it would be for the public convenience that they should resign. I do not think a change of Government is ever, in one sense, for the public convenience; but is it for the public convenience that they should continue? They are dealing with vast international issues. They have, I believe, hugged to themselves the solace that they alone are able to deal with them. That may be. They may, indeed, be a collection of Solomons, of disregarded Solomons in their own country. But it is not a question of how the Government consider themselves, it is a question of what other Governments think of them; and when they are negotiating, and negotiating in the name of a country which loses no opportunity of repudiating them with all the power of which it is capable, they are negotiating on a weak foundation, or rather on no foundation at all.

I may say that I have some personal experience of that matter. I have negotiated on behalf of a weak Government. I have known what it is to feel that while I was negotiating the Röntgen ray of diplomacy was looking through my poor body to the body of the Minister who was about to succeed me; and I cannot flatter His Majesty's Government that in the belief of the country their disappearance will be the loss they credit it to be, and still less can I flatter their delusion that in the eyes of those Governments with which they think they alone are competent to deal they represent the true feeling and the true sense or the true power of Great Britain. I am not going into further detail in this matter; I think, if I had time, or if this were the occasion, I could show cause why His Majesty's Government is not peculiarly worthy of confidence in the matters in which they think themselves strongest; but that is not my purpose to-night. I have only risen on the highest and broadest public grounds to enter my protest, not against their unwillingness to resign, for that has long been familiar to us, but against their unwillingness to renew this Parliament and once more by an appeal to the constituencies to put that fresh life and vigour into Parliament which must, after all, be the foundation, and the only foundation, of strong government in this country.

The LORD CHANCELLOR (The Earl of Halsbury): My Lords, the noble Earl has given us some advice, and has intimated that it will be much worse for us to delay our appeal to the country. He has suggested that as a matter of prudence we should invite an early opinion of our countrymen on our conduct. While expressing gratitude on behalf of my colleagues and myself to the noble Earl, I would say that, although I am aware that the noble Earl is very confident as to the wisdom which guides his views, he had better leave to us the question of deciding what is prudent and best for us. And in an even more emphatic manner I would suggest to the noble Earl to leave to us the preservation of our own honour, of which we think we are very much better judges than a partisan on the other side.

It could not really be supposed that we would take the noble Earl's advice on that subject; and it would have been better if the noble Earl, before turning to topics of that sort, had been better historically informed as to one or two examples which I will presently cite. It is not calculated to add either to the dignity or to the usefulness of our debates to suggest topics which can only be offensive, and can only be intended to be offensive when you come to observations about the necessity for the preservation of our honour, because we do not pursue the course which, in a partisan view, it is thought we ought to pursue. This is a somewhat inconvenient period to engage in the discussion, because at this moment I believe the House of Commons is discussing the same question, and, except on the presumption that the desire to make a speech about this question is overwhelming, it is a little premature to discuss it here. One would have thought the House of Commons was the proper place to discuss this question, at all events in the first instance.

With a degree of candour which I always attribute to the noble Earl who leads the Opposition, it is suggested that perhaps the noble Marquess is not aware that a vote of want of confidence, which stood for discussion in the House of Commons, has been taken off the Paper. Why is it withdrawn? I should have thought that, if it was really believed that the division of Thursday night was not a snap division, they would have been eager to bring it forward in order to emphasise that point. But the last thing in the world they want to do is to take a vote, lest they should find that the majority of three was only a colourable majority because some people had not come down to vote. Rumours have reached me that when there was a discussion in the House of Commons which it was feared would lead to a division, an hon. Member was howled down because he was endeavouring to make some protest, and he was not allowed to speak, lest even upon that the vote should be reversed.

What is the constitutional course? If on a vote of want of confidence there had been a majority of three, although that is not a very decided indication of opinion, I could understand that on a trial of strength on a recognised battleground it would be undesirable for any Government to retain position and place. But what is the case here? Did anybody suppose there was going to be such a division? Everybody knew that there had been slack attendance. It was one of the topics of the Party meeting to which the noble Lord referred; and the idea of its being a vote which would determine the fate of the Government I do not believe had occurred to anybody, except those who, in some way or another, were absent from the House of Commons until the division bell rang, and then from various quarters the great number of persons not supposed to be there were there in time for the division. In that sense it may indeed be called a snap division. I do not think it would be called anything else by any one who knew all the facts, who knew that it was manifestly intended to be a surprise, one of those Party expedients which people have a right to adopt. To treat a small triumph, due to thus taking advantage of your opponents being away, as a high constitutional question is an exaggeration manifest from the mere statement of it.

Coming to precedents I am sorry to say I can myself remember Lord John Russell being defeated in May, 1841, by a majority of thirty-six upon the sugar duties; and although it was part of his Budget Resolution he declined to go out, and did not go out until June on a vote of want of confidence proposed by Sir Robert Peel. If the noble Earl will turn to the debate of June 4th of that year and read Lord John Russell's long historical account of the mode in which those things happened and his protest against the idea that even upon a Government Bill a Government must needs go out because they are defeated, he will, on the next occasion that he addresses your Lordships, have a better idea of the constitutional theory. I might also refer to a vote concerning an allowance to Prince Albert when a Liberal Government were defeated by a majority of over 100; but, coming to more modern instances, in 1859 Lord Palmerston was more than once defeated, and in 1868 Mr. Gladstone was defeated nine times, without resignation.

But the noble Earl says you must not only consider the question of being defeated, but consider the question of by-elections. There is the awful spot which shows how wicked you have been and how abominable it is for you not to resign; but let me remind the noble Earl that from 1871 to 1873 there were twenty-three by-elections in which the Liberals were defeated, and Mr. Gladstone's Government did not think it then necessary to resign. If some wicked Tories had then come down to this House and talked about honour and prudence and all the rest, I wonder what would have been said on the other side. No, I do not wonder at all! I know the noble Earl, if he had been there, would have got up and said it was one of those things which might happen to any Government from time to time, that they were coming to the end of their tether, and that it did not much matter, only he would have said this in more flowery language than I can use.

This vote was obtained by the skill and acuteness, in a great measure, of the Members of the Irish Party. Perhaps the noble Earl will go on and tell your Lordships whom His Majesty ought to send for. If I were asked as an impartial spectator, I would say that Mr. Redmond should be sent for at the present moment. But there might be difficulties about that, for if Mr. Redmond were sent for the question of Home Rule would arise, and, if it did, I will not conjecture what would happen at the happy meetings of those who would have to settle it. I protest against this sort of extempore debate, and I am sorry the noble Earl has thought it necessary to speak. I think it would have been better had the noble Earl left the matter in the hands of the Leader of the Opposition rather than have entered into this sort of combative debate.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, I do not think the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack has sufficiently answered the criticisms of my two noble friends by simply scolding them for the action they have taken. To scold is no argument. The noble and learned Earl says that the Government themselves are the best judges of their honour and dignity. Well, undoubtedly they should be. But the honour and dignity of the British Government are the affair of the whole nation. They cannot assume the care of their own honour and dignity; they must leave that in the hands of the nation at large as represented at the polls. The noble and learned Earl quoted the period of 1871–1873, when the Government would not resign after having been beaten in twenty-three by-elections. I think the result of the election of 1874 was a pretty good proof that that Government was very wrong in the course it took, and I do not think the present Government can take a better example than the fate which befel that Government.

The noble and learned Earl declares that the division of last Thursday was a snap division. I claim to know something about snap divisions in the House of Commons, and, in my view, if ever a division was deliberately taken after all Parties in the House had been fully warned, it was the division of Thursday night. On the Tuesday the Government held a meeting of their Party. The meeting was supposed to be called in order to inform the Party of the reasons for the withdrawal of the Redistribution Resolutions. All they were told was that they were to be in the House regularly at half-past two, to stay there continuously, and to vote like men. Well, my Lords, what happened? A whip was sent out by the Chief Whip of the Party in which it was stated that Thursday night was likely to be a lively one, and that the Liberal Members had withdrawn their pairs. What ground he had for making that statement I know not, but I believe it not to be the fact. But in spite of the warnings and exhortations addressed to them the Tory Members did not come down to the House. Surely that was ample proof that they were not very anxious to support the Government. I contend that it is impossible to treat this incident in the light way in which His Majesty's Government have treated it. I protest against it being treated in such a manner, and I can assure the noble and learned Earl that the country will agree with me in the view I take.

LORD STANMORE: My Lords, it is not as a politician but as an historical student that I venture to say a few words before this debate concludes. I wish to call the attention of the House to a precedent which has not been quoted in this House or in the other House of Parliament, but which is, I think, an important one. In doing so I wish to say that my own feeling is that His Majesty's Government would have consulted their own honour and the interests of their Party better by resigning than by adhering to office; but that is their affair, and the precedent which I wish to quote I am bound in honour as an historical student to say is entirely in their favour. On June 14th, 1844, Sir Robert Peel, the then Prime Minister, was defeated by a majority of twenty in the House of Commons, not on an unimportant Vote, but on the question of the sugar duties. Did Sir Robert Peel resign? No. Did he dissolve Parliament? No. What he did was this. On June 17th he induced the House of Commons to reverse the vote which it had come to on the 14th. I think the precedent is one which should not be lost sight of when the question is being considered; but I am not to be held, on the strength of that precedent, to agree that I think His Majesty's Government have acted wisely or discreetly in the course which they have taken.

———

REDISTRIBUTION.

Moved, "That a Return be prepared showing the estimated population on January 1st, 1905, of the county divisions and boroughs proposed to be disfranchised by the scheme of Redistribution."—(*The Duke of Rutland.*)

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My Lords, we are quite ready to give the noble Duke the information he desires; but I have to suggest to him that he should slightly alter the wording of his Motion. He has moved for a Return showing the estimated population of the county divisions and boroughs proposed to be disfranchised by the scheme of Redistribution. No county divisions will be disfranchised under the scheme, though some counties will lose one or two Members, and will have, accordingly, to be redivided. Therefore, if the noble Duke will move for his Return in the following form we shall be glad to give it to him:—(1) Estimated population of counties which will lose one or more Members. (2) Boroughs to be disfranchised.

THE DUKE OF RUTLAND: I assent to the suggested alteration and move my Motion in that form.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: I should like to ask the noble Marquess whether it would be convenient to include in the Return the estimated population of places which will gain Members as well as of those which will lose.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: If the noble Lord will give me in writing the Return as he would like to have it, I will consider whether we can grant it.

On Question, Motion, as amended, agreed to; and ordered accordingly.

SHIPOWNERS' NEGLIGENCE (REMEDIES) BILL.

Read 3ª (according to order), with the Amendment, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

House adjourned at a quarter past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, half past ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 24th July, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).

MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz.:—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow.

Dublin United Tramways Bill; Midland Railway Bill; Skegness Water Bill; Woolwich Borough Council Bill. Lords Amendments to be considered To-morrow.

Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council Bill [Lords]; Matlock Bath Improvement Bill [Lords]; Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District) Bill [Lords]; Sheffield University Bill [Lords]; South Lancashire Tramways Bill [Lords]. To be read the third time To-morrow.

Bristol Blind Asylum Bill [Lords]; Corbett Estate Bill [Lords]; County of London Electric Supply Company Bill [Lords]; Humber Conservancy Bill [Lords]; Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board Bill [Lords]. As amended, to be considered To-morrow.

Earl of Stamford's Cheshire Estate Bill [Lords]; Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers) Bill [Lords]. To be read a second time To-morrow.

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill (by Order); Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill (by Order); Edgware and Hampstead Railway Bill (by Order); London and North Western Railway Bill (by Order); Metropolitan Electric Tramways Bill (by Order). Consideration of Lords Amendments deferred till To-morrow.

Formby Township Bill [Lords] (by Order); Workington Harbour and Dock Bill [Lords] (by Order). Third Reading deferred till To-morrow.

Littlehampton Urban District Council Bill [Lords] (by Order). Consideration, as amended, deferred till To-morrow.

London Building Acts (Amendment) Bill (by Order). Consideration, as amended, deferred till Wednesday (Evening Sitting).

Shepton Mallet Gas Company (Electric Lighting) Bill [Lords] (by Order). Consideration, as amended, deferred till To-morrow.

Channel Ferry Railway and Quay Bill. Order [February 20th], that the Channel Ferry Railway and Quay Bill be read a second time, read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Local Government Provisional Order (No. 16) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 17) Bill; Inverness Gas and Water Provisional Order Bill; Port Glasgow Improvement Provisional Order Bill; Great Northern Railway (Ireland) Bill, without Amendment.

Drunkenness (Ireland) Bill; Bootle Corporation Bill; London Gas Bill; Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway (No. 1) Bill, with Amendments.

Amendments to—Gas Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [Lords]; Southend and Colchester Light Railways Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Esk Valley Power Gas. [Esk Valley Power-Gas Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Stonehaven Harbour. [Stonehaven Harbour Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Edinburgh Corporation." [Edinburgh Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the Tramways Act, 1870, relating to Colchester Corporation Tramways, King's Norton and Northfield Urban District Counc Tramway, Luton Corporation Tramways, Portobello and Musselburgh Tramways (Amendment), and Southampton Corporation Tramways." [Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Glasgow Corporation." [Glasgow Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.]

And; also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act for increasing the capital of the South Barracas (Buenos Ayres) Gas and Coke Company, Limited, by the creation of paid-up shares, and providing for the issue thereof to the shareholders and for other purposes." [South Barracas (Buenos Ayres) Gas and Coke Company, Limited, Bill [Lords.]

Esk Valley Power-Gas Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and, under Section 7 of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, ordered to be considered upon Wednesday.

Stonehaven Harbour Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and, under Section 7 of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, ordered to be considered upon Wednesday.

Edinburgh Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and, under Section 7 of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, ordered to be considered upon Wednesday.

Glasgow Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and, under Sections 8 and 9 of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, ordered to be read a second time upon Wednesday, and to be printed. [Bill 282.]

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 283.]

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Return of Evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended June 30th, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LAND JUDGE'S COURT (IRELAND).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered July 17th; *Mr. T. W. Russell*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 256.]

TRADE (FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND BRITISH POSSESSIONS).

Copy presented, of Annual Statement of the Trade of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and British Possessions for 1904. Volume II. [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

COLONIAL IMPORT DUTIES, 1905.

Copy presented, of Return relating to the Rates of Import Duties levied upon the principal and other Articles imported into British Colonies, Possessions, and Protectorates [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

NORTH-WEST OF CANADA.

Copy presented, of Report to the Board of Trade on the North-West of Canada, with special reference to Wheat Production for Export, by James Mavor, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Toronto, Canada, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

COLONIAL STATISTICS.

Copy presented, of Statistical Tables relating to British Colonies, Possessions, and Protectorates. Part XXVIII. for the year 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3444 and 3453 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TREATY SERIES (No. 19, 1905).

Copy presented, of Agreement between the United Kingdom and the Netherlands providing for the Settlement by Arbitration of certain Classes of Questions which may arise between the two Governments. Signed at London, February 15th, 1905 [Ratifications exchanged at London, July 12th, 1905] [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

CIVIL SERVICES ESTIMATES, 1905-6.

Copy presented, of Revised Estimate, Class 7, Vote 4 (Ireland Development Grant) [by Command]; referred to the Committee of Supply, and to be printed. [No. 257.]

LAND REGISTRY.

Account presented, of Receipts and Payments in respect of the Land Registry for the year ended March 31st, 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 258.]

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE AND COURT OF APPEAL, ETC.

Copy presented, of Account showing the Receipts and Expenditure in respect of the High Court of Justice and the Court of Appeal during the year ended March 31st, 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 259.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Inspection of Turbary Trust Deed of the King-Harman Estate.

MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners can explain why no clause was inserted in the trust deed for turbary trustees on the King-Harman Estate providing that the deed should be open at all reasonable times for inspection by the tenants interested and their legal advisers and representatives; who was responsible for this omission; and whether, in similar turbary trust deeds in future, an omission of this nature will be provided against by the officials of the Land Commission.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The lands vested in the turbary trustees will, in due course, be registered under the Local Registration of Title (Ireland) Act, 1891, and the conditions under which the lands are held by the trustees will be set out on the register in the office of the Clerk of the Crown and Peace, and also on the register in the Central Office in Dublin, which registers can be inspected at a nominal charge (1s.) by any person interested. The scheme was prepared by the Estates Commissioners, and approved by the Lord-Lieutenant under Section 20 of the Irish Land Act, 1903, and is lodged in the Record Department of the Irish Land Commission, where also it can be inspected by any interested party, or copies can, on application to the Land Commission, be obtained on payment of the usual scrivenery charges. In these circumstances, it was not considered necessary to insert any clause to the effect suggested.

Conditions of Building Grant to Kilmeedy (County Limerick) Schools.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland by what authority or under what rule did the officials of the Board of National Education in Ireland impose in April and in June, 1904, as a condition for making a building grant to the manager of the schools at Kilmeedy, county of Limerick, that he should transfer the infant boys to the girls' school, and agree to the amalgamation of the schools if at any time the average in either of them fell below fifty; and will the grant be still refused in case the manager again applies for it.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) Under Rule 191 (a) of the Code of 1905, which is in the same terms as Rule 67 (a) of the preceding Code of 1903, the Commissioners, before making a grant towards building a schoolhouse, must be satisfied that a necessity exists for the proposed school. They were not satisfied that a necessity existed for the class of school for which the manager of the existing Kilmeedy Schools sought a building grant, and hence the imposition of the condition referred to in the Question. The principles involved in this condition had long been recognised by the Commissioners, who were fortified in their conclusions by the general consensus of expert educational opinion, including Mr. Dale's Report on Primary Education. These principles have since been embodied in the Commissioners' Code of Rules. The Commissioners are still prepared to consider an application for a building grant subject to the condition already communicated to the manager.

King's Birthday as a Holiday for Manipulative Staff of the Post Office.

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): To ask the Postmaster-General whether, seeing that the clerical staff of the Post Office were allowed a holiday on the King's birthday, he will say whether the manipulative staff will be given a day in lieu thereof, or a day's pay; and, if not, what is the reason for this difference of treatment.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The conditions of service which apply to the manipulative staff necessarily differ in many respects from those which apply to the clerical staff. I see no sufficient reason for altering the existing practice as regards holidays.

Contracts for Telegraph and Telephone Plant given to British and Foreign Firms.

Sir THOMAS DEWAR (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): To ask the Postmaster-General if he will state the value of the contracts for telegraph and telephone plant respectively given to British and foreign firms respectively for each year during the last three years.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I am unable to divide the amounts between telegraph and telephone plant, as many articles are used in connection with both. The value of the contracts given to British and foreign firms respectively during the last three years was as follows:—

	British.	Foreign.
	£	£
1902–3	757,814	92,740
1903–4	669,985	76,883
1904–5	729,137	228,461

The orders given to foreign firms included respectively £83,676, £69,802, and £220,054 for telephone apparatus, mostly required for equipping exchanges worked on the central battery system, for which the principal patents are held by foreign firms.

Plucky Conduct of a Postman at Kendal.

Captain BAGOT (Westmoreland, Kendal): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he has received from the Westmoreland Farmers' Club, Kendal, through their chairman, a communication respecting a postman who recently when on duty saved the life of a man who was attacked by a bull; and, if so, will he say what action he proposes to take.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I have received a communication on the subject from the chairman of the Kendal Chamber of Agriculture. The postman had already been commended for his plucky conduct on the occasion in question, and the case had been recorded in his favour.

Postal Deliveries at Staveley, near Kendal.

Captain BAGOT: To ask the Postmaster-General whether he can now state if any improvement can be made in the delivery of letters at Staveley, near Kendal, where some houses only get two deliveries a week, and other houses get letters too late in the morning for business purposes.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) As there was some doubt in this case whether any improvement in the post was justified, it was considered necessary to count the letters for the places concerned for a somewhat prolonged period. That period is now drawing to a close, and I hope shortly to be in a position to decide the matter.

Applications for Posts under the Aliens Act.

Mr. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if, in making appointments under the Aliens Act, he will take into favourable consideration application from officers of the Colonial Department who have had long experience in tactful administration.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) All applications for posts which may be created under the Aliens Bill will be carefully considered, and the possession by the applicants of tact or other qualifications for appointment will be given all due weight.

Sales on the Earl of Shaftesbury's Antrim Estate.

Mr. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland is he aware that recently the agent of the Earl of Shaftesbury offered to sell, under the Land Act, 1903, to a second-term judicial tenant, Mr. David L. Wilson, of North-East Division, Carrickfergus, county Antrim, an agricultural holding of four acres at twenty-seven and three-quarter years purchase, the tenant to pay in addition £45 in cash; and that, on the tenant refusing these terms and offering to buy within the zones on terms similar to those granted to the other Shaftesbury tenants in the same division, the holding was sold to a neighbouring landlord; and, in view of the fact that purchase agreements having been signed previously for all the other lands in this division, has a precedent been formed to govern cases of this kind; is the bonus payable on estates under such circumstances where all the lands are not sold by the original vendors to the occupying tenants at the time the estates are under negotiation; and will he state what rules or regulations he will adopt to cover cases of this nature when such lands have come within the sphere of the Estates Commissioners.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) An originating application in respect of the sale of portion of the estate of the Earl of Shaftesbury has been lodged with the Estates Commissioners, who have agreed to declare portion of the lands comprised therein to be an "estate." The holding of Mr. David Wilson is not in the neighbourhood of the portion so declared. If application is made that the portion of the property in the immediate neighbourhood of Mr. D. Wilson's holding be declared an "estate," the Commissioners will consider the circumstances alleged in the Question.

Grant to Patrick Cooney on the Leslie Estate, Drumbinis (County Cavan).

MR. SAMUEL YOUNG (Cavan, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Patrick Cooney, Drumbinis, county Cavan, a reinstated tenant on the Leslie Estate, has made application to the Commissioners twelve months ago for a grant to make his house habitable; and will he say whether the Commissioners have received the application and will entertain it favourably.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) This estate is about to be inspected, and Cooney's application for assistance will at the same time be inquired into.

Head-Dress of North of Ireland Imperial Yeomanry.

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Secretary of State for War is he aware that complaints have been made by members of the North of Ireland Imperial Yeomanry as to the helmet provided by the authorities, as a result of the use of which many of the men were overcome by the heat and fainted while on parade; and will he say under the circumstances what action, if any, do the authorities intend to take to remedy this.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) No complaints have been received regarding the pattern of head-dress worn by the North of Ireland Imperial Yeomanry. The head-dress of this corps is of a special pattern selected by the corps itself on its formation in 1903. Yeomanry units arrange their own supplies of clothing after the selected patterns have been approved by the War Office.

Delay in Payment of Army Ordnance Workmen at Island Bridge, Dublin.

MR. NANNETTI: To ask the Secretary of State for War if he is aware that the paymaster of the Army Ordnance employees at Island Bridge, Dublin, delayed the workmen 1½ hours for their pay on Saturday, 1st July, 1905; that the men were in no way compensated for the time they lost; and whether, seeing that the paymaster is an officer receiving over £1 a day, and supposed to have superior qualifications, and that the duties of paymaster are usually performed by officers of inferior rank and pay without a hitch, steps will be taken to obviate these delays in future; and whether the officer at fault will be called on to pay the overtime due to the workmen out of his own pocket, as the overtime was in no way due to the public service; and will he say what service has the officer referred to in the Army Ordnance Department.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) Owing to the illness of the officer usually performing the pay duties at Island Bridge, there was some delay in commencing and completing the payment of the employees referred to. Such a delay is quite unusual and was due to exceptional circumstances, and there is no likelihood of a recurrence. The rule is that workmen of the Army Ordnance Department are paid in their own time, and the question of overtime pay does not, therefore, arise.

Days Occupied in Discussion of Supply.

Sir FREDERICK MILNER (Nottinghamshire, Bassetlaw): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he will state the number of counting days, and the number of days or parts of days which were not counting days, which have been occupied in the discussion of Supply in the present session.

(Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.)

	Number of days counting as "allotted days."	Number of days, or parts of days, not counting as "allotted days."		
		Spent in getting Speaker out of Chair, on which no other Supply was discussed.	Discussions in Committee of Supply.	Discussions on Report of Supply.
Supplementaries, 1904–5.	—	—	March 2 " 7 " 8 " 9 " 21 = 5	March 23
1905–6.				
Army - - -	April 3 " 6 July 13 = 3	March 28	March 29 April 4 " 5 = 3	March 30
Navy -	March 13 May 18 June 29 = 3	March 6	March 14	June 5 July 12
Civil - - -	March 20 May 4 " 11 " 25 June 1 " 6 " 22 July 20 = 8	April 13 " 18	—	March 22
Revenue - - -	July 6 = 1	—	—	—
	15	4	9	5
		18		

Number of allotted days, fifteen. Number of days, or parts of days, which were not counting days occupied in the discussion of Supply, eighteen.

Parcels Addressed in Irish.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that a parcel, addressed in Irish by Mr. Cahill, chemist, Dublin, was refused at the General Post Office, Dublin, on 9th May, though letters with the same address had previously been safely delivered; whether the postmaster, Drumcondra Road, Dublin, received the same parcel the following morning, and had it safely delivered to its destination; and whether this postmaster has since been censured for receiving this parcel, and thus acting against his instructions.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I am aware of the case to which the hon. Member refers. It has been found necessary to make a regulation that a parcel addressed in Irish shall not be accepted unless a translation of the address can be added in English. Neither the person who took Mr. Cahill's parcel to the chief office in Dublin nor the officer to whom it was tendered was able to add a translation, and it was therefore correctly refused. The officer who afterwards accepted it at the Drumcondra Road Office was unable to add the translation, but he assumed that this would be done at the chief office. He did not act in accordance with his instructions, and his attention has been called to the matter.

Loan to Mr. Van Rensberg by Transvaal Government.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state whether it is a usual course for the Government of the Transvaal to lend money on mortgage to private individuals; and, if so, whether the practice has his sanction; or, if the loan to Mr. Van Rensberg was exceptional, why the privilege was granted in his case.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I understand that no difference was made between the treatment accorded to Mr. Van Rensberg and that accorded to any other borrower. It has, I understand, always been the practice for the Transvaal Government to lend funds at its disposal on mortgage on land. The question of the investment of these funds has not been submitted for my sanction, nor, having regard to the principle frequently stated in this House, do I think it necessary that the investment of funds temporarily at the disposal of the Transvaal Government should be controlled from here.

Employment for Colonial Officers Invalided Home.

MR. CATHCART WASON: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if his attention has been drawn to the case of colonial officers whose health prevents their return to the climates in which their health has suffered; and if he will endeavour to procure them employment in other and different climates.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) Such cases are frequently under the consideration of the Colonial Office, and it is the invariable practice to endeavour to meet them, so far as circumstances will allow, in the manner suggested by the hon. Member.

Mosquito-Proof Sleeping Rooms for Government Employees in West Africa.

MR. CATHCART WASON: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can now state what steps have been taken to provide mosquito-proof sleeping rooms for railway and other employees in our West African Settlements.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I have been in correspondence with the Governors of West African territories on this subject. Mosquito-proof rooms are provided in the quarters of the railway officials in Lagos; but I may observe that there is no established consent as to the advantage of the use of such rooms over that of mosquito nets, which are provided for all employees on the railways in Lagos and on the Gold Coast.

Police Evidence at Glasgow.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): To ask the Lord-Advocate whether his attention has been called to a case heard in the St. Rollox Police Court, Glasgow, on Thursday, 13th July, 1905, in which one Joseph Campbell was charged with riotous and disorderly behaviour, and in which the evidence of the policemen who arrested him was so contradictory that the magistrate, Bailie Scott, did not think it necessary to hear the defence further and dismissed the case, declaring the charge not proven; and will he say whether any official action has been taken in connection with the policemen concerned with this case; and, if so, of what nature; and if it is proposed to order an inquiry into the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Scott Dickson.*) I am informed that there were some contradictions in the evidence of the constables. Seven witnesses were examined for the defence, who stated that Campbell was not disorderly, and that one of the constables assaulted Campbell, his wife, and his daughter. There were other witnesses for the defence, but the magistrate said he did not wish to hear them, and found the charge "not proven." The complaints against the constable of assaulting Campbell, his wife, and his daughter have been taken up by the Procurator-Fiscal, and will be dealt with in due course.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN: To ask the Lord-Advocate whether his attention has been called to the fact that in two cases in which charges of using profane language were brought by policemen in the Glasgow Courts last week, the magistrates disallowed the evidence tendered on behalf of the prosecution; and that in one of the cases the police inspector stated that no particulars of the language complained of were entered in the charge sheet; and whether, in view of the fact that in Glasgow persons who incur the enmity of the police may be arrested at any time on a charge of using profane language, and in view of the indignation that exists in Glasgow at the conduct of the police, he will consider the desirability of taking steps to deal with the alleged grievance.

(*Answered by Mr. Scott Dickson.*) The two cases referred to are those reported on in reply to the hon. Member's two other Questions. Regarding the statement of the police inspector that no particulars of the language complained of were entered in the charge sheet, under instructions from the Procurator-Fiscal the particular words used in obscene language cases are not inserted in the charge sheet, but if, when the case is before the Court, the defence demands further specification, the words complained of are added with the consent of the magistrates.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN: To ask the Lord-Advocate whether his attention has been called to a case heard at the Police Court, Glasgow, on the 10th July, 1905, in which a girl was charged with using obscene language on the previous Saturday night; whether he is aware that two constables spoke to the nature of the language used by the girl, who denied the charge and stated that at the time alleged she was in the company of another girl and two constables, and that the action was then concluded; and whether any action will be taken in the case of the constables responsible for the original charge.

(*Answered by Mr. Scott Dickson.*) I have inquired into the matter, and on the information supplied to me there is no ground for taking any action in the case of the constables referred to.

Recommendations of Departmental Committee on the Sea Fisheries of Sutherland and Caithness.

Mr. HARMSWORTH (Caithness-shire): To ask the Lord-Advocate what steps the Government intend to take in view of the conclusion arrived at by the Departmental Committee on the Sea Fisheries of Sutherland and Caithness, that more vigorous efforts should be made to prevent the infringement of the by-laws by trawlers operating in the Moray Firth.

(*Answered by Mr. Scott Dickson.*) The Fishery Board at present make the best use of the fleet at their disposal, and until more funds have accumulated they cannot arrange to purchase other cruisers.

Mr. HARMSWORTH: To ask the Lord-Advocate, in view of the recommendations of the Departmental Committee on the Sea Fisheries of Sutherland and Caithness, what steps are intended to be taken to establish motor services between John o' Groats and Wick, between Huna and Thurso, and between Tongue and Thurso and the other places mentioned in the Report.

(*Answered by Mr. Scott Dickson.*) Proposals for assistance in establishing motor services designed to develop fishing or other trade in congested districts where existing means of communication are insufficient will be favourably considered by the Congested Districts Board.

Closing of Pentland Firth to Trawlers.

Mr. HARMSWORTH: To ask the Lord-Advocate if he will take the necessary steps for securing from the signatories to the North Sea Convention an agreement to the closing of the Pentland Firth to trawlers.

(*Answered by Mr. Scott Dickson.*) This Question is one which should be addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Loans for Haddock Curers in Sutherland and Caithness.

Mr. HARMSWORTH: To ask the Lord-Advocate what steps the Government intends to take, in view of the recommendation of the Departmental Committee on the Sea Fisheries of Sutherland and Caithness, that applications for loans should be invited from persons willing to undertake the business of haddock curing in these counties.

(*Answered by Mr. Scott Dickson.*) The Congested Districts Board has agreed to give assistance in carrying out the policy referred to by the hon. Member, and the Secretary for Scotland has asked the Fishery Board to advise as to places where curing stations may best be placed.

Ruins of St. Paul's Monastery, Jarrow.

Mr. TALBOT (Oxford University): To ask the hon. Member for Chorley, as representing the First Commissioner of Works, whether his Department has undertaken the custody of the monastic buildings of St. Paul's Church, Jarrow; and, if so, whether this arrangement has been approved by the Bishop of the diocese or the patrons of the benefice; and whether any steps have been taken to ascertain the feelings of the inhabitants of the parish on the matter.

(*Answered by Lord Balcarres.*) The rector of Jarrow-on-Tyne has expressed a wish to place the ruins of the Monastery of St. Paul's, Jarrow, under the care of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Works under the provisions of the Ancient Monuments Acts. The Commissioners have intimated to the rector their willingness to accept this charge provided all requisite legal formalities are fulfilled. No communication has been received on the subject from the Bishop of the diocese; but Lord Northbourne, as a patron of the benefice, has written to inquire by what authority it is proposed to make this transfer. The town council have expressed their approval of the proposed transfer, which, it should be observed, is one which concerns the maintenance and guardianship only, not the freehold.

Local Education Authorities and School Teachers' Houses attached to Voluntary Schools.

Mr. TALBOT: To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether he is aware that difficulties have been occasioned to managers and trustees of voluntary schools in cases where there is a teacher's house attached to the school for which the local education authorities refuse to pay any rent, while the trust deeds do not permit the house to be used for any other purpose than a teacher's residence; and whether the Board of Education propose to take any action in such cases.

(*Answered by Sir William Anson.*) The local authority is under no obligation to use the teacher's house where a teacher's house forms part of the school premises. Where under the trust deed the house can be used for no other purpose it is open to the trustees to apply to the Board for a scheme providing for such use of the house as may serve the general purposes of the school.

Tea Interval for Postmen in the West Central District Office.

Mr. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether arrangements can be made for granting the postmen at the West Central District Office a tea interval of a few minutes when engaged on duty from 3.40 p.m. to 7.30 p.m., in view of the distance from the office at which many of them are compelled to live.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The postmen concerned are not entitled under the regulations to an interval for refreshment, and when they applied a few months ago they were so informed. As an act of grace, however, provided the work admits of it, a short interval between 3.20 p.m. and 3.40 p.m. is allowed to them.

Metric System of Weights.

Sir THOMAS DEWAR: To ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade, seeing that in response to resolutions sent to him by the Association of Chambers of Commerce he has recently arranged to legalise weights of 20 lb., 10 lb., and 5 lb., and has ordered the preparation of standards of the same form as the present new 50 lb. weight, will he consider the desirability of taking such further steps as may be necessary to secure the universal adoption of the metric system.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) The 20, 10, and 5 lb. weights referred to are to be legalised in order to facilitate the weighing of goods under the Imperial system in certain trades where weights are calculated in pounds and not in stones and hundredweights, and their legalisation has no relation to the metric system of weights and measures. As regards the adoption of that system, I beg to refer my hon. friend to the reply given to his Question on the subject on March 1st,† to which I have nothing to add.

Engineering Sections in Connection with Private Bills.

Sir JOHN BRUNNER (Cheshire, Northwich): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade whether, in view of the fact that the Standing Orders have for several years past contained an order that all engineering sections in connection with Private Bills brought into the House shall bear a reference to the Ordnance datum, he will consider the advisability of amending the statutory rules under the Light Railways Act to bring them into conformity with the Standing Orders in this respect; and will he take similar action in relation to piers and harbour works.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) So far as piers and harbour works are concerned the rules of the Board of Trade are already in agreement with the Standing Orders in the matter referred to. The question of amending the Light Railway Rules will be considered by the Board in concert with the Light Railway Commissioners.

Smallpox Outbreak at Belfast.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN: To ask the Chief Secretary to Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a recrudescence of smallpox is threatened in Belfast; and that the corporation refused, contrary to the especial custom, to supply its aid to the ratepayers except where an outbreak occurs in an applicant's house or where an order from a doctor or inspector is presented; and whether he will, in the interest of the health of the city, cause representations to be made to the corporation in this matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) A case of smallpox occurred in Belfast on June 23rd, and the Local Government Board are informed that all necessary precautions to prevent the spread of the disease have been taken. The patient was removed to the smallpox hospital and the other inmates to the reception house for isolation, the house was disinfected, the bedding, etc., burned, and revaccination freely administered in the neighbourhood. No further case has been reported. The Board have no information that the corporation have refused to take necessary measures for the protection of the public health.

Registration of Religion of Children by Boards of Guardians—Case of Leeson at Belfast.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the majority of the Belfast Board of Guardians, at a recent meeting, refused to accede to the request of the Catholic guardians to register a child named Leeson, whose father died a Catholic, but whose mother was a Presbyterian, as a Catholic; and whether, in view of the provisions of the law requiring guardians to bring up a child in the religion of its father, he will take steps to secure that the law will be complied with in this case.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxlii., 5.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) It is understood that the child's father, who is dead, was a Catholic, but its mother informed the guardians that both she and the child are now Presbyterians. The guardians appear to have complied with the law in registering the religion of the child in accordance with the wishes of the surviving parent.

Officers of Irish Department of Agriculture.

MR. NANNETTI: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state what steps the Department of Agriculture are taking to ensure that the particulars recently ordered by this House to be furnished as regards the names, ages, length of service, and place of education of all Irish officials will be fully supplied by its entire staff, including the higher officials.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The Department have issued to each member of their staff a Circular Minute setting forth the terms of the Order of the House.

Average Attendance at Protestant Infant Schools at Ballymena.

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what was the average attendance of pupils at each of the Protestant infant schools in Ballymena for the month of June last; and if he can say what surplus accommodation, allowing ten square feet per pupil, existed in each of them, and for the eighty-one infants who were during that period on the rolls of the Waveney Applicant School.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The average attendance was: at Guy's Infants' School, 147; at Ballymoney Street Infants', thirty. Allowing ten square feet of floor space per pupil, there is accommodation in Guy's Infants' for 139 pupils and in Ballymoney Street Infants' for thirty-three pupils. There was, accordingly, no surplus accommodation in these schools in the month of June on this basis, but the Commissioners have hitherto only required accommodation at the rate of eight square feet per pupil. There are, however, in Ballymena three other national schools for girls, with Protestant mistresses, which have accommodation, at ten square feet per pupil, for 104 pupils more than were in average attendance in the month of June, and at which infant pupils can attend.

Salvation Army Colonies — Mr. Rider Haggard's Report—Departmental Committee.

MR. BUTCHER (York): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Departmental Committee which is to consider Mr. Rider Haggard's Report on the Salvation Army colonies has been constituted; and, if so, how is it composed.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The Departmental Committee is composed as follows:—The Right Honourable Lord Tennyson, G.C.M.G., Chairman; J. S. Davy, Esq., C.B., General Inspector of the Local Government Board; Arthur Wilson Fox, Esq., C.B., Deputy-Comptroller, General and Labour Commissioner, Board of Trade; Bernard Holland, Esq., C.B.; Henry Lambert, Esq., of the Colonial Office, and Chairman of the Managing Committee of the Emigrants' Information Office; the Honourable H. L. W. Lawson, M.P., member of the Managing Committee of the Emigrants' Information Office; Colonel Llewellyn, M.P., representing the Board of Agriculture; Herbert Samuel, Esq., M.P.; Sidney Webb, Esq. The Committee are instructed to consider the suggestions made in Mr. Rider Haggard's Report on the Salvation Army colonies in the United States and at Hadleigh, and to advise the Government whether any steps can usefully be taken for promotion agricultural settlements in the British Colonies of persons taken from the cities of this country. It is desired that the

Report should embody the views of the Committee upon any questions or proposals of a practical nature relating to emigration which may arise during the inquiry.

Volunteer Battalions and Musketry Course.

MR. HUDSON (Hertfordshire, Hitchin): To ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state how many infantry Volunteer battalions fired the old and the new course of musketry, respectively, in the Volunteer musketry year 1903–4.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) One hundred and sixty-seven battalions of Volunteer infantry fired the old course and fifty-seven the new course.

Discussion of Supply.

SIR HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury the number and amount of Votes for the Departments of the Navy, the Army, the seven classes of the Civil Services, and the Revenue, for the year 1905–6; the number of Votes and amounts already agreed to in each Department and class; the number and amounts of Votes which have still to be passed in each Department and class; the number of days on which Supply has been taken and the Votes which have been under discussion on each of those days.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Supply 1905–6.

Service	Totals.		Agreed to.				Remaining to be passed (not yet Voted).	
			Voted and Reported.		Voted, but not yet Reported.			
	No. of Votes.	Amount.	No. of Votes.	Amount.	No. of Votes.	Amount.	No. of Votes.	Amount.
		£		£		£		£
Navy . .	18	33,389,500	4	11,345,500	2	12,644,700	12	9,399,300
Army . .	20	29,813,100	3	14,731,000	—	—	17	15,082,100
Civil Services—								
Class I. .	15	2,697,711	Vote on Account.	1,096,000	3	76,100	12	1,525,611
Class II.	40	2,738,163		1,135,013	3	175,463	37	1,427,687
Class III.	22	3,860,206		1,779,500	1	83,315	21	1,997,391
Class IV.	13	16,328,947		8,710,400	—	—	13	7,618,547
Class V. .	4	1,913,195		895,000	—	—	4	1,018,195
Class VI.	5	816,502		319,500	—	—	5	497,002
Class VII.	6	279,397		134,587	—	—	6	144,810
Revenue Departments.	5	19,435,475		7,430,000	—	—	5	12,005,475
	148	111,272,196	7	47,576,500	9	12,979,587	132	50,716,118

Number of days on which Supply, 1905–6, has been taken, and the Votes which have been under discussion on each of those days.

				Allotted day.
March	6	Navy	Getting Speaker out of the Chair	—
,,	7	,,	Speaker Voted out of the Chair	—
,,	13	,,	Number of Men	1
,,	14	,,	Vote 1	—
,,	20	Civil and Revenue	Vote on Account	2
,,	22	,,	Vote on Account, Report	—
,,	23	Navy	Vote 1 and Number of Men, Report	—
,,	28	Army	Speaker Voted out of Chair	—
,,	29	,,	Number of Men and Vote 7	—
,,	30	,,	Number of Men and Vote 7, Report	—
April	3	,,	Vote 1	3
,,	4	,,	Vote 1	—
,,	5	,,	Vote 1	—
,,	6	,,	Vote 1, Report	4
,,	13	Civil	Getting Speaker out of the Chair	—
,,	18	,,	Speaker Voted out of the Chair	—
May	4	,,	Class I. Houses of Parliament Buildings Class I. Royal Palaces Class I. Osborne Class I. Royal Parks, etc.	5
,,	11	,,	Class II. Treasury (Defence Committee)	6
,,	18	Navy	Vote 10	7
,,	28	Civil	Class II. Chief Secretary for Ireland	8
June	1	,,	Local Government Board	9
,,	5	Navy	Vote 10, Report	—
,,	6	Civil	Class II. Board of Trade	10
,,	22	,,	Class II. Secretary for Scotland Local Government Board, Scotland Class IV. Education, Scotland	11
,,	29	Navy	Vote 8 (I.) (II.) and (III.)	12
July	6	Post Office	— — —	13
,,	12	Navy	Vote 8 (I.), Report	—
,,	13	Army	Votes 5 and 15	14
,,	20	Civil	Class III. Irish Land Commission	15

Total 29 days

In addition to the above, discussion on Supplementary Estimates took place on 6 days.

Votes Discussed but not yet Voted.

Date.		Vote.	Number of Divisions.
March	20	Colonial Office †	1
„	22	Colonial Office †	1
„	22	Education Department †	—
May	4	Royal Parks, etc.	—
„	11	Treasury	—
„	25	Chief Secretary for Ireland	1
June	1	Local Government Board (England)	—
„	22	Education (Scotland)	—
July	6	Post Office	1
„	13	Army, Vote 5 (Volunteers)	1
„	13	Army, Vote 13 (War Office)	1
			6

† Discussed on the Vote on Account.

UESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

gging Boys in the Navy.

Mr. HUNT (Shropshire, Ludlow): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he will explain why, as corporal punishment in the Navy is not supposed to be more severe than it is in public schools, it is still found necessary to have boys examined by a doctor before being birched; and why boys under eighteen are obliged to be tied down and flogged in public, contrary to the practice in public schools.

The SECRETARY to the ADMIRALTY (Mr. Pretyman, Suffolk, Woodbridge): The medical examination made before birching is looked upon as a reasonable though not an essential precaution, a medical officer being always available on the spot. Boys at public schools are held down and boys on training ships are tied down, the object in both cases being the same.

Volunteer Efficiency Tests.

Major SEELY (Isle of Wight): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he proposes to lay down new tests for efficiency for the Volunteer force; if so, what those tests are to be; and, in view of the provisions of the Volunteer Act, whether he will lay the new scheme upon the Table; whether it is intended to fix a definite limit t the number of efficient Volunteers; and, if so, can he state what is the proposed limit.

The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.): It is not proposed to lay down any new tests of efficiency for the Volunteer force. I have already stated that it is not proposed to lay down a definite limit to the number of efficient Volunteers. The number of efficient Volunteers that can be maintained must depend upon the money voted by Parliament.

Garrison Artillery Volunteers.

Sir ANDREW AGNEW (Edinburgh, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can now state whether any of the guns belonging to ships recently discarded by the Admiralty can be made available for garrison artillery Volunteers; and, if so, whether he will give a preference to those Volunteer companies that still have nothing but muzzle-loading 64-pounder guns to drill with.

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I am not at present in a position to add anything to the reply which I gave to a Question put on this subject by my hon. friend on the 29th May‡.

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‡ See (4) *Debates*, cxlvii., 78.

SIR ANDREW AGNEW: May I ask for an Answer to the last part of my Question.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: It must depend on military requirements.

Indian Reliefs.

SIR CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what are the numbers of Indian drafts required for 1906–1907.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The Indian drafts for 1906–7 can at present only be given approximately. The actual numbers must necessarily depend on the extensions of men enlisted for three years who are or will be serving in India. At present the total number is estimated at 14,000 for the infantry of the Line based on normal previous rate of extensions.

Soldiers at Religious Festivals.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the fact that a party of non-commissioned officers and men of the 1st Life Guards, under the charge of an officer, took part in an open air procession, known as the Corpus Christi Festival, at Highgate, on the 25th June last, and that a canopy was carried by four of the officers in full uniform, he will say if this is in accordance with military regulations; and, if not, will he give instructions for the practice to be discontinued.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The party referred to were Roman Catholic non-commissioned officers and men of the 1st Life Guards under the command of an officer of that religion, and their attendance was sanctioned by the General Officer Commanding London District. There is no regulation which debars officers or soldiers in uniform attending, or taking part in, religious services connected with the Church to which they belong.

Loan to Mr. Van Rensberg by Transvaal Government.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state whether it is a usual course for the Government of the Transvaal to lend money on mortgage to private individuals; and, if so, whether the practice has his sanction; or, if the loan to Mr. Van Rensberg was exceptional, why the priviledge was granted in his case.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): I understand that no difference was made between the treatment accorded to Mr. Van Rensberg and that accorded to any other borrower. It has, I understand, always been the practice for the Transvaal Government to lend funds at its disposal on mortgage on land. The question of the investment of these funds has not been submitted for my sanction, nor, having regard to the principle frequently stated in this House, do I think it necessary that the investment of funds temporarily at the disposal of the Transvaal Government should be controlled from here.

Colonial Service.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if his attention has been drawn to the case of colonial officers whose health prevents their return to the climates in which their health has suffered; and if he will endeavour to procure them employment in other and different climates.

MR. LYTTELTON: Such cases are frequently under the consideration of the Colonial Office, and it is the invariable practice to endeavour to meet them, so far as circumstances will allow, in the manner suggested by the hon. Member.

Macedonia.

MR. BOND (Nottingham, E.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any, and what, sums have been allocated by the Turkish Government for repatriation under the Article to that effect in the Mürtzsteg arrangement; and whether Christian notables have been members of the committees supervising the distribution of such sums if such distribution has taken place.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.): In August of last year the civil agents reported that £35,000 had been placed by the Turkish Government at the disposal of the Inspector-General for the purposes in question, and the Turkish Government stated in March last that £60,000 had been allocated in all, besides a supply of wood and other building materials. The precise methods in which the money had been distributed are not known to His Majesty's Government, but no complaints on this head have been reported by His Majesty's Consuls. The sums are, however, recognised as inadequate for the requirements of the Article of the Mürtzsteg programme referred to, and the civil agents have been engaged in elaborating a scheme for the general reconstruction of the destroyed peasant dwellings and for the provision of the necessary funds.

Overstocking of Common Lands in Scotland.

MR. CATHCART WASON: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate if the attention of the Crofters' Commission will be called to the constant overstocking of land, the grazing of which is held in common, with the view of considering the best method of checking such overstocking.

THE LORD-ADVOCATE (Mr. SCOTT DICKSON, Glasgow, Bridgton): The attention of the Crofters' Commission has been directed to the matter of overstocking of common pastures by crofters. The Commissioners recognise the importance of devising a sufficient method of checking or preventing overstocking, but the matter is one of great difficulty, and no remedy has at present been devised.

Child Offenders in Scotland.

SIR J. FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.): I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate whether his attention has been called to the frequent committals to prison of children by burgh magistrates in Scotland, notably in the Police Court of Kilmarnock, instead of sending them to industrial or reformatory schools; and whether the Secretary for Scotland will in the interests of the children, take steps to prevent this practice.

MR. SCOTT DICKSON: My attention has been drawn to this matter, and communications have been on many occasions addressed by the Secretary for Scotland to the town clerks of Kilmarnock and of other burghs where committals of children to prisons instead of to industrial or reformatory schools frequently take place. The practice is one which cannot fail to have the most unfortunate effect upon children so committed, but the Secretary for Scotland has neither any power to control the action of the magistracy nor to compel the local authority to furnish the small weekly contribution which has to be paid from local sources in respect of children committed to industrial or reformatory schools.

Ulster Pig Rearing Industry.

MR. LIDDELL (Down, W.:) I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the industry of rearing young pigs and selling them to dealers from Scotland, which brought in to the Ulster farmers at least £50,000 per annum, has been destroyed by restrictions placed by the Board of Agriculture in London on the importation into Great Britain of pigs from Ireland; and whether, in view of the fact that Ulster is entirely free from swine fever, and that Ayrshire pig feeders are being freely supplied with pigs from England, where the disease has occurred in 117 places in the last six months, he will endeavour to procure the removal of restrictions so damaging to Irish agricultural interests.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): The value to Ireland of this trade in 1904 was estimated at £33,000. There is good reason, however, to believe that a considerable part of the trade has found its way into other channels in Ireland, as the price of young swine is well maintained in Ulster and the demand is brisk. It is not the case that Ireland is yet free from swine fever, recent cases having occurred in Belfast and counties Cavan and Down. I cannot undertake to recommend the removal of existing restrictions until that course can safely be adopted.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Fourth Report, with Minutes of Evidence, brought up, and read.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 260.]

CHAIRMEN'S PANEL.

Leave to make a Special Report; Special Report brought up and read; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 261.]

Minutes of Proceedings to be printed. [No. 261.]

THE GOVERNMENT DEFEAT—STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER.

*THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. **BALFOUR**, Manchester, E.): Mr. Speaker, I collect, from the unwonted expedition with which the House has to-day satisfied its curiosity on the ordinary subject-matters dealt with at Question time, that Members are regarding with great impatience the statement which I promised on Thursday last that I would make to-day at the beginning of business. I quite agree that the subject of that statement is one of great constitutional importance; and I should be glad if I could make quite clear to the House, both for present purposes and for future reference, what I think is the sound constitutional practice which ought to govern the decision of the Prime Minister of the day when incidents such as that which occurred on Thursday last have to be dealt with.

There appears to be in many quarters of the House an idea that the accepted constitutional principle is that, when a Government suffers defeat, either in Supply or on any other subject, the proper course for His Majesty's responsible advisers is either to ask His Majesty to relieve them of their office or to ask His Majesty to dissolve Parliament. But the most superficial acquaintance with the Parliamentary history of this country shows, not only that there is no such principle, but that, so far as principle can be extracted from practice, the true principle is precisely of the opposite description. It has happened, indeed, that a Government which has undergone many defeats has resigned on account of a victory. That was, for example, the case of Lord Melbourne's Administration, of which Lord John Russell was the most important member. Fresh, at the time, from the passage of the Reform Bill, they were defeated many times before the resignation of 1839. But the resignation of 1839 took place, not in consequence of a division in which the Government were in a minority, but in consequence of a division in which they were in a majority—though doubtless a very small one. So that in this case, which is not an uninstructive one, we have a Government passing by as of no import, either from the point of view of resignation or of dissolution, successive defeats, yet regarding as of crucial importance a division which, in spite of its apparent success, convinced them that they had lost the confidence of those on whom they generally relied.

I think I heard some slight signs of dissent when I stated that so far as principle could be collected from practice, incidents like that on Thursday night had, broadly speaking, never been regarded by themselves as a ground either for resignation or dissolution. But I do not believe that an instance can be quoted of a Government lasting four or five years without both suffering defeat and turning it. Lord Melbourne's Administration, up to its resignation in 1839, suffered many defeats. Between its reacceptance of office in the same year and its final expulsion from office in 1841 its life was a continual series of defeats. And not only was it defeated on many less important occasions, but in 1841, if my memory serves me rightly, it suffered a severe reverse upon the Budget. But even this was not sufficient to decide Ministers to resign their offices. It required a formal vote of censure, shortly afterwards, proposed by Sir Robert Peel, to induce them to abandon their responsibilities as Ministers of the Crown.

I do not know that subsequent history shows any case of retaining office in the face of repeated defeats as that of Lord Melbourne's Administration, composed, I ought to say, of Whigs of very high constitutional authority. But Sir Robert Peel's Government of 1841–46 was more than once defeated. Lord Russell's subsequent Administration was often defeated. The two Tory Administrations that were in office between 1850 and 1860 both held office in a minority, and therefore I do not count them. Occasional defeat in such cases is not to be avoided. But Lord Palmerston, who came into office for his last Administration in 1859, was defeated more than once, although that Administration was, as everybody knows, a compromise Administration, under which everybody was content, or, at any rate, the majority of the House were content, that the business of the country should be carried on—the Radical Party because they were not sufficiently strong at that moment to take office themselves, the Tory Party because they felt that in many respects there could hardly be a more Tory Administration than that which Lord Palmerston led.

I pass over the brief Administration by Mr. Disraeli, also held in a minority, and I come to what, I think, by common consent is admitted to be the greatest of Mr. Gladstone's three Administrations — the Administration which began in 1868 and lasted till the early weeks of 1874. I think from the point of view which we are now discussing that the whole history of that Administration, to which in another connection I shall revert directly, is full of instruction. It is more instructive than Mr. Gladstone's Administration of 1880–85, because the deathbed scenes of that Administration were to a certain extent complicated by the Reform and Redistribution Bills of 1884 and 1885. But the 1868 Administration was perfectly normal, and Mr. Gladstone's views upon it and the course taken by his Government are extremely instructive.

As the House is well aware, that Administration began to lose by-elections at once, and they suffered Parliamentary defeat, I think, no less than nine times. But that is not all. In 1872 the Administration, though manifestly losing greatly in public favour, was still strong, and was occupied in carrying no less a measure than the Ballot Act. Mr. Bruce, a member of the Government, in a diary of which very instructive and interesting fragments have been published in the great biography of Mr. Gladstone, mentions rather pathetically that they had been beaten three times in one week, and that the least important of those defeats—let the House mark this—was a defeat in which the Government were beaten by 100 on the Motion of a private Member. What were the other two defeats? They were upon the great Government measure of the session, the Ballot Bill. An Amendment was carried against the Government by a combination of the ordinary opponents of the Government with some of its Radical supporters. The Government were defeated. Mr. Gladstone thought the Amendment of such importance that he asked the House to reintroduce his original proposal, and he was beaten by a bigger majority than before. A severer check (to use the word now in fashion) a more serious humiliation, it is hard to imagine. Yet Mr. Bruce, who chronicles these events with the natural regret of a member of the Administration so defeated, does not suggest, even by a word, either that it was the duty of the Government to resign their offices or to go to the country.

That happened in 1872. To the events of 1873, and of Mr. Gladstone's view upon them, I shall revert presently in another connection. At present it is only necessary to point out that the course the Government then pursued showed how low they rated the amount of Parliamentary support necessary for the retention of office. Mr. Gladstone was defeated on a Motion which he declared vital to the life of his Government, and he consented nevertheless to resume office in the very House of Commons which had so treated him. Whether his reasons were good or bad I will not pretend to say; but I may parenthetically remark that, in my judgment, the three great cases in which a Ministry have resigned, have not been able to induce their opponents to take office, and have then resumed office themselves, have always been—I will not use such strong words as disastrous or discreditable—but certainly have been unfortunate, and do not hold out much inducement to their successors to follow the same course. Lord Melbourne, who resumed office after the Bedchamber controversy, as it was called, in 1839, did, I think, nothing but harm to himself, his Ministers, and his Party. Sir Robert Peel, under circumstances which I admit are wholly different, resumed office in 1845, and by so doing destroyed the Tory Party for more than twenty years.

Nor do I believe that anybody looking back upon the decision at which Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues arrived in 1873 would think that so far as they are concerned that course either was one which deserves the flattery of imitation.

I pass lightly over the defeats suffered by Mr. Gladstone's Government of 1880–1885. They were numerous and important. But for five years and a half they were ignored. He was beaten in his last brief Administration without resigning; while Lord Rosebery began his tenure of office in 1894 by enduring a defeat on the Address.

Now I think it is evident from this brief, and perhaps too rapid, survey of recent constitutional history that the only divisions which, taken by themselves, and in isolation from the general circumstances of the time, from the feeling of the Parties in the House, from the question of union in the Cabinet—the only Parliamentary issues which, taken in isolation from these attendant circumstances, have always been regarded as conclusive are those in which there has been a trial of strength between the Parties with all the circumstances of notice and other attendant incidents required to make it clear that the issue to be decided is one of "confidence" or "no confidence." A case which I have just alluded to in another connection shows how rigidly this rule has been drawn; because, while it is the ordinary view—and I think, broadly speaking, the sound view—that a hostile vote on the Address is regarded as a vote of censure and is supposed to be fatal to the Government, I have just reminded the House that such a hostile vote was actually given in 1904 on the Address, and all that the then Leader of the House and the then Prime Minister did was to reintroduce the Address in a somewhat abbreviated form. So narrowly did those authorities interpret the general *dictum* I have laid down that the only divisions which by themselves and in themselves constitute an irrevocable sentence on the Government in power are votes of censure, or votes which from other circumstances have about them the character of votes of censure.

I think that is the whole truth with regard to votes taken in this House considered in their isolation. But I quite admit that there are circumstances in which you cannot take a vote in its isolation. You have to take it with all its attendant circumstances, and a Government, if it is conscious that it cannot carry on the business of the House, may be perfectly justified in taking a vote which, under different circumstances, it would regard with relative indifference as the formal occasion of its termination of office. I have never shared the view, which I think was expressed by Mr. Gladstone, that the conduct of right hon. Gentlemen opposite in 1895 when they resigned on the cordite vote was pusillanimous. Mr. Gladstone's view was, apparently, that after that vote it was the duty of the Government to struggle on until some more decisive exhibition of Parliamentary hostility was shown by the then House of Commons. I think that criticism goes too far. The embarrassments under which Lord Rosebery's Government were labouring are quite notorious; the extreme difficulty which they would have had in coming creditably out of a debate on a vote of censure was known to everybody; they had on hand a great controversial Bill, the Welsh Church Bill; they were involved in all the difficulties of the Committee stage, and it was clear that the Committee stage could never be got through without the defeat of the Government. I have always thought that, in these circumstances, the course they then pursued, though in no sense obligatory upon them, was not deserving of the criticism which, perhaps in a hasty moment, Mr. Gladstone appears to have passed on it.

But compare these circumstances with ours. I do not think it will be denied that at this moment the Government does actully possess the confidence of that House. I do not wish to introduce any unnecessarily controversial matter into this statement; but I think it will be admitted by those who look back upon our past career that, however bad may be the Bills we have passed, however infamous the motives by which we have been animated, yet as a matter of fact those Bills have suffered less change at the hands of the House [OPPOSITION cries of "Gag" and "Guillotine"] than, so far as I know, any great measures brought in by previous Governments. When I hear hon. Gentlemen opposite indicating that this result was attained by the use of tyrannical measures I am not concerned, at the present moment, to defend myself against the implied charge; but I would remind the House that a tyrant in this House owes his whole power to the confidence of the majority of this House, and that, however great may be the misuse which he makes of that power, the fact that he can exercise it does show—which is all I am concerned with at the present moment—that the confidence of the House is effectively possessed by him and by his colleagues. Therefore, so far as the majority of this House is concerned, I think it will be admitted that we retain their confidence. At any rate, in a few hours we shall have an opportunity of experimentally proving or disproving it.

Of course, I admit that there may be circumstances, apart from the confidence of the House of Commons, which have in the past induced, and may in the future induce, Governments to request the Sovereign to relieve them of their functions. For instance, there may be disunion in the Cabinet — one of the commonest sources of resignation. That, I believe, was the reason why Mr. Gladstone resigned in 1874.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Montrose Burghs) dissented.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Was it not one of the causes?

MR. JOHN MORLEY: In 1874?

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, I think so.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: No.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Surely the right hon. Gentleman is mistaken.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: I submit, of course as a mere matter of inference, that he resigned because the Army and Navy Estimates would not be reduced to the figure which he desired to see them reduced to.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, Sir, but which Mr. Cardwell and Mr. Goschen would not have them reduced to. Which is what I meant, and all that I meant, by disunion in the Cabinet. I think the view just expressed by the right hon. Gentleman really bears out my statement. Then, unless rumour greatly deceives us, the dissensions of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet of 1880——

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Oh!

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am talking of matters which are not Cabinet secrets at all. I am talking of the Government of 1880, and not of that which took office in 1892 whose secrets the right hon. Gentleman is rightly anxious to guard. I believe the dissensions in that Cabinet were really matters of notoriety; they have been made matters of record since; and I have no doubt that they contributed more or less to the difficulties which beset that Government at the end of its term of office. I only refer to those dissensions as examples of the collateral circumstances which have induced Governments on previous occasions to attach an importance to a defeat in the House which that defeat, taken by itself, would never have acquired. I am revealing no Cabinet secret when I say that the present Government does not suffer from any such disunion.

But there remains one collateral circumstance to which I have as yet made no reference at all, but which appears to assume gigantic proportions in the speeches and conversations of hon. Gentlemen opposite. They may on reflection admit, after having heard my account of the leading constitutional precedents, the first proposition which I lay down, which is that a vote like that of Thursday last, taken by itself, is not a ground for resignation or dissolution by a Government which retains the confidence of the House. But they say, "That is all very well so far as the House is concerned; but the House does not represent the country; and it is not the voice of the House but of the country as determined by by-elections which in these circumstances should determine the policy of the Government." I am not sure that the right hon. Gentleman opposite did not use this very argument at a garden party on Saturday. We do not expect much wisdom from orators on such occasions; but I will admit that the right hon. Gentleman faithfully echoed what appears to be a common superstition upon the other side of the House—namely, that a Minister, kept in office by a majority in Parliament, ought to consider, in addition to the views of that majority, precisely how the tide of public opinion is flowing, so far as the direction and the strength of that tide can be judged by the course of by-elections. Now I assert that this is an absolutely novel principle, a principle which, so far as I know, has never been suggested by any responsible Minister of the Crown either in public or in private.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): Mr. Gladstone said it.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is alleged of Lord John Russell that, in the midst of the difficulties of the Melbourne Administration, he gave as a reason against dissolution that candidates in the then state of public feeling would make inconvenient and dangerous pledges to their constituents. That was the doctrine which he favoured at a time when his Government was being constantly defeated in the House and when the by-elections were going against it; and on constitutional matters Lord John Russell was no mean authority.

But, as the hon. Gentleman opposite has challenged me about Mr. Gladstone, I should really like the House seriously to consider the very interesting events which occurred just previous to the dissolution of 1874. I have given the House at an earlier period of my statement an account of what happened in 1873. I now pass on to 1874 for the purpose of illustrating this branch of my argument. In 1873 Mr. Gladstone was defeated on the Irish University Bill. He had made it a vital question, and he naturally and necessarily resigned on it; and—I think quite wrongly—when he found that no other arrangement was possible without a dissolution, he resumed office in the very House of Commons which had shown its want of confidence in him so often before. The Government of that day got through the session; and there is extant a most interesting letter on the situation from Mr. Gladstone to one of his most familiar and trusted colleagues, Lord Granville, which I see the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose Burghs has got in his hands. There is one passage in that letter which has been quoted before in this House and has been largely referred to in the public Press, the passage in which Mr. Gladstone says that no number of by-elections, taken by themselves, whatever their cumulative significance, offer any constitutional reason for resigning. I have not got the words with me; if the right hon. Gentleman thinks my summary inaccurate perhaps he will hand me the volume. [Mr. JOHN MORLEY did so and opened it at the reference.] These are the words—

> "A Ministry with a majority, and with that majority not in rebellion—"

A very modest phrase, apparently the most flattering one that Mr. Gladstone thought appropriate to the state of his Party but which certainly does not describe the condition of the Party which I have the honour to lead—

> "should not resign on account of adverse manifestations, even of very numerous single constituencies, without making a precedent, and constitutionally a bad precedent; and only a very definite and substantive difficulty could warrant resignation without dissolution after the proceedings of the Opposition in March last."

Then Mr. Gladstone, having laid down this *dictum*, proceeded to point out what a difficulty the Ministry were in, and how inconvenient it would be to seek a remedy in dissolution since in all probability a dissolution would not give him a majority. He naïvely examines various expedients for obtaining a popular "cry"; and, failing these, he gave utterance to a wish which I think is the most extraordinary ever expressed by a Minister in difficulties. What he says in effect is, that the best way out of the scrape is to get up some honourable dissension among his colleagues which would enable them to extricate themselves from their embarrassment. Now can anybody doubt after this that Mr. Gladstone, in deciding what were the attendant circumstances which should, after a defeat in the House, or after a very narrow majority in the House, require the Government to dissolve or resign—never took into account at all, or took into account only to reject it, the general current of public opinion as indicated by the balance of by-elections?

AN HON. MEMBER: No, never.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am quite aware that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose Burghs quoted some passage in a letter to the Queen, but I venture to say that this outpouring of his soul to his most trusted colleague, this balancing of "pros" and "cons" in an intimate correspondence is the very best authority we can have as to Mr. Gladstone's view. I am confirmed in that opinion by an estimate which the right hon. Gentleman somewhere makes of Mr. Gladstone's character—a character which impelled him so long as his House of Commons battalions could be kept together, and he could continue to count on a majority of one! The idea that he ought to resign with a majority at his back prepared to support him, he would have scouted as ludicrous. I do not say that I wholly agree with him. I am not sure that I go the full length either of Lord John Russell or of Mr. Gladstone. They drove their doctrines—no doubt sound in themselves—on certain occasions to very extreme limits. But I am perfectly certain we are not driving constitutional doctrines to an extreme limit when we say that this is not an occasion on which resignation or dissolution is necessary or would be in conformity with constitutional practice.

Mr. A. J. Balfour.

I admit, however, that this conclusion, however accurate, is not decisive. We are not and ought not to be the mere slaves of constitutional precedent. The British Constitution has gradually grown up, developed and moulded in accordance with changing circumstances; and the mere fact that Lord John Russell took a certain course in the late thirties and that Mr. Gladstone took the same course in the early seventies—to say nothing of later precedents on which I need not dwell—does not conclusively prove that we ought to follow examples, however illustrious and however consistent. But does the House seriously think, looking to the future, that we should improve upon past practice by making divisions such as that which took place on Thursday last the touchstone of the existence or the dissolution of a Government? The time may not be far distant, when the tables may be reversed, and when a stray division on Estimates or some other subject may be carried against a Government of which I am one of the opponents. I try, as we all should try, to look at this quite apart from our momentary political fortunes. We have got to consider it from the point of view of efficient administration, and by efficient administration, I may parenthetically remark, I do not mean administration which hon. Gentlemen opposite agree with or admire.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs): Or the country.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If you like, or the country, any more than the country admired Mr. Gladstone's administration.

AN HON. MEMBER: Give the country a chance.

ANOTHER HON. MEMBER: Leave Mr. Gladstone alone.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The question and the only question is whether, looking to the future, there is any reason to depart from the practice which our Parliamentary ancestors have uniformly followed. I have no doubt how the question should be answered. I am quite clearly of opinion that it will be a very great evil if Ministers, on whatever side they sit and whatever view the Opposition may take as to their merits, were to regard their tenure of office as dependent, and simply dependent, upon such a vote as took place upon Thursday last. If anybody will study the modern practice of constitutional government in foreign countries, he will see that one of the great evils of working by Parliamentary majorities is that in too many cases it leads to frequent changes of administration. We may all live, every one of us, to see the time when two historic Parties in this House are fairly evenly matched in point of numbers and when the balance between them is held by Parties which are not the historical Parties of this country. In those cases it would be in the power of a very small group of men at any time to require the Ministry to tender their resignations to the Sovereign and to compel the Sovereign to accept those resignations. That would be a very great evil, and I say that quite irrespective of the Party which is in power or is to be in power. It is an evil in itself; it is one of the diseases from which representative Government suffers; and we have avoided it in this country, in so far as we have avoided it, largely by the fact that we have not consented in the past, and as I hope we shall never consent in the future, to allow a Government united in itself, and having the confidence of the House, to abandon its post merely because of an incident like that of which we have had recent experience.

I have given, I am afraid at undue length——

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Mr. Speaker, I wish, as a point of order, to ask whether the right hon. Gentleman intends to conclude with a Motion for the adjournment of the House, a Motion which under our rules only a Minister has the power of making in these circumstances. If he does not conclude with such a Motion, then I have to ask whether it would be possible for us to debate, not a statement merely, but the long and reasoned speech of the right hon. Gentleman. My fear is that if he concludes without a Motion there will be no Question before the House, and we shall be ruled out in attempting to answer the right hon. Gentleman.

*MR. SPEAKER: A debate upon a Ministerial statement has generally been held to be irregular. There should be some Question before the House. Of course, under the circumstances of to-day, the Prime Minister, having spoken now almost an hour, I should not feel disposed to stop the Leader of the Opposition or the hon. and learned Gentleman who has just addressed me if they wish to offer any observations; but I think I should have no power to set aside the general rule of the House and to allow a general debate to take place.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Then I ask the right hon. Gentleman to regularise a debate—so that the House can discuss his speech—by making a Motion which under the rules he can make.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I had just finished my speech, and I will take it as concluded because I have dealt with all the points I wanted to lay before the House. I address myself now to the request made to me by the hon. and learned Gentleman, which is unexpected but, I think, quite a proper Question. I had not thought of it. I really am ashamed when I look at the clock, although I hope I have not occupied nearly an hour. I will venture to make a hurried suggestion to the House. We have got a vote of censure this afternoon, which, except *qua* censure, nobody takes very much interest in at the moment. Now, if I were to move the adjournment of the House and the division on that were to count as the vote of censure——

MR. ASQUITH (Fifeshire, E): That is unreasonable.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Is that not a reasonable request? [Cries of "No."] Then if I cannot be met in that manner, we cannot have two votes of censure.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Are you going to prevent any Answer to your speech?

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There may be Answers to my speech going on till midnight, and as the vote will be distinct on the question whether the Government were or were not right in retaining office, I should have thought that raised a much clearer issue. At all events, I shall not move the Motion myself, but, if necessary, it can be moved from this bench. I should like to hear the Answer which the right hon. Gentleman may make to a very sincere and honest suggestion on my part, and which I believe would conduce to the interest of the House.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The most natural interruption of the hon. Member for Waterford has drawn from the Prime Minister what he calls an offer. But I can relieve him at once of one portion of the bargain which he seeks to make, because it is quite obvious that after what has happened the Motion that stands in the name of my right hon. friend the Member for Berwick is superseded by what has occurred, and by the subjects which are before us to-day. What is the Motion of my right hon. friend? It is not a Motion of censure in the literal sense of the word that it expressly blames the Government; it is a Motion declaring that a dissolution should take place before the Colonial Conference is held. We may have entertained a distinct hope and desire even when that Motion was put on the Paper; but we entertain the most lively and overwhelming sense now of the hope and desire, indeed the insistent demand, not for a dissolution before a Colonial Conference takes place, but for a dissolution now, either immediate or prefaced by such arrangements for the ending of the session as might be made. That has swallowed up the question of a dissolution before the Colonial Conference. Therefore, as far as that part of the right hon. Gentleman's suggestion is concerned, he has his way.

But when he says that he will move, or someone will move on his part, the adjournment of the House in order that there may be an opportunity of expressing a vote of confidence in the Government, it is not that which is in question, but the opportunity of debating and discussing the situation of the Government as explained by the right hon. Gentleman. I think that, if he expects an elaborate and carefully prepared historical record of past events, such as he has given to the House, can be met and answered in all particulars at a moment's notice, he is making too great a demand upon the intelligence and the knowledge of the rest of the House of Commons. We do desire to-day to have an opportunity, however it may be given, of a full discussion of the situation of the Government and their conduct with regard to the events of last week, and of their intentions announced by the Prime Minister in his speech to-day. We wish to have that as soon as it can be given. [MINISTERIAL cries of "Now."] Decidedly "now," if you like. We are entirely agreed, we mean to have it to-day on a convenient opportunity; but it is not a convenient opportunity to discuss it on this mere statement and counter-statement, or speech and counter-speech, which can take place on the statement of the Prime Minister, but there must be some definite Motion of another kind upon which the discussion might proceed; and I leave it to the right hon. Gentleman to find us that opportunity in the way he thinks best.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I can only speak with the general assent of the House, and I do not of course do so in any controversial sense. As I understand the right hon. Gentleman, he has definitely abandoned raising the particular issue, now a very old friend, contained in the Motion of the right hon. Baronet the Member for Berwick. He desires, however, to have an opportunity of discussing the present situation of the Government and their determination to retain office in existing circumstances, and to have an opportunity of replying to the case which, I think, perhaps, at too great length, I have made as to the course we have adopted. I think everyone will feel that it is only fair to the Government that there should be one debate and not two. I would suggest that, as the House is here in large numbers in the belief that there was to be a vote of censure moved by the right hon. Gentleman, the withdrawal of which has never been signified to me——

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I could not signify it because I was not aware of the announcement the right hon. Gentleman would make. I hesitated considerably over the matter, and I came to the conclusion that it was not for me to anticipate any particular statement of his.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I can assure the right hon. Gentleman I never suspected hon. Members of any want of courtesy either to myself or to my friends; but I should have thought that our best plan was to substitute, either formally or substantially, a Motion embodying the new point which the right hon. Gentleman wishes to have a division upon—namely, the propriety of the course that the Government are now taking. Is that not so?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I think that the adjournment of the House or some analogous Motion would be a ready, opportune, and suitable means of giving us the discussion.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: All I want is to get the understanding quite clear as to what is desired. I understand the right hon. Gentleman thinks—and I agree with him—that by far the best way of bringing this matter to a clear issue is for the adjournment to be moved and for a vote to be taken on that Motion. You would, Mr. Speaker, I suppose in the exceptional circumstances of the case allow on that Motion speeches to be made relative to the decision I have announced to the House; but outside that question, taking it as broadly as you like, the conduct of the Government and the propriety of a dissolution, and whether the Government have or have not the confidence of the country, it would not be regarded as proper that hon. Members should intervene in a debate which from the nature of the words that must be moved carries with it no natural limitations. If that be so, I would ask one of my right hon. friends on this bench to move the adjournment of the House. It seems to me that this would give, though in a circuitous form, under the conditions I have suggested, a very precise issue to the House, involving the confidence of the House in the Government. All those who are prepared to support His Majesty's Government would vote against the adjournment; all those who take the opposite view would vote for the adjournment. We came down to the House prepared to deal with the equivalent of a vote of censure which involved a relatively narrow issue. That vote of censure the Opposition no longer proposes to move; but, after having listened to the defence I have given and the course of action of the Government, they express a desire, which no one can describe as unnatural, to comment on that statement, and they further desire to show by their votes—[OPPOSITION cries of "No!"]—or by letting the matter go by default, what their view is of the conduct of the Government. I am quite ready to lend myself to that policy, which seems to me to be clear and intelligible, and it is the policy of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, if the House generally agrees. I understand that meets the wishes of the right hon. Gentleman?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am anxious that there should be no misunderstanding. What we desire is to have an opportunity of discussing and expressing our views upon the situation caused by the circumstances of last week, and the resolution to which the Government have come upon it. [MINISTERIAL cries of "When?"] Now. It is obvious that under the ordinary rules of the House there is no latitude for a general discussion. As the Speaker has said, it would be confined to one or two Members only. We do not think that is right; therefore, if a greater latitude to the discussion could be given, we are willing that the right hon. Gentleman should move the adjournment.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: I am not sure whether the right hon. Gentleman has concluded his observations. I rise for the purpose of saying two or three words on this question. I stand in a different position from the representatives of the regular Opposition, and they have no responsibility whatever for me or for my words. I desire to say for myself and my colleagues, that what we wish is to grapple with the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman here and now at this the earliest moment. We desire to express our views with reference to his action as announced to-day, not only by speech, but by every means in our power, and we do not desire the matter to be postponed. It was for that reason I took it upon myself to interrupt the right hon. Gentleman towards the close of his speech, in order to make the suggestion which I did, namely, that he should conclude his speech by moving the adjournment, a course which can only be followed under the rules to-day by a *Minister*. After that we should instantly join issue with the right hon. Gentleman, and take the opportunity of expressing our opinion. It seems to me that to postpone the consideration and discussion of this matter would be to indicate a quite inadequate view of the gravity of the situation. My point of view is that a great constitutional crisis has arisen, that the whole meaning of the Septennial Act and the whole meaning of constitutional government has been raised by the crisis that has arisen, and, in my judgment, it would be trifling with the situation if we were to adjourn the consideration of this matter for one day or one hour. Beyond that I will not go at this moment. I hope the course I have suggested will be followed. I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman a Question which can be most properly answered now. It is whether the determination which he has announced on the part of the Government generally means that, notwithstanding the condemnation by the House of Commons of the administration of the Irish Land Act by the present Chief Secretary, that right hon. Gentleman is still to be retained in office.

*Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: That is a Question of which no previous notice is necessary. I have never heard it suggested as among the many possible courses open to the Government that we should continue to retain office and ask my right hon. friend to resign. [Cries of "What about Wyndham?"] To refer to the actual Question before the House, there is a universal agreement, except as to the *modus operandi*. We are all agreed that the Motion of the right hon. Member for Berwick is to be taken off the Paper. We are all agreed that the statement I have made on the position of the Government is one which the Opposition has a perfect right to discuss. We are all agreed that that discussion should take place to-day. We are all agreed that there should be an opportunity of voting on it if it is desired. The only question in dispute, therefore, is how these objects should be attained. Under the Standing Orders of the House only a Minister can move the adjournment of the House. But on reflection it occurs to me that to ask one of my right hon. friends to move the adjournment and then to ask all my hon. friends to vote against it would savour somewhat of Parliamentary paradox. If our purpose is attained in this way I shall have to ask my friends to vote for the adjournment; and hon. Gentlemen opposite would know that, in expressing their condemnation of the course of the Government, their proper course would be to vote against the adjournment. [Cries of "No!" and interruption.] The hon. Member for Northampton is apparently not anxious to divide; but the Leader of the Irish Party is. [Cries of "No."] Yes, he is. [Cries of "No."] If the House generally is agreed in voting for the adjournment the Government will have a larger majority and a more unanimous expression of confidence in their conduct than I had ventured to anticipate. If this account of the position is understood, I shall ask one of my right hon. friends now to move the adjournment.

Lord HUGH CECIL (Greenwich) suggested a more regular and simple way would be to let the right hon. Member for Berwick move his Motion without a speech and then let the hon. and learned Member for Waterford move an Amendment. [Cries of "No."]

*Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I had thought of the possibility of amending the vote of censure; but I think it would be rather difficult to accomplish. But I am clearly to understand that the course I have proposed is one accepted on every side of the House. [Insistent cries of "Move, move!"]

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY (Yorkshire, Shipley), rising to a point of order, said: Do I understand that the Leader of the Opposition did not give an undertaking. [Loud cries of "Order" and interruption.]

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I rise to a point of order.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member for Shipley is himself raising a point of order.

MR. DILLON: No, he was asking a Question.

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY: On a point of order, Sir, I wish to ask whether the Leader of the Opposition has or has not undertaken [Loud cries of "That is not a point of order" and "Sit down"] to vote against the Motion for the adjournment. [Renewed interruption.]

*MR. SPEAKER: The vote the right hon. Gentleman will give will no doubt depend on the debate that will take place.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs), rising to a point of order and speaking amid loud cries of "Move," asked whether it would not be more regular for the first order of the day to be called and then for the adjournment to be moved on the Opposition side of the House. [Cries of "No, no!" and "Move."]

*MR. SPEAKER: The difficulty is that the debate would then be limited in character. What the House desires to discuss is the statement of the Prime Minister.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Of course it is understood that, if the House have until twelve o'clock if they desire to discuss my statement, there will be no danger of a demand for a rediscussion. [Cries of "Move."]

MR. JOHN REDMOND: I do not know what the right hon. Gentleman means. If he means that the House is to be prevented from asking for further days or from taking every opportunity they may have to discuss the action of the Government, I may say that I will be no party to such an arrangement.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is not the point. There is a definite issue now before the House, namely, the propriety or the impropriety of the decision of the Government as to the consequences of Thursday's division. Of course, if something else occurs—if the Government is again defeated [Cries of "Oh!" "Move," and interruption]—no one is precluded from taking advantage of any future opportunities. What I must make clear to the House is, that the Leader of the Opposition, who is the only person to whom I should pay attention in asking for a day for a vote of censure, regards to-day as exhausting the necessities of the case. [Cries of "No, no!"]

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that in consequence of the course which the Government has pursued it will be very hard to induce any section of the House, on this side at all events, to come under a pledge not to recall before the House the strange circumstances of the last few days.

*MR. A. J. BALFOUR, who was received with loud cries of "Move" and "Adjourn," said: I think I can make the position perfectly clear. I give notice that I shall ask my right hon. friend to move the adjournment of the House, and that I shall not give a day for any further discussion of the subject.

*THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Sir A. ACLAND-HOOD, Somersetshire, Wellington) then formally moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Motion has been made by the person best fitted to make it. The right hon. Gentleman has made a long and elaborate historical review to justify the course which he has chosen to take. No amount of precedents, no amount of reference to past occasions, will satisfy the House or the country that he has taken the right course on this occasion. He has quoted a great many instances in which Governments have been defeated, but these cases ought to be weighed as well as remembered. Some of them are of an important character, and some are of no importance at all; and they depend, as he himself had to admit, upon the circumstances in which they occurred as well as upon the merits. I will say at once that this was no ordinary occasion of the defeat of a Government. The right hon. Gentleman has endeavoured to make light of the indication of the feeling of the country afforded by the by-elections. He has done so on many occasions before; and the attitude he has taken is this—that as long as he was not deprived of the support of his friends in the House, he considered that he was entitled to retain office, notwithstanding any amount of by-elections or other indications of a change of popular feeling. In that he takes up what I believe to be an entirely unconstitutional position. It is common for us to say, and it is true constitutionally, that the Minister of the Crown in this country is selected and appointed because he is the man who commands a majority in the House of Commons. But what does that mean? It means that the command of the majority of the House represents the feeling of the country. The moment the House of Commons get out of touch and harmony with the country then that plea for retaining office dissolves; and the right hon. Gentleman has no right to entrench himself behind the confidence and support of his friends here after it is known to all mankind and to himself, as well as to any of them, that he has lost the confidence of the country. When I say it is known to himself, it is obviously so, because, if he was not aware he had lost the confidence of the country, why should he show any reluctance to appeal to the country and immensely strengthen his position by securing a favourable verdict from it?

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.

Another thing he has said to-day to which I must refer. It is that the state of things at home and abroad, it may be, is anxious, and that it would be undesirable that the power of the Government should go into other hands.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I never said it. [An Hon. Member: Oh, yes, you did.]

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It has been said freely by the supporters of the right hon. Gentleman if he has not said it, and therefore we are entitled to refer to it. Surely I can answer that by the very simplest of arguments—that the fact of being out of harmony with the great body of opinion of the country surely invalidates the Government in itself for the active and successful prosecution of the affairs of the country, and is therefore a strong reason for their resigning their position. But the right hon. Gentleman quoted Mr. Gladstone, and I think he was surprised that I should make some interruption when he went on to appeal to Mr. Gladstone. The reason is that I never remember that the right hon. Gentleman showed such extraordinary deference to the authority of Mr. Gladstone when he was alive. Really I think when he does refer to Mr. Gladstone as his authority he ought to be a little more sure that he is accurate. With regard to the letter to Lord Granville, to which he refers, that was followed in the same volume which he used as his authority by a formal letter to the Queen in which Mr. Gladstone submitted his resignation to Her Majesty—

> "Mr. Gladstone laid before the Cabinet a pretty full outline of the case as to the weakness of the Government since the crisis of last March, and the increase of that weakness, especially of late, from the unfavourable character of local indications."

That is a point of which the right hon. Gentleman took no notice. In a note on the following page it says on this question —the question of retaining the conduct of affairs—

> "The events of the last few weeks and the prospects of the present moment have somewhat tended to turn the scale in his mind and that of his followers."

And in a letter written to Lord Aberdare, one of his followers, explaining the situation, he says—

> "The continual loss of elections, and the expediency of avoiding being further weakened, have determined us at once to take the opinion of the country and to stand or fall by it."

That is the quotation on which the right hon. Gentleman rests for the assertion that Mr. Gladstone paid no attention, or did not attach great importance, to by-elections. Here is what Mr. Gladstone said after the election was over and when he met Parliament again. He said—

> "We found that the suspicions we entertained"—explaining the reasons for the dissolution of Parliament—"arising from a course of single elections and gradually gathering strength were confirmed by the actual results, and I do not regret a dissolution, whatever its results to us or, for the moment, to the Party with which I am associated, which has given to the people of this country a constitutional opportunity of declaring what its convictions were with respect to the conduct of public affairs."

On April 4th, 1874, in this House again, he spoke even more explicitly, and said—

> "My regret is not that a dissolution took place when it did, but that it did not take place before. I am not willing to hold office under any circumstances with a minority either in this House or in the country."

As the right hon. Gentleman attaches so much importance to the authority and opinion of Mr. Gladstone I may quote further—

> "It is repugnant to my feeling and not compatible with the best interests of the country that the Government should continue to govern, even with a numerical majority, when its strength is falling away; when there is daily increasing evidence that it no longer represents the will and the opinion of the constituencies. That is a regret of which I have to make a frank expression."

The culminating argument he used to-day was this reference to the alleged opinion and feeling of Mr. Gladstone. I think these words show that there was no foundation whatever for that argument, and that, on the contrary, Mr. Gladstone on that and on all occasions not only took the constitutional line before the country, but had the constitutional line imprinted on his own heart.

What is this case we have to deal with? The right hon. Gentleman and his colleagues and his supporters were well aware of the state of feeling in the country. He had made the assertion that he retained office because he continued to have the support of the Gentlemen who sat behind him. But then last week the Government met with a rebuff with regard to their Redistribution Resolutions. He summoned a meeting of his followers, and appealed to them solemnly and called upon them to be constantly in their places in order to support the Government and to prevent them from any accidental defeat, which might, however small, have very grave consequences. Immediately following upon that was that on the very evening of the day on which the meeting was held Members on the other side of the House had to be put up to talk against time in order to save the Government from a defeat. On Thursday came the division which is the foundation of all our troubles at this moment. It was not a snap division. You cannot call it an accident. You might call it an incident if you like, but never an accident. It was on an important question of policy, on one of the main policies of the Government, and it amounted to a rejection by the Nationalist Party of their proposal for carrying that policy out. It was, therefore, a matter of the very first importance. It was taken after a long debate in a full House, and after due notice, and after every effort had been made to obtain the attendance of Members. The majority was not large, but it must be remembered that there were over 100 Members among the right hon. Gentleman's supporters who were absent on that occasion. If that was not the sort of incident to which he had referred when he talked of resigning if he failed to obtain the support of his followers, then where is such an incident to be found? These are the circumstances which govern this particular defeat, and give it, apart from the merits of the question, a force, importance, and significance which none of the cases to which he has referred possesses.

When we came here to-day we were satisfied that there were only two courses constitutionally before the right hon. Gentleman. There was the course of dissolution and the course of resignation. Now we find he is to disregard this very significant and obvious expression of the opinion of the House, he is to disregard the equally obvious and significant expression he has received for months past from the country, and he is to retain his office as if nothing had happened. It is an absolutely unconstitutional course he is taking. It is contrary to all precedents as well as to all the rules that are laid down by the handbooks of constitutional law. It is contrary to both; and on that ground we cannot but regret that the right hon. Gentleman, instead of taking the manly course either of going to the country or laying down the burden of office, thinks that he can stumble along a few months longer in a vain attempt, I suppose, to rehabilitate and restore the fortunes of his Party.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: I heartily rejoice that the right hon. Gentleman has adopted the course which he has adopted and enabled this debate to proceed at once because, as I said in the few words I uttered earlier, in my opinion this is so grave a matter that any adjournment of discussion and consideration would create a false impression outside as to the seriousness of the issues at stake. The right hon. Gentleman delivered a long, carefully prepared, and carefully reasoned speech, and although I fancy that most of those who desire to follow him would have been glad of the opportunity to read the speech and consider it before replying, it seems to me that the reply is so plain on the face of the matter that it is better for us to deal with it instantly. The right hon. Gentleman has quoted many precedents to show he is right that Governments have never resigned simply because of isolated defeats in the House of Commons, even when those defeats have ceased to be isolated and have been repeated.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: What I said was that a formal vote of censure had always been regarded as a reason for resignation.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: I quite understand the right hon. Gentleman's argument, but what are these regular votes of censure? They are just what the Minister of the day likes to make them. On two or three different occasions regular votes of censure were moved from the Opposition Benches, and what did this Minister do who comes down here to-day and boasts that he has the confidence of the House of Commons? Why Sir, he ran away, allowed these Resolutions expressing directly a want of confidence in his Government to be carried without a division—*nemine contradicente*, and these Resolutions stand to-day on the records of this House. What, then, does the right hon. Gentlemen mean by "such a vote of censure as will induce him to resign?" He means a vote of censure arranged by himself, on a day fixed by himself, when he will be able to bring men from all parts of the earth to support him on a division—men who differ from him on the fiscal question, but who are intimidated by the tide of popular feeling in the country and are prepared to vote for him in order to avoid the inevitable day of reckoning with their constituents. These votes of censure as tests of the real feeling of the House or the confidence of the House in the Ministry are a sham and a fraud. The right hon. Gentlemen knows perfectly well that he does not represent the majority of the House on the most vital issue before the country, namely, the fiscal question, and whenever he has succeeded in scraping through these votes of censure it has been by the votes of Gentlemen like the right hon. Member for West Bristol, who differ profoundly from him on the issue at stake, but who come to give him their votes to keep him in office. The right hon. Gentleman does not represent the majority of this House on this vital question.

The right hon. Gentleman went on to deal with the decision of the country, and he quoted precedents in past years where Governments had been defeated at by-elections. I want to know if there is any precedent in living memory for a Government which has met with such enormous condemnation in all parts of the kingdom in recent by-elections. I want to know whether, judged by these by-elections or by the action of this House, the right hon. Gentleman does not stand in the most contemptible position in retaining office when he knows, and everybody else knows, that he does not represent the majority of the country? What is the position of this Government? Let me recapitulate the extraordinary position in which this Government stands, and which is without a parallel in the Parliamentary history of our time. How was this Government elected? It was elected on a war cry; on a declaration that the war was over; and the electors were told by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, amongst others, that every vote given for a Liberal candidate was a vote given in favour of the Boers, who were in arms against the Empire. Therefore, it was an election held on the war. I do not want to stretch the theory of referendum to undue length; but a Government elected on such a cry was not entitled to deal with great constitutional questions, and certainly was not entitled to challenge the decision of the electors who called for their resignation. Since then the Government has met with defeat everywhere; in London and in the country; in their strongest constituencies; in places like Brighton, which were specially selected as hopeless to be attacked by the Opposition. And even in their last lucky exploit, where they succeeded by the skin of their teeth in returning the noble Lord opposite, it was proved how strongly the tide was running against them in the country.

Now the Government have conducted their business this session in a most extraordinary manner. They produced an elaborate scheme of Redistribution in a form which the merest tyro in this House condemned. All their plans have been upset by this extraordinary blunder, and the Redistribution Resolution has been removed from the Order-book. So weak do they feel themselves in the confidence of the House that the right hon. Gentleman took the unwonted course of summoning a meeting of his Party at the Foreign Office, and made an *ad misericordiam* appeal to his followers to stay in the House and vote for him. As the Leader of the Opposition has rightly reminded the House, on the very afternoon of the day on which that meeting was held the Government had to occupy about an hour and a-half in putting up their followers to talk against time before the vote was taken, because the Whips informed them that there was not a majority of the Government followers present. And the day after that the right hon. Gentleman met with a defeat in the division lobby.

What was the meaning and character of that defeat? I notice someone spoke of a snap division. What is a snap division? A couple of years ago my friends succeeded in beating the Government in an unexpected division in Supply, and the right hon. Gentleman instantly took the ground that that was a snap division and therefore must be disregarded. But can the right hon. Gentleman maintain that the division on Thursday last was a snap division? It is superfluous to argue the question because of the silence with which my statement is met. No one is inclined seriously to deny that that was a division which was expected, of which full notice was given, and that it took place in a full House just before midnight. It is unnecessary for me to read the extraordinary whip issued by the right hon. Gentleman opposite, to whom I certainly would be inclined to pay a tribute for his most extraordinary devotion to work, his constant urbanity under very difficult circumstances, and for the success with which he has whipped his men so far during the session. The right hon. Gentleman, therefore, cannot contend that this was a snap division.

Let me ask what was the subject-matter of the division? I asked the Prime Minister a Question as to the tenure of office of the present Chief Secretary for Ireland. Whatever fate befalls the Government as the result of such a division as this, I know of no instance of a great question of Irish administration on which a full House has given a hostile vote which has not been followed by the resignation of the Minister or by some modification of his programme. The House will remember that the Chief Secretary was challenged on the issue by him of certain regulations to the Estates Commissioners under the Land Act. These regulations were denounced by hon. Members on this side. I was entitled, therefore, to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether they were still to be continued in the face of a hostile vote against him. The very day after the division took place *The Times* newspaper, which held a very serious view of the question, said it was not merely a defeat of the Government on an item of

Supply, but a defeat on what amounted to a Second Reading of an important Government measure. The reason for that statement was that the Chief Secretary had opened the discussion by sketching a new amending Land Bill for Ireland, and, with the exception of the right hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh, there was not a word said in favour of that Bill. Everybody who spoke condemned it; and in the division lobby it was defeated.

I want to ask with reference to the regulations, which have been condemned, and also with reference to the Land Bill announced, what action the Government intend to take in regard to Irish business? The right hon. Gentleman, in his speech, quoted again and again from Mr. Gladstone. Let me quote for his benefit some authorities which ought to have great weight with him, because they come very near to him personally and politically. Here is what the Secretary to the Board of Education said with reference to a case exactly like this—

> "We must not forget that a possible violation of the laws is not the only reason why a Minister should retire when it is shown that the Government has lost the confidence of the House or the country. Ministers are not only Ministers of the Crown, but they represent the public opinion of the United Kingdom, and when they cease to represent public opinion they become a mere group of personages. They may have to deal with disorders at home or hostile manifestations abroad. They would have to meet these with the knowledge that they had not the confidence or support of the country; and their opponents at home and abroad would know that too."

Why, a most contemptible attempt has been made in the public Press to maintain this Government in office because, forsooth, of some great foreign and Imperial interests!

*THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University) was understood to say that the hon. and learned Gentleman should quote the next paragraph, because it was there stated that the Ministry ceased to be entitled to hold office when it ceased to represent public opinion as represented by Parliament.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: I do not think that I misrepresent the right hon. Gentleman at all. He says they should retire when they have lost the confidence of the House or of the country.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON: It remains to be seen whether the Government have lost the confidence of the House or of the country.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: The hon. Gentleman interrupts not to correct an inaccuracy, but to make an argument, and we will be glad to listen to him when the time comes for him to make a speech. A most contemptible appeal has been made to the public opinion of the country to keep the present Government in office for certain great foreign and Imperial reasons. A more dishonest sham was never made. What right has the Prime Minister to arrogate to himself——

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I did not refer to foreign affairs, either directly or indirectly, in the speech which I made.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: The right hon. Gentleman must be aware that I have been referring to the contemptible appeal which has been made to public opinion by every Conservative newspaper in London and the provinces. Moreover, if I am to judge of the speech made by the right hon. Gentleman at the Foreign Office by the apparently communicated reports which have appeared in his own newspapers, he himself made that appeal to his own Party when he said that in addition to the inconvenience of the season a general election would be fatal to great Imperial interests. [Cries of "Answer now."] What right has the right hon. Gentleman to arrogate to himself the sole ability to carry on foreign affairs in the future? What right has he to declare that he is the sole possessor of sufficient integrity, virtue, and patriotism to safeguard the interests of his own country? The pretence is a sham, and in my opinion a most dishonest sham. Let me quote the right hon. Gentleman himself. Dealing with the Liberal Government of 1895, he said—

> "Whatever we do, let it be distinctly understood that the date of the dissolution cannot be far distant. I do not know whether you have watched the efforts of a courageous but

inexperienced cyclist, practising along a high road. You see him pursue a devious wavering course, now falling on one side, now on the other. You look at him, and wonder when the catastrophe will arrive. You cannot prophesy with any assurance; you cannot foresee with security what is the particular obstacle that will finally demolish him, but you see with absolute assurance that the obstacle cannot be far distant. It may be a Welsh ditch to the right, or an Irish bog to the left."

Here let me interject the remark that there is something peculiarly gratifying and appropriate in the fact that the right hon. Gentleman, immediately after his attempt to rob Ireland of a part of her representation, should have made the acquaintance of what he calls here "an Irish bog." Then he goes on—

> "Three or four more by-elections of the kind we have recently experienced will be sufficient, without any House of Commons tactics at all, to do for the present Government what I think the whole country desires should be done for them, viz., to put them out of their pain. Common humanity suggests such a course, and I do not believe that even their most sanguine friends desire that a career so full of humiliation, so beset with dangers, should be unduly prolonged."

I commend to the right hon. Gentleman his own words, which apply far more fairly to the present situation than to that with reference to which he used them. He said that a very little more of the hostility of by-elections would be sufficient to end the Government. Yes, he was right; he knew the Government with which he was dealing. But we cannot trust to any number of by-elections to drive the right hon. Gentleman from his position long after he has lost the confidence of the country. We cannot say that it will be sufficient without any House of Commons tactics; we cannot trust to public opinion to drive the present Government out. Therefore, I believe it is the duty of all those who are in earnest in this matter to band themselves together to make the continued life of this Government in this Parliament impossible.

I may be told that I am threatening unconstitutional action. I answer that the whole foundation of the present position of the Government is unconstitutional. They are attempting to turn the Septennial Act into a limitation of the rights and liberties of the people and to change the very essence of the Constitution of this country. According to the Constitution of America, when the President of the United States is elected he forms his Cabinet and holds office for four years irrespective of whether or not he commands the confidence of the Legislature. But the Constitution of this country is different. The spirit of the Constitution of this country is that the breath of the nostrils of Ministers is the confidence of the country and the public opinion behind it, and the moment that confidence is withdrawn a Ministry has no right or title to sit upon that bench. I say that the continuance in office of the present Government is a violation of the spirit of the Constitution, and for my part I believe it is the duty of all who value that Constitution to use every means that may be effective and at hand to drive the right hon. Gentleman from the position he occupies. I speak as a Free Lance, and my right hon. friends above the gangway must forgive me if, speaking for myself and my colleagues alone, I give perfectly candid expression to my conception of the constitutional duty which rests upon them. We are near the end of the session. If this had occurred earlier in the session it would have been easy for the Opposition to have brought the Government of the country by the present Ministry to a standstill. It is not so easy, I say, now, but still, in my opinion, it is possible, and I conceive it to be the duty of every man who loves the Constitution of this country, and of every man who is sincere when he professes a desire to drive the Government from office. I am not in the counsels of the Opposition and I know not what they may do, but this much I can promise—that so far as my colleagues and myself are concerned we will give and take no quarter. We will fight this out on small matters as well as on large, day and night, so long as this session lasts, and I believe that if that spirit animated the Opposition as a whole they would make short work of this Government of shreds and patches.

*SIR J. FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.) said he had never heard so extraordinary and unprecedented a doctrine as that just laid down to the effect that the opinion of the House of Commons was no test of the position and rights of a

Government. It struck at the very root of Parliamentary government. The Members of the House of Commons were not chargeable with desiring to prolong the life of the present Parliament for fear of meeting their constituents, and he believed the country generally would reject such an imputation. They had seen majorities in support of great and popular Ministers fall away when the action of those Ministers had failed to command the confidence of the House of Commons, but the fact that the present Government had been sustained generally by majorities practically equivalent to the difference between the Parties was a proof that they had not lost the confidence of the House, and that those who were their supporters in the past remained their supporters now. They were discussing a vote of want of confidence which was not on the lines they had anticipated. For the last two months a vote of censure had been threatened, impugning the conduct and the position of the Government, but it had been put off, first for one cause and then another, and it was only in the middle of last week that the Leader of the Opposition reminded the Prime Minister of his promise and asked for an early date to move a vote of censure. That day had arrived, and now they were told that the vote of censure by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Berwick would not be proceeded with. The Opposition at the present moment was being led by the hon. and learned Member for Waterford, and the Leader of the Opposition hardly touched the subject at all.

The speech of the First Lord of the Treasury had been followed by an attack upon the whole policy of the Government by the hon. and learned Member for Waterford, who said that those sitting on the Ministerial side were not in harmony. He had singled out as an example the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bristol, but the House knew very well that the right hon. Gentleman was not a man who would vote against his own conscience and opinions, and he had consistently supported the Government, being satisfied by their attitude. The hon. and learned Member had talked about the unanimous condemnation of the Government at by-elections, but upon this point there had been much exaggeration. It was true that a majority of the by-elections had been decided against the Government, but that was not an uncommon occurrence when a Government had been in office for a considerable number of years. The hon. and learned Member said that the Government supporters were elected upon the cry for the prosecution of the war, but he could say from his own experience that that was not the case. At the last election his own majority was considerably larger than it had ever been before, but in his constituency the election was influenced by the education question, and he received a considerable number of Catholic votes. The Government had passed measures of the highest importance, and he believed that when the electors realised the importance of the legislation carried by the Government, the result would be somewhat different from that which hon. Gentlemen opposite had predicted. Those who had supported the Irish Land Act passed by the present Government, which was a great and liberal measure, were very much surprised at the attitude which was now being taken up by the Nationalist Party, but he supposed the Redistribution Bill was the head and front of their offending. With regard to what the hon. and learned Member for Waterford had said about Redistribution, no doubt the proposals of the Government would, if carried, reduce the number of the Irish representatives by one-fifth, and that must be distasteful to them; but those proposals were based, not upon a desire to reduce the influence of Ireland in the House of Commons, but because Ireland happened to be at the present moment over-represented.

The other night hon. Members representing Ireland brought forward a matter which they had at heart, and supported it with their whole Party, but the supporters of the Government did not then fully realise the importance of the occasion. There had been a dull debate on that occasion, and he was not very much surprised that some of the supporters of the Government did not take the question very

Sir J. Fergusson

seriously. Usually, by the custom of Parliament, when a matter had been fully debated, a division was taken, but day after day, recently, hon. Members opposite had deliberately got up on the stroke of 7.30 and talked the question out in order to bring on a division just after nine o'clock, when the supporters of the Government were not present in full strength. It was impossible to overlook the fact that an effort was now being made to force the Government to resign. Votes of want of confidence in the Government had often been threatened but they had seldom been proceeded with, and the Prime Minister had always been willing to give opportunities for such Motions.

Important interests were concerned in a change of Government, and he was one of those who firmly believed that the foreign affairs of this country had been managed by the Government with unqualified success. The country owed a great deal to the Government for the way in which they had managed the foreign affairs of this country, and if hon. Gentlemen opposite were unmindful of the success in that regard which had attended the efforts of the Government they were about the only Parliament in Europe who were not sensible of it. This session no opportunity had been lost of attacking the Government and forcing divisions until it had been at last suggested in the House that a new Standing Order should be made to give every Monday for a vote of censure. The only result of that course of action had been to draw the Unionist Party more closely together in their desire to present a resolute front to hon. Gentlemen opposite. He believed that that resolute front would be maintained to the end, and that the Government would always be supported by a united and resolute Party.

*MR. ASQUITH, who was indistinctly heard, said: I have listened with care as well as with interest to the speech of the Prime Minister, and I confess that when the right hon. Gentleman sat down he left me in a state of considerable mental bewilderment. The right hon. Gentleman rose amid the remorseful cheers of the penitent unpaired, and he sat down, as far as I could discover, amid a general sigh of relief from that still larger number of his supporters who know that dissolution means to them a sentence of electoral death. But, as I have said, I find myself in a condition of considerable mental bewilderment. In the first place, the right hon. Gentleman ended without even making the declaration which it was the professed purpose of his rising to make, and it is only by inference from his predecents and general arguments that we are able to arrive at the conclusion that the Government intend, so far and so long as it can, never to resign, and never to dissolve.

There was another matter in the right hon. Gentleman's speech as to which I remained and still remain in the greatest possible obscurity, and that is what are the conceivable conditions which, in the right hon. Gentleman's opinion, render it constitutionally improper for a Government to retain office. We have in this case, as has been pointed out, the plainest possible signs, at any rate, of two states of things. In the first place, it cannot be denied that the Government have lost the confidence, if it ever possessed it since the time of the election during the war, of the great majority of the people of this country. The Secretary to the Board of Education was bold enough to interject the observation a short time ago—"That remains to be seen." I think it is seen by everybody except the hon. and learned Gentleman himself. If he is in doubt on a matter of such vital importance and keen interest to the country, why does he not join with us in urging upon his colleagues in the Government the expediency and propriety of at the earliest possible moment putting the question to the test? But it is also plain since the vote of last Thursday that the Government cannot count at any rate on the continuous confidence of a majority of this House. I will not refer again to the special circumstances which preceded and attended that vote—the Foreign Office meeting, the appeals of the Prime Minister, the urgent whip, the full House, the late hour of the evening when the vote was taken, the importance of the subject—you have here a combination of circumstances which renders it impossible even for ingenuity to misconstrue the meaning of that vote. The fact is the vote is an indication that the Government have lost the support and confidence of the larger proportion of their followers. Yet it is under these circumstances that the Prime Minister represents it to us that it is the duty of the Government—he put it no less high than that—to retain office, and not to appeal to the country

Now I should like to examine by what chain of argument the right hon. Gentleman arrives at that conclusion. The larger part of his speech dealt with what I may call, without offence I hope, an antiquarian retrospect. He went back to the time of the Melbourne Ministry, a Ministry which I always thought was notorious in history for its tenacity of office under all conditions, and he produced for our benefit a number of fossils from the political museum by way of precedents. But the right hon. Gentleman failed to give us a single case, and I do not think that either the Prime Minister or any of his colleagues could give us the case of a Ministry which during three years—for it is exactly three years since the right hon. Gentleman became head of the Government—has never been in a condition, not during a single month, in which it could appeal with confidence to the electors of the country. The voice of by-election after by-election, from the very day that the right hon. Gentleman assumed his present office down to the present moment, has pointed continuously and consistently to one conclusion. The only precedent to which he refers which bore even a superficial resemblance to present circumstances was that of Mr. Gladstone in 1873–74, and there, as has been pointed out, the right hon. Gentleman entirely misrepresented its meaning. For Mr. Gladstone did the very two things neither of which the right hon. Gentleman will consent to do. What are those two things? In the first place, when Mr. Gladstone was defeated by a vote of the House in 1873, he resigned office.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: He was defeated twice in 1872.

*MR. ASQUITH: I am speaking of the precedent of 1873–74, and taking that precedent, I say, in the first place, that Mr. Gladstone, when defeated, resigned office. Will he follow that example?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am loth to interrupt the right hon. Gentleman, but when he appeals to me so pointedly I must remind him that the division on which Mr. Gladstone resigned in 1873 was a division which he himself said was vital.

*MR. ASQUITH: Of course, different people have different standards. In this instance a division takes place two nights after the Prime Minister has taken the pains to summon his followers, which I am not aware that Mr. Gladstone did in 1873. He summons his followers, and explains to them that it was vital to the fortunes of the Government that they should give continuous attendance, and yet within two nights he is defeated upon a most important vote, traversing the whole Irish policy of the Government. Certainly Mr. Gladstone would have considered that a vital question. I said Mr. Gladstone did two things neither of which the right hon. Gentleman will do. In the first place when defeated by a vote of the House he resigned. In the second place, we have it on record, that when after resuming office during the remaining months of 1873, he found by-election after by-election was going against him, he did the other thing which the right hon. Gentleman will not do. He dissolved. So that the precedent of 1873–74 is in point in precisely the opposite sense to that for which the right hon. Gentleman contends. You have lost the confidence of the House, and you have also lost the confidence of the country, and there are two courses, and two courses only, open to you, as Mr. Gladstone's precedent shows.

When the right hon. Gentleman was finishing off his precedents he said that at any rate there were no dissensions in the Cabinet. Well, Sir, when you have got rid by a gradual but effective process of every independent-mind in the Cabinet it is not to be expected that you should be much embarrassed by Cabinet troubles. There is another circumstance on which I think the right hon. Gentleman rather prides himself, and which, I believe, formed the staple of his appeal to his Party—namely, the terrible consequences which may ensue if foreign relations are taken out of the hands of Gentlemen who sit on the front bench opposite and another order of Statesmen take their place. On that point I will quote once more what the hon. and learned Member for Waterford has already cited—from Sir W. Anson's work on the Constitution—

> "It is possible for a Ministry to remain in office a considerable time after undergoing defeat on a vote of censure without any risk of breaking the law."

And he adds—

> "but the practical and vital objection against such action on the part of a Ministry will be found in the weakness of its position if it had to discuss critical diplomatic questions with foreign Powers."

That is the position which the Government of the Prime Minister is going to occupy in the next few months. I suggest to the House as the real justification, the real intention, of the policy now announced this evening that the right hon. Gentleman and his friends, in defiance of the opinion of the country and after deliberately flouting a considered vote of the House, are going to spend a few more inglorious months in possession of office in order to tinker with the fiscal question, with a result, I am afraid, that may tend grievously to mislead the Colonies, to present this United Kingdom in the Councils of Europe with a disparaged and discredited authority, and at the same time to prepare the way for gerrymandering the constituencies of Great Britain and Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman the other night, after the vote was given, spoke of dignity and of the necessity of maintaining some ideal standard. Had we not better leave dignity out of the question? The two practical courses open to the right hon. Gentleman after the incident of last week were either to resign or to dissolve. He has taken neither course. But in taking the course which the Government are now taking, I venture to predict that they will be convicted and condemned, not merely before the bar of public opinion in this country, but before the tribunal of history, for the betrayal of the trust which the nation has reposed in them, and that they will be considered from this day forward till the time of their political death as a Government which is deprived of all moral and constitutional authority.

*SIR **EDGAR VINCENT** (Exeter) asked whether the right hon. Gentleman seriously contended that their dignity would be augmented by the Government taking action on the result of a mere chance division. Did the right hon. Gentleman put the vote on Thursday forward as one that represented in any degree the opinion of the House? So far from the Government having lost the confidence of those who supported it, there was no time in the last two years when the Government had been in possession of so loyal a majority. In the historical criticism offered on the Prime Minister's speech, the right hon. Gentleman had not cited an instance of a previous Government which had resigned on a snap division, or if hon. Members objected to the word snap he would say a false division, because it in no sense represented the considered and permanent opinion of the House. If hon. Members doubted the considered opinion of the House, let them take a division that evening and then state what the real opinion of the House was. He insisted that the point of historical interest raised by the present position of affairs was the constitutional importance of snap divisions, contending that the position of the House in the country would not be enhanced by chance divisions like that of last week superseding and over-riding votes of censure and votes of confidence placed before the House by the Government.

Nothing could be more dangerous to the proper administration of Government affairs than that those who were responsible to the country should be frightened by a chance division of that kind; a division which did not reflect the considered opinion of the House. The opinion which was formed with regard to the desirability of the Government resigning office surely depended largely on what were the causes which brought about the vote upon which the Government was defeated. It was surely not contended that the decision of last week in the division lobbies was produced either by a division of opinion in the Conservative and Unionist Parties or any discontent at the action the Government had taken. It was produced solely by the excessive confidence engendered among the supporters of the Government by the great success of the Party meeting earlier in the week. Party meetings did always too much or too little. Members of the Unionist Party found that the entire Party was so determined to act in unison that they over-rated their strength and placed too great a reliance each upon the other and too low an estimate upon the tactics of hon. Gentlemen opposite. The Prime Minister in the action he had now taken had not only done that which was best in the interests of the Empire, but he had also established a most important and far-reaching constitutional precedent; a precedent which hon. Gentlemen opposite would no doubt profit by at no distant date.

Mr. CHURCHILL (Oldham) said it had often been said that nothing ever happened in the House but the unexpected. The hon. Member to whom they had just listened had the good fortune to be brother of the hon. Member for Sheffield, who had just left the House. It was a long time since the House had heard the hon. Member and his brother in such close agreement. They had always been accustomed to look upon the hon. Member for Exeter as an antidote to the poison distilled by the hon. Member for Sheffield. In looking at the views of these two hon. Members he had always marvelled at the economy of nature which had contrived to grow from a single stock the nettle and the dock. They represented different schools of thought and of Party action; but to-day they found common ground in doing all they possibly could to arrest a dissolution of Parliament and an early appeal to the people. But, whatever might be thought of the decision of the Prime Minister, few would question its memorable and lasting importance. The right hon. Gentleman had recognised the importance of the occasion and of his speech, and had followed his speech by affording the House an opportunity to discuss the decision he had come to by moving the adjournment.

In considering whether any particular set of circumstances in the House or the Unionist Party necessarily involved resignation or dissolution, he submitted that the House ought to look at all the collective circumstances involving a decision one way or the other. The decision of the Prime Minister ignored the vote of last week, but this act did not stand alone. It was the last and latest link in a long chain of events which, taken together, constituted a Parliamentary and political situation which, in his belief, was without parallel. The last Parliament was dissolved eighteen months before the time allotted by the Septennial Act, although the Government was supported by a good majority. Now they saw a Parliament, without public support outside, and a Government defeated on a vote in the House, being carried on by the Prime Minister to the full limit of its legal time. The first maxim of constitutional doctrine deducible from the right hon. Gentleman's action was that public opinion should never be consulted when it was adverse to the Government; but if a majority could be snatched on the spur of the moment, then the Government was justified in asking the Sovereign to dissolve. The last general election was a national verdict, and it had been used for the unmingled purposes of Party. The power given to Lord Salisbury had been assumed by another with whom the nation had not yet had any direct dealings, and whose character the House had only gradually and lately discovered. That power was being arbitrarily exercised by a new Cabinet long after all the men of light and leading who were the strength of the Conservative Party had dissociated themselves from the Government. The new Government had raised vast new controversies in the most reckless manner, and, having done so, they had displayed much perverted ingenuity in preventing the House from arriving at a decision on them.

There had been an unexampled series of by-elections, which had filled even those in whose favour they had gone with wonder, but as the Government had grown weak in the country, their methods in the House of Commons had become violent. Every rebuff inflicted on the Ministry had been turned on the House of Commons. They had had to pay by the loss of their liberties in the House of Commons for the assertion of national opinion. Supply and the whole of their controversial legislation had been carried by the guillotine, and no one could possibly doubt that they had the gravest reason for complaining as Parliamentarians of the treatment to which they had been subjected by the Prime Minister. But the right hon. Gentleman said that the opinion of the country did not matter, and that as long as he was master of the House of Commons he was entitled to go on. But "the master of the House of Commons" had found it necessary to organise boycotts against the House, to absent himself from important debates, and to abandon resistance begun by himself against Resolutions directly censuring his conduct, which Resolutions now stood upon the Journals of the House. The Government had now been defeated in the House of Commons in a very important division, and as the Prime Minister persisted in refusing to accept the consequences of that vote there arose the gravest constitutional situation. Their unwritten constitution was one which required the observance of good faith and moral obligation on the part of those who worked it. They were confronted with the plain and naked assertion that a Minister having a majority which would at intervals vote him confidence was entitled to use that majority to the utmost limit which the Constitution allowed. That was the assertion which was made, and it was one which should be carefully and severely examined.

There were other reasons which it appeared had weighed with the Prime Minister far more than the historical precedents he had given. The first was the condition of foreign affairs. It was odd how much more acute foreign affairs had become since the fiscal controversy arose. The gravest crisis in foreign affairs always seemed to coincide with some Party embarrassment in the House. But if foreign affairs were critical, what a precious Government they had to deal with the crisis—a Government defeated in the House of Commons and imploring its supporters to give them the support which would enable them to carry on the session to an end, those supporters acceding because they knew that when an election occurred they would return no more. That was the Government by which they were to be represented in difficult and important negotiations which, they were told, were being conducted. What a situation in which to ask the Prime Ministers to come from all parts of the Empire to meet a Government who must soon be ejected from office, and who were ready to offer what they had no right to give and to promise what they had no power to perform. Then August, it was said, was an unsuitable month for dissolution. If it were only June, before villadom had gone for its holidays! He wondered whether the right hon. Gentleman would find a suitable month to dissolve. All months would look rather unsuitable when they came close. August was a hot month, but would October be better? It would be bleak and cold, and it might be a loud and roaring month—a month in which it would be quite unsuitable for Ministers to turn out of the shelter of Downing Street. The House separated under a vague suggestion that the dissolution was to be held in October; he was sure that when October arrived one of these grave complications in foreign affairs would arise, and they would be told that the existence of the Empire depended on the situation being controlled by the master hand of the only man who exhibited the virtues of patriotism. They would be told to defer the election until February, or April, or until the last possible month when the right hon. Gentleman could persuade his followers to give him the scanty and grudging support they accorded to him.

They had been told *ad nauseam* of the sacrifices which the Prime Minister made. The hon. Member did not deny that there had been sacrifices. The House ought not to under-rate or deny those sacrifices. Some of them must have been very galling to a proud man. There were, first, sacrifices of leisure, and then sacrifices of dignity. For two years the

Government of this country had been conducted *ad interim.* All the public Departments had been carried on from day to day and from hand to mouth, and it was difficult to exaggerate the damage done in consequence to administrative efficiency. Then there was the sacrifice of reputation. He had a great respect for the intelligence of the Prime Minister—almost as great as for the character of the Home Secretary; and he could not suppose that the six volumes of dummy addresses recently presented to the Prime Minister by his directions concealed from him the great change which had come over his reputation in the country and in the House. For some years the right hon. Gentleman led the House by the respect and affection with which he was regarded in all quarters. In future he would not continue to lead the House by the respect and affection of the Opposition at least. The sacrifices which office entailed the right hon. Gentleman imposed also on his most intimate friends and relatives. It had been written that the right hon. Gentleman stood between pride and duty. Pride said "go"; but duty said "stay." The right hon. Gentleman always observed the maxim of a modern writer that whenever an Englishman took or kept anything he wanted, he did it from a high sense of duty.

He would like to ask the attention of the House for a moment to the magnanimity of the Prime Minister. In order to appreciate that magnanimity it was necessary to examine the conduct of the Unionist Party. Their conduct to the Prime Minister had been characterised by a certain ingratitude. They knew he was in a difficult position; and, in spite of all warnings, they left the right hon. Gentleman in the lurch, an object of derision and a spectacle of ignominy to his political opponents. This was the Minister who for their sake invented the dinner hour, who arranged with his subordinates that obstruction should be practised from nine o'clock till eleven so that they should not be hurried, who secured them the longest holidays which Parliament had ever enjoyed, and who was at the present moment struggling in the face of odds to secure an adjournment of the House in time for August 12th. This was the man who sent them at all hours of the day urgent telegrams requesting their attendance, at the public expense. Nevertheless, these hon. Gentlemen deserted the Prime Minister in the hour of need. The harm which was done on that occasion was irreparable. It was all very well for hon. Gentlemen to be penitent now; it was all very well for hon. Gentlemen to be penitent when they were barked back to heel by a jackal tribe of Jingo newspapers. The injury was complete and lasting. The dignity of a Prime Minister, like a lady's virtue, was not susceptible of partial diminution. On Friday last a round-robin to the Prime Minister was signed by a number of Members. It was a stranger petition than had ever been sent in modern times by members of a representative body to the head of the Government. What was the burden of their prayer? "Save us from our fellow-countrymen, whatever happens, let us have no dissolution; under no circumstances leave us to the mercy of those we profess to represent; for God's sake stand between us and our constituents, if only for a month." He wondered whether the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham had signed that round-robin. If he had, it would be a deplorable instance of the weakness of mankind, for he had gone about the country saying that he, at any rate, was eager for a dissolution. Why did the right hon. Gentleman not put that pressure on the Prime Minister which he could so easily put upon him to ensure that autumn dissolution which would enable him to bring his cause to the only test by which it could be judged? The magnanimity of the Prime Minister consisted in the fact that he practised the virtue of forgiveness. Whereas another Prime Minister might have taken a petty revenge on his followers and resigned office, the present Prime Minister at their appeal consented to continue the Government.

The Member for Waterford the other day exclaimed, "The farce is ended." He was wrong. The farce had been encored. By special request the performance would recommence. Suitably attired in the character of Pooh-Bah, the Prime Minister would resume those intricate negotiations with the Government of Japan in which he was supposed to be engaged at the present time. His brother would return to the elaboration of those schemes of Redistribution which, if they reached their logical conclusion, would secure the continuance of the Government in office until a very late period next year. The Home Secretary would once again place his commanding abilities at the disposal of the Crown. The Lord Chancellor would turn with a weary sigh to the further administration of judicial patronage, the Secretary for India would resume, just at the point where it might have been interrupted, his edifying dispute with the Viceroy, and the Secretary for War would once again meet his Army Council—who almost thought they had seen the last of him—and would persevere with his plans for encouraging and improving the Volunteers until the Volunteers had reached a total of 180,000. When he reflected upon the circumstances by which the Conservative Party were brought together upon the basis established by the Reform Bills of 1867 and 1885, and upon the great battles desperately fought and narrowly won by that Party, it was a marvel, melancholy even for an opponent to contemplate, to see that Party squandered irretrievably amid such floods of utter hypocrisy and cant.

He did not think the Opposition had any cause to regret the right hon. Gentleman's decision. Every day a minority held office before a general election was a day of danger and probably a day of loss. The inestimable value of the situation created by the vote of last Thursday and the speech of the Prime Minister that day must be apparent to anyone who would have to address the constituencies in future, and perhaps take part in the next election. Whatever might be said, they were face to face with what was morally and practically a constitutional break-down. They were confronted with the spectacle of a Minister who was resolved to rule without the pretence of public support from the nation and in defiance of an adverse vote of the House of Commons. Those who believed in the doctrine that Governments derived their just powers from the consent of the governed were bound to resist the continuation of this situation by every means in their power. The hon. and learned Member for Waterford in the course of his intervention in the debate proclaimed that it was his intention to fight inch by inch this session to its conclusion. He hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would make that proclamation good. The humiliations of the Government were not yet ended; and opportunities remained, numerous and various, for pressing these. He believed that if every Member who resented the action taken by the right hon. Gentleman would fight him inch by inch and word by word the session could not be concluded at all by this Ministry. And he was sure that public opinion outside the House would approve and acclaim any action which might be taken by the constitutional Opposition to terminate a situation which was as dangerous as it was disgraceful, and to dismiss from unlawful power a Minister who had flouted the traditions of Parliament and dishonoured the service of the Crown.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): When the hon. and learned Member for Waterford speaks for the Irish Members, I am bound to follow at some time or another and speak for those that I represent, and that is not a very insignificant Party. I listened with attention to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife. It was a speech which brought back to my mind the memories of long past years. I have been a Member of this House for a very long time, and I have heard speeches made by both Parties when it suited them, but I never knew a Government which had the confidence of the Opposition, and I have never known an Opposition which did not point out to the Government of the day that it had lost the confidence of the country. I have no doubt when the time arrives for the present Ministerialists to cross the floor of the House they will make use of the same arguments.

I have listened with attention to the speech of the Member for Waterford. On Thursday night that hon. Member spoke almost with violence, and certainly with excitement, and appeared to be the new Leader of the Radical Party. To-day I see that he is not the Leader but the master of the Radical Party. Members of the Front Opposition Bench talk about what they intend to do in the future, but what they will actually do depends upon the advice given by the hon. Member for Waterford. The hon. Member says that the Government have lost the confidence of the House. Then why do the Opposition not divide? As a matter of fact, the last thing the Opposition want is a deciding vote. The supporters of the Government ask for a division. I do not call the division of Thursday night a snap division, I look upon it in a very serious light. But whatever may have been the causes of the abstention of Unionist Members, it was certainly not because they had lost confidence in the Prime Minister. Speaking for my Unionist colleages from Ireland, and indeed for all Unionists, I would say that their confidence in the Prime Minister has not wavered one jot. All Governments make mistakes. This Government has made mistakes and the next will do likewise. But the Unionist Party still regard the Prime Minister as deserving of their heartiest support. The Member for Waterford has attacked the Government for not maintaining the Constitution—that Constitution which he has tried to wreck. I hope from that remark that, after all, constitutional instincts are gradually finding their way into the hon. Member's heart.

I want to know of any case within the last fifty or a hundred years of a Government resigning with a majority of seventy in the House of Commons. I see no constitutional reason for resigning. The hon. Member says that even if the Government do not resign the Chief Secretary for Ireland should resign because a Bill he has introduced has been rejected. In that case the Chancellor of the Exchequer should also resign. The whole Government should resign, because the whole Government are responsible for the Bill.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): What Bill? The division was on the Vote for the Land Commissioners?

Colonel Saunderson.

Colonel SAUNDERSON: Which arose out of the Bill. All I can say is this, that my colleagues and myself, and I know that I speak for every law-abiding man in Ireland in this matter, have not had a Chief Secretary for years past in whom they have had more implicit confidence. He has one very great quality which fits him for his post, namely, untiring determination. If hon. Members opposite who represent Ireland spoke with open minds as well as open mouths they would agree with me when I say that Irishmen admire a great man, a courageous, and determined man. My right hon. friend has shown, to my mind, that he is fully aware of what Ireland requires, and that he is determined that law and order shall be preserved. It is most monstrous that this House should say that because of the vote the other night the Government should resign. The longer the right hon. Gentleman governs the better for the country. All I can say is that, whatever course the Government takes, I and my colleagues are not in the least afraid to meet our constituents. Whether that visit takes place next October or next year, and whether the Party now in power is turned out of office by a majority of the other side or not, the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister will always receive the support of the minority of which I am a member.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) said he never listened to a speech such as that which had just been delivered without feelings of great sorrow. Nothing filled him with greater sorrow than seeing an Irishman rejoice at the misfortunes of Ireland, and that was the spectacle to which they had been treated by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Armagh. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had been able to comfort the Prime Minister by saying that although the House of Commons had censured the Government on the vote given last Thursday, they had the support of the Orange Party. The hon. and gallant Gentleman recurred to the point with regard to the position of the Chief Secretary. That right hon. Gentleman introduced within two years of what was to be the last Land Act for Ireland, a proposal for a new Land Act. Within a few hours of that the House denounced his policy and yet he elected to retain office. By what right? The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary ought to have at once resigned in the face of the vote of the House. The hon. and gallant Gentleman was always against his country, and now supported a Government because they upheld a Union which the hon. and gallant Gentleman's grandfather was patriotic enough to vote against.

The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had spoken for fifty-five minutes, and during that time had mentioned every subject under Heaven except one as a reason for remaining in office, and that was the will of the people. In point of fact the right hon. Gentleman seemed to live in the eighteenth instead of the twentieth century. He had stated when a Government should resign and when it should remain in office, but never once had he mentioned the will of the people. He was glad that the right hon. Gentleman had had the grace to abandon the defence made for him by the Party Press. The newspapers declared that the Government ought to stop in office because of the peculiarly delicate position of foreign and international relations. That was simply an impudent pretence that the right hon. Gentleman alone was the guardian of our international affairs. The right hon. Gentleman contended that his continuance in office was necessary in the interest of the country; that the Heaven-sent Ministers opposite were the only Gentlemen who could safeguard the interests of the country; that Ireland would be ruined if deprived of the services of the Chief Secretary. He had only to state the proposition to show its absurdity. Remove the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister from the Government and the world would be unconscious of the names of the rest of the Ministers, and within six weeks of their relinguishing office the world would have forgotten them. Yet these were the men who were supposed to stand between the Empire and ruin.

The right hon. Gentleman said there were no dissensions in the Cabinet. The right hon. Gentleman might as well have spoken of the revolt of a number of clerks against their employer as a revolt in the Cabinet. The reason there was no dissension in the Cabinet was that by a gradual but effective process every man with an independent mind had been driven from it. The right hon. Gentleman did not seem to realise that the people had a right to have any voice in the House of Commons and in the appointment of the Ministers of the Government which governed their country. No Minister had a right to exist except by the will of the people. The right hon. Gentleman was doing one of the most fatal things a Conservative Minister ever did. He was destroying the interest of the people in the Government of their own country. In election after election in every part of the United Kingdom (in country and in town) for the past three years the country had declared to the Prime Minister that neither he nor his colleagues on the Front Bench represented the views of the country. The House of Commons had emphasised that by the vote of censure on certain Estimates in the House, but even if the Government had had on that occasion a majority of eighty their right to exist only depended on the will of the people. Their only right to be in that House was as the representatives of the people, to voice the views of the people, and therefore if it were proved that the voice of the people was on one side and the voice of the Government was on the other, the Government's retention of office was as much an act of usurpation as any other act of usurpation that had ever taken place.

Over and over again the right hon. Gentleman had said that a dissolution now would be disastrous. The moment a Government came to that conclusion that Government ought to be dissolved. The hon. Member for Oldham had used strong language with regard to the right hon. Gentleman. He would make no personal attack on the right hon. Gentleman; he would only say that if it were proved to him that he had ceased to represent the views of his constituents and was advocating a policy which did not coincide with their views he would consider himself a dishonourable and dishonoured man. It was not for him to press his code of political honour and duty upon other people, but he said emphatically that any Minister, whatever his gifts or character might be, who retained office against the will of the country dishonoured himself. Some allusion had been made to the institutions of America, one of which was to have elections at regular dates, but he had always held that the system adopted in this country was much more elastic and kept the House much more in touch with the people. The best House of Commons he recollected was that of 1885, which lasted exactly six months.

The right hon. Gentleman had referred to the examples and teachings of Mr. Gladstone, but could any hon. Gentleman conceive Mr. Gladstone, the soul of honour and political courage, being in the position of the present Prime Minister—with all respect to the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, he was fouling and calumniating the name of Mr. Gladstone by introducing it in this regard. Mr. Gladstone dissolved in 1874 when he had not a tenth of the warnings from the people of this country that the right hon. Gentleman had had, and one of the reasons he gave for resigning was that a few by-elections had gone against him. He would never have held office on sufferance. They were told that if the Government dissolved the country would not get the treatment it had hitherto received from foreign Powers; that Count von Bülow and M. Rouvier and the Shah or Bey or Sultan of Morocco, whatever his title might be, would actually cease to tremble in their shoes if this country were deprived of the services of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, the Secretary of State for War, and other intellectual Titans on the Treasury Bench. Going back to 1886, Mr. Gladstone then brought in a great policy and was defeated by a majority of thirty. Everybody knew that next day Mr. Gladstone could have got a vote of confidence if he had reconsidered his proposals and changed his Bill into a series of Resolutions and consented to postpone his proposals from the end of the session to an autumn session. But Mr. Gladstone was not the man to do that. He brought in a great policy which he thought was good for England and Ireland, and time had proved the wisdom and justice of his conclusions. When that policy was defeated he appealed to the country. He was beaten in the country, but was it not more honourable to be beaten in that way than to hang on to power like a poor servile limpet.

It had been stated that the country would lose its influence in the councils of the world if the Government went out of office, but he had always understood that the power of a Government with foreign nations was in exact proportion to its power in its own country. What constituted the strength of the Government? The support of the people whom it governed. The right hon. Gentleman had only one thing in his mind and that was the Septennial Act. His theory was, "Let me get in, in any way you like. Let me get in upon a vote for the settlement of a war which I say is over, but which is not over, and when I am in I have the Septennial Act and I will live by Parliamentary intrigue instead of by popular vote." Parliamentary intrigue in the 20th century! It might have been all very well in the days of Walpole, but at this time of democratic Government and popular franchise for a Prime Minister to have the audacity to declare that he could rule in spite of the will of the people was perhaps the boldest piece of effrontery that House had ever seen. It recalled to his mind the day of Lord Strafford, but then Lord Strafford was playing for his head and lost it. The right hon. Gentleman was playing to keep the one Government in office that stood between the country and its sentiments. The demoralising lesson that the right hon. Gentleman was now putting before the country was that whatever the people might think and whatever they might do he was going to continue in office.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) asked whether the Government proposed to reinstate the Vote of Thursday last and to take a fresh division upon it. There seemed to be an idea abroad that the division was taken upon the Chief Secretary's financial proposals. It was nothing of the kind. Those proposals were to be the subject of a

Bill. The discussion took place upon the issue of a set of regulations, which a majority of the House held to have been contrived for the purpose of stopping the operation of what might be called the philanthropic portion of the Land Act in the West of Ireland. He therefore desired to know whether the Vote was to be reinstated and discussed afresh, and whether the set of regulations was to stand and remain in the hands of the Commissioners who were administering the Act.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said he could not regard this matter with the same lightness and geniality with which it had been dealt with by the First Lord of the Treasury. He had a profound respect for that House, and believed in its traditions. He was convinced that that House alone stood between the country and anarchy on the one hand and despotism on the other. Therefore he could not dismiss a vote of that House with absolute disregard, not to say contempt. Nor could he suppose that the House ceased to be the House because the Prime Minister and his colleagues were absent from it. He believed that on the evening when the Prime Minister's policy of retaliation was condemned the House was still the House although the Prime Minister was absent, and that the decision arrived at *nemine contradicente* was a decision of the whole House. So long as he was a Member of that House and a student of the British Constitution nothing would induce him to admit that the mere absence of the placemen on the front bench and their followers destroyed the House of Commons or invalidated its decisions. For him, therefore, the event of Thursday last was not the first, but the second, defeat of the Government in that House that session.

It was said that the Vote was on a "mere Estimate." But an Estimate was the settled conviction of His Majesty's Government, arrived at after consultation with all its members and the permanent officials, and if the House reduced that Estimate by a single shilling it was a vote of want of confidence in the Government. He was told by the notice he received on Thursday last that the debate in the evening would prove unexpectedly lively, and would be followed by an important division. That was the language of the Patronage Secretary. The Prime Minister, however, did not regard it as an important division at all; to him it was unimportant, and could be entirely neglected, forgotten, and put aside. But that was not his view on Thursday night. He then recognised it as an important division, and said that two alternatives presented themselves—either that the Government should take some serious step, or that the House should be asked to reverse the vote. The proposal was either to repropose the Vote or to reverse it. But how could the right hon. Gentleman repropose the Vote? It was passed. Nor could he propose to increase the amount by £100 on the Report stage. The only thing that could be done was to move the recommittal of the Vote, and then they would have the whole debate over again. The present debate was no revision of the vote of Thursday last; it was merely an inconclusive discussion, leading perhaps to an inconclusive vote which would mean nothing.

The right hon. Gentleman had quoted precedents for disregarding the opinion of the country and the votes of the House of Commons. A famous precedent was that of William Pitt, and that was rather the other way. He had vote after vote cast against him in that House, Address after Address was moved to the Crown for his removal from office, but he endured them. Why? Because he knew that the country was with him, and that if he dissolved Parliament he would come back with a large united Party behind him. Pitt was the pilot who weathered the storm; he did not pretend that there was no storm. He trod the deck, weathered the storm, and when he went to the country he returned with a vast majority which he used in the service of the country. Had the Prime Minister any such expectation as that? Had he Pitt's reason for disregarding a vote of that House? He, at any rate, could not take the view of his right hon. friend that a vote of that House could be disregarded at all. Respect for that House and regard for the Party of which he was the leader should have dictated a different course from that which his right hon. friend had taken. He was not bound to judge of the honour and duty of the Government; he would leave that to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who thought himself competent to judge anything. But he had a right to some voice when the question was that of the dignity of the House of which he was a humble Member, and he held that proper respect and regard was not paid to the House when a Minister came down and suggested that a vote given under the circumstances of Thursday last—a vote specially important because the Chief Secretary devoted almost the whole of his speech to a Bill that he proposed to introduce to remedy the complete breakdown of the ludicrous system of finance embodied in the Land Act of 1903—should be disregarded. He was sorry for the decision the right hon. Gentleman had arrived at. He did not think it would conduce to the profit of the Party or to the orderliness of debate in the House. He believed it was a mistaken decision, and he was convinced that before long the right hon. Gentleman himself would come to the same conclusion.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs) said the Prime Minister had come to what he considered was a very grave decision. He had quoted a long list of precedents, but not one of them had anything to do with the present circumstances. He had quoted cases where Ministers had been defeated over and over again in Committee of the House. But that had nothing whatever to do with this case from first to last. In fact, this Government was about the first that had ever made it a question of confidence that the House should carry Bills through Committee absolutely without amendment. The right hon. Gentleman had quoted Mr. Gladstone's letter to Lord Granville, but he did not quote Mr. Gladstone's speech in 1874 in which he apologised to the House for not dissolving in 1873 when it was perfectly clear that the country was against him. Mr. Gladstone said on that occasion—

> "It is repugnant to my feelings and not compatible with the best interests of the country that a Government should continue to govern even with a numerical majority, when there are daily increasing evidences that it no longer represents the will and opinion of the constituencies. That is the regret of which I have to make frank expression."

It was perfectly clear to any impartial observer that the Prime Minister had lost the confidence of that House in the real Parliamentary sense. [MINISTERIAL cries of "No."] The week before last supporters of the Government went on discussing a small matter on the Navy Estimates for two and a half hours because they had not a majority in the House. It was true that when the closure was moved they all went into one lobby, but that was a well-known Parliamentary device for extending the time of the division in order that a further opportunity should be given to the laggards to arrive. Then the Prime Minister summoned that extraordinary and mysterious meeting at the Foreign Office, at which he called upon his followers for loyal support to the end of the session, and he got his answer on Thursday last. The Prime Minister knew that he did not command the confidence of his supporters. [MINISTERIAL cries of "No, no!"] The vote taken in 1895 was not a vote of confidence in the Ministry but a vote of want of confidence in the constituencies. The country had expressed its opinion and the Prime Minister knew that he had not the confidence of the country and he could easily prove that he never had had its confidence. What he said was practically that he would go to the constituencies, weather permitting. The Prime Minister was in a balloon with the gas escaping, looking for a safe place to descend. He was crossing a stormy sea and of course did not want to descend.

They all saw the pitiable spectacle on Friday of hon. Members trooping into the Chief Whip's office and supplicating the Chief Whip and the Prime Minister, and begging them not to send them to their constituencies. There was not a saint in the calendar who had ever been appealed to so earnestly as the Chief Whip was appealed to on that occasion. Why did the Prime Minister call that miserable abject spectacle of Parliamentary cowardice by the name of confidence, because it was nothing of the kind. The Prime Minister knew very well what was going to happen to him and he could not take his punishment like a man. That was the real difference between the Prime Minister and Mr. Gladstone. The supporters of the Government had begged the Prime Minister and his colleagues not to resign, and they had graciously consented as a result of those entreaties still to retain high office and high position in response to the humble prayers of their followers. Yielding to the entreaties of his followers, the Prime Minister consented to retain office, and a supporter in the Press called this magnanimity. Why it was evident from the demeanour of the Prime Minister on Thursday night that, vexed and upset as he was [" No, no!"] the Prime Minister was making a feeble clutch at that office which was slipping out of his hands, and, as one of his greatest Parliamentary supporters had told him, in the interests of his Party and in the interests of the country he ought to go. He remembered that in his school books he used to read something about the panther, and he read that the panther was a graceful but a greedy animal, and when the panther was shot and bleeding to death he would still go on devouring his food as long as he could. That was the position of the Government, but in their case they did not call it greed but imperturbability, and some Unionist papers called it magnanimity. He preferred the old Saxon word. The Prime Minister had not got the confidence of the country and he never had it. From the very moment the Prime Minister came into office it was perfectly clear that he never had the confidence of the country. The Government had been doing work since the Prime Minister took office which had never been submitted to the country for approval. And they were in the position of doing work which had never been ordered.

The Prime Minister practically said, "If I go what will happen to the Empire?" The Prime Minister was the last man in the world who ought to put that forward. There had been great Ministers in the past who at the end of a great career had, by showing a great reluctance to quit office, rather incurred the derision and contempt of their contemporaries and of history. But those were cases where there was some justification for believing that if they quitted office the country would suffer. Those were Ministers who found their country weak, poor, and uninfluential, but they left it strong and prosperous. What about the Prime Minister? Could that be said about him? Take the whole four years of his Premiership. No Minister in this country had ever before crowded into such a short career so many acknowledged blunders and mistakes. He started his career with a great blunder, with an acknowledged political blunder, namely, the Education Act. [MINISTERIAL cries of "No, no!"] Those cries were a very feeble defence of the Education Act, and he did not require any better justification than the absolute feebleness of those interruptions. He repeated that the Education Act was an acknowledged political blunder. The Prime Minister had proceeded from blunder to blunder; he had blundered about the Army corps and in his attempts to reform military affairs generally, and he had ended with his Redistribution proposals. All these blunders had occurred in a very short career, and what right had the Prime Minister to claim that if he left office now this country would suffer in regard to any of its interests. The Prime Minister was the last man in the world who ought to make that claim. Take his Party; he was holding office for the sake of his Party. How did he find that Party? He found it strong and united with the support of the country behind it, but he was leading it divided, distracted, unpopular, weak, and on the brink of a great catastrophe. What right had the Prime Minister to claim that he was the only man to save the Empire from any point of view?

It was all very well for hon. Members opposite to suggest that this was all due to the fiscal question. He had witnessed how skilfully the right hon. Gentleman had manœuvred things to save not only the country but his own Party. They had been told that "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread." There were the angels on the Front Ministerial Bench, and there were the fools opposite. The

Prime Minister had lost his hold upon the country before the fiscal question was ever raised. For the Prime Minister to pretend that he was the only one capable of dealing with the present situation was an idle pretence which was not supported by the facts of the case. In order to stick to office the Prime Minister was doing things which he believed he would have been ashamed to do in any ordinary transactions of life.

What had the Prime Minister done during the last three or four years in order to retain office? He recollected that two or three years ago the right hon. Gentleman found that he could not hold office without the support of the Irish Members on the Education Act. He created disaffection in his own ranks and a hundred men petitioned him against the Bill. They were mostly absent throughout the proceedings, and the Prime Minister wanted the support of the Irish Members to carry through the Bill. What did he do? He instituted a new *regime* in Ireland and called upon a great and distinguished public servant who honestly and straightforwardly told him he was a Home Ruler. The Prime Minister, through his servant, said that was no objection, and he led the Irish to expect Catholic Universities, and devolution, which would be tantamount to Home Rule. He kept that going through the whole of that session, and he kept it going through a second session when he made his licensing proposals and when he could not have kept a majority in the House. Then came the time when that constituted a serious danger to his retaining power. Another section of his supporters said, "If you keep this going we shall vote against you." The Prime Minister without the slightest compunction threw over that distinguished public servant who had sacrificed a great career in order to serve him faithfully. He sacrificed his own friends in the Cabinet. What happened next? He found the magistrates in this country administering the law. That was a source of danger to his continuance in office, because it irritated a powerful section of his supporters, the brewers. They went to him and said, "If this sort of thing continues, we shall vote against you." Then the Prime Minister, the guardian of law and order of this country, without any scruple denounced the administrators of the law because they were carrying out the law of the land, in order to continue in the office which the Government clung to.

What had the Prime Minister done that session? In the winter there was a genuine cry of distress from the unemployed which it was impossible for any Minister to disregard. The Prime Minister brought in a Bill and made use of it as an excuse to continue the life of his Ministry and his Parliament. Then he found that that was a danger to him. He had set up a principle which they would not hear the end of for many years, if not for generations, in this country, thoughtlessly and recklessly. When he found that a source of danger to his Ministry, having raised false hopes in the minds of these wretched people, what did he do? Just as unscrupulously he sacrificed them and made the wretchedness, poverty, misery, and anxieties of these poor people out of employment, mere pawns in the game of retaining office. Tariff reform! The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham said the trade of this country was in danger; that its industries were in peril. After all, we depended on our commerce and industries in this country, and if that were true it ought to be attended to. What did the Prime Minister do? He said, "Yes, that is true," and he wrote a great pamphlet to say so, and he delivered a great speech to support that contention. Then he found therein also a source of danger to the life of his Ministry, and he hung it up and postponed it. He treated it as if it were of no consequence, and made a free trade speech at Edinburgh one day, while he had on another made a protectionist speech at Sheffield. All this, on which the life of the people depended, he trifled with, treating it as if it were all a matter of keeping him in office. Any continuance of that state of things was a danger to the community. It was a disgrace to the House of Commons and to the Constitution.

SIR EDWARD GREY (Northumberland, Berwick): I am going to comment on some of the debate, but I have no comment to offer on the Prime Minister's speech. It dealt, it seemed to me, with points strictly in order, but not the least relevant to the circumstances in which we are placed. I care nothing for precedents in this matter. There are none. They do not apply, and I do not think that when we come to look, not into the precedents, but into the actual circumstances in which we are placed, there has been a word said in the debate so far—strong as much of that language has been—which is a whit too strong in condemnation of the line which the Government have taken. The hon. and learned Member for Waterford spoke strongly, but not a bit too strongly. Besides strong language on the general situation there has been a strong personal note. The personal note was used by my hon. friend who has just sat down, and used by him, I think, without any personal animus, I know it was used with effect, and the personal note is of the essence of the case. It is on the personal aspect that I take part in this debate, and I do it without any personal animus. I have sometimes received from right hon. Gentlemen opposite compliment, I have invariably received courtesy, I have no personal inclination to gratify whatever in speaking harshly of the Prime Minister's conduct; but his conduct is of the essence of the case. The important personalities who were his colleagues are his colleagues no longer. He stands as the one personality of his Government on whom the whole responsibility must fall for the course he has taken.

I said precedents did not apply to the course which the right hon. Gentleman is taking. I say so because, in my opinion, for the last two years in attempting to drag the House of Commons through work under the conditions to which he has kept it he has done great wrong to the House and the country, and I believe in every way he has done great damage to his own position and reputation. He has a three-fold personal position. He is leader of the Party opposite; he is Prime Minister of the country; and he is Leader of the whole House of Commons. I take first of all his position with regard to his own Party. We are to be told that that remains unimpaired. It is as good as it ever was. I am sorry for it, for I thought two years ago it had been better than to-day, and I do not envy that position such as it is to-day. The Prime Minister says he can still get a vote of confidence from his Party, that if the Government come down and ask deliberately a vote "Aye" or "No," whether they prefer him or us, they will vote for him. Yes, if they are given plenty of notice. They will do that on a set occasion, but they do not care for his policy enough to be here to support him regularly. What are votes of confidence worth on these conditions? It was not merely on Thursday night that they were not here to support him. What made the catastrophe on Thursday night was the fact that the division came at an hour when it was not possible to continue the debate. The situation happened to be on Thursday night what it had been numberless times early in the evening. The Government have constantly been without a majority in this House, but they have always hitherto been able to talk against time and to prolong the situation when without a majority. They could not do it on Thursday night, and the result was apparent then which would have been apparent constantly in the session at times inconvenient to the Government. Support of that kind is not support which can be made worth having by a vote of confidence from time to time.

What is the Prime Minister's position with regard to his own Party? His own Party is not united; there are two sections, irreconcilable, and opposed to each other. They both support the Prime Minister. Why? Each of them supports him in the expectation that in the long run he will throw over the other; and he must know that that is the situation. It is a false position for any man to occupy, and it is a lamentable condition on which to hold the office which he holds. And the mischief which has been wrought in this House arises from this—that for some two years the Prime Minister has been in that position, an inherently false position, and that time after time he has had to make attempts in the House of Commons and in the country to prove that that false position is logically tenable. There can be nothing more calculated to make the House incapable of doing its work than that it should feel that the Leader of the House is himself in a false position which he is trying from time to time to defend by ingenious logic; and that they should know that the result of being in a false position is that the House, too, is in a false position. I am sure this has affected his position in the country. He has demurred to our interpretation of the meaning of the by-elections in the country. They are the only means by which at present we can gauge the opinion of the country, and their comment has been strong enough.

What I am most desirous to show is that the position of the Leader of the House has been impaired apart from his position as Leader of his own Party. He has for two years taught the House to go on doing its ordinary work in the midst of the confusion of the fiscal question—a confusion for which he is responsible. He was not the first to raise the question; the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham raised the question first with the consent of the Prime Minister; but I have no complaint to make of the Member for West Birmingham as regards the methods he has adopted. He has not caused confusion either in the House or outside of it. He has fought openly for victory on a great question, and the Prime Minister has played for time. He has gained time, but he has gained it, I believe, at the expense of his own reputation, and I am sure at the expense of the reputation of the House of Commons. For two years we have seen a great matter of controversy in the country, and constant attempts made to debar the House of Commons from deliberating on it, and from influencing the opinion of the country. They have been made by the Leader of the House of Commons, and it has been his object to keep the House of Commons in a state of suspense and confusion. That is bound to affect his position as Leader of the whole House.

The right hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh said just now that the right hon. Gentleman's position was the ordinary one; that he did not command the confidence of the two Parties on this side of the House. That is the normal position of the Opposition, which does not give its confidence to him, but that does not comprise the whole truth. Every Leader of the House whom I have known, although he might not have had the confidence of the Opposition, has had personally an influence and an authority which you cannot define, but of which the whole House has been sensible, and which has been invaluable in critical moments to the House of Commons. Two years ago the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had as large a share of that as anyone I have ever seen in the House of Commons. The asset of personal goodwill towards him from the House as a whole was very great. I fear it is that position which has been impaired, because he has deliberately endeavoured to prevent both the House and the country from facing the great question which is before it, and must be before it, for some time to come, because it seemed to him in the interests of his whole Party it was not convenient for him to take it up. That has impaired, and must have impaired under present conditions, that mutual respect between the Leader of the House and the House, without which I do not think it is possible that the dignity or prestige, honour, and order of the House of Commons can be preserved. I think the House of Commons has been in an intolerable position. The Prime Minister has an opportunity, an intelligible and reasonable opportunity, of putting an end to that position; but he apparently prefers to keep it in that position in which it has been for two years, and to ask it to continue its work not only now, but, as far as we know, for another session.

I suppose his supporters will say that foreign affairs are at the moment rather critical. Was there ever a time during the last ten years that that could not be said? They began with the Jameson Raid. Then we had various excursions into foreign affairs. Then there was the war. Then there was the peace. Then there was the Japanese Alliance, then the *entente* with France, now the Japanese Alliance again, and, when that was concluded, a war in the Far East, then the question of peace in the Far East, then when all this is exhausted there will be the perennial question of South Africa. We have been for ten years in a critical state of foreign affairs, and if this Government remains in office we shall continue for ten years more. If the critical state of foreign affairs is the reason why the Prime Minister does not resign, or dissolve, he had better take measures to extend the Septennial Act. Does he expect to get any good result in Parliament from prolonging the life of the present Government? The last election took place upon the war, and it could not have counted as an ordinary election. To all intents and purposes this House of Commons is ten years old. Does the Prime Minister suppose he can restore it to a vigorous and healthy condition now? He knows he cannot and the House knows he cannot, because they know it is out of touch with the country as a whole. The longer the Government attempts to go on keeping the House of Commons working, the more they will damage the House of Commons as an institution, and the longer they go on, I sincerely hope and trust, the greater will be the resentment of the country when they have the courage to appeal to it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Baronet who has just sat down prefaced his speech by announcing that he agreed with the personal attacks made upon myself by certain preceding speakers, and that he meant to follow their example. I assure the right hon. Gentleman that he has totally failed to follow that example. Perhaps from want of habit and practice his attempts at personal invective have fallen incomparably short of those whom he set up as his models; and, much as I may have to complain of the justice of his attacks, at all events I have nothing to say against his taste. I do not know that I can pass the same eulogium upon two other hon. Gentlemen who have spoken. The hon. Member for the Carnarvon Boroughs made a very characteristic speech, perhaps in nothing more characteristic than in what he professed to put before the House as an account of the political transactions of the last two or three years. It as much resembled the actual facts of the case as the *Arabian Nights* resembled the ordinary episodes of domestic life in the East. It was the pure creation of a fantastic and, in this case, somewhat malevolent imagination. At all events, it did not, and could not, afford the House the smallest ground on which either to praise or to condemn the conduct which His Majesty's Government have taken on the present occasion. As for the junior Member for Oldham, his speech was certainly not remarkable for good taste, and as I have always taken an interest in that hon. Gentleman's career, I should certainly, if I thought it the least good, offer him some advice on that particular subject. But I take it that good taste is not a thing that can be acquired by industry, and that even advice of the most heartfelt and genuine description would entirely fail in its effect if I were to offer it to him. But on another point I think I may give him some advice which may be useful to him in the course of what I hope will be a long and distinguished career. It is not, on the whole, desirable to come down to this House with invective which is both prepared and violent. The House will tolerate, and very rightly tolerate, almost anything within the rule of order which evidently springs from a genuine indignation aroused by the collision of debate; but to come down with these prepared phrases is not usually succesful and, at all events, I do not think it was very successful on the present occasion. If there is preparation there should be more finish, and if there is so much violence there should certainly be more obvious veracity of feeling.

But I pass from a phase of the debate which has been simply a series of personal attacks upon myself. I pass from it because, to my mind, in spite of the opposite view of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, that is wholly irrelevant to the issue before the House. I may have every crime which the invention of the hon. Member for Carnarvon can suggest; I may be guilty of every dishonourable motive which the anxious preparation of the hon. Member for Oldham may enable him to see. [OPPOSITION cries of "Oh."] Did you hear the speech of the hon. Member for Oldham? [Cries of "Yes,"] I think I am dealing with it in a very moderate spirit. But that can have nothing to do with the issue before us. If I deserve all the attacks that have been made upon me, it is a very good reason why I should resign. I grant that certainly, and no doubt if the pictures of successive Prime Ministers were to be painted by their political opponents in moments of passion and were to be regarded as true, they ought to resign probably once in every three weeks. But, after all, it is not my character that is in question. It may be as black as hon. Gentlemen opposite have chosen to picture. I may be the greedy office-seeker which I appear in their lurid imaginations, though I would point out to the House that there is a certain lack of humour when Gentlemen like the Member for Carnarvon and the Member for Oldham, and even, I must add, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Berwick, are so frantically indignant with what they call my clinging to office, the alternative being that they should get office. I suppose two out of the three Gentlemen I have mentioned are certain to get office. [An HON. MEMBER: The country is with them.] I hear some one say that they have the country behind them. After all, the appetite for office may be a very honourable appetite, but there is something almost grotesque in those who want to snatch from the present possessors of power that very power, that they should fill their speeches with personal accusations of an indecent clinging to office against those whom they desire to despoil of that privilege, if privilege it be. In truth, I should never have thought of making insinuations or recriminations against others; but hon. Gentlemen have spent three hours in making them against me. [AN HON. MEMBER: Is that the best you can say?] Though I agree with the hon. Gentleman who courteously interrupts me that it is irrelevant to the issue before us, I think it is worth saying.

There is another accusation which is more than usually absurd, which is that I have asked the House to violate the ordinary Parliamentary traditions with regard to the resignation of Ministers because I claim to be the only individual who can manage the foreign affairs of this country. In the first place, it is the Government who are responsible, and not I individually, for the foreign affairs of this country. In the second place, I have never suggested that that is a reason for violating constitutional procedure to anybody but those who agree with me in politics. Surely it is reasonable to say to those who agree with me, and who agree with those who sit on this bench, "You approve of our foreign policy. You think it important that we should stay in to carry it out. Support us." That is a most reasonable appeal to make to friends who think with us on the question of foreign policy. I should never have the lack of taste to come down to this House and say to hon. Members who differ from me, who do not particularly admire our foreign policy or our domestic policy, "Keep us in office because we have done so very well." I should not think of saying it, and I have never said such a thing yet. Speech after speech has been made upon a garbled version of what is supposed to have occurred in a Party meeting. Can anything be more grotesque, more unworthy of an occasion which hon. Gentlemen profess to think of great constitutional importance?

There is one more point I may make upon the personal aspect of the question. I think it was the Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool who contrasted my poor self with the noble being who sits opposite me, and who very worthily leads the Opposition. What said the hon. Member for the Scotland Division? He said that the Leader of the Opposition, when a vote was passed against his Estimates, behaved like an honourable man; he did not imitate the cowardly and discreditable conduct of the present occupants of the Treasury Bench.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I studiously avoided anything like personal attack. I might have said discreditable, but never said cowardly.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I agree with the hon. Member, I did not use his exact words. But Lord Rosebery's Government had been defeated on the Address.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said that the Government of Lord Rosebery was defeated on the Address in reference to an academic opinion.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I should have thought that an opinion about the House of Lords was not academic, and it is the only time, as far as I know, when a hostile vote on the Address was not taken by the Government as indicating that they should resign. I do not blame them. I think they acted quite in accordance with tradition. What I do complain of is that a contrast should be drawn between the honourable men who resigned and the not honourable men who do not resign, whereas, as a matter of fact, it is the hon. Gentleman opposite who had almost a monopoly, or at any rate a great preponderance, of that kind of courage which enables a Government to go on after incidents of the kind of which we have been speaking.

The right hon. Baronet actually had the courage to say that he would not be influenced in his opinion as to the propriety of the Government's action by what had happened in previous Governments and under previous Administrations. A more amazing statement to come from one who poses as a guardian of the Constitution I never heard in my life. An attempt has been made to show that the opinions I attributed to Mr. Gladstone were not his opinions. They were his opinions. I omitted two facts about the Government of 1868–74, and the two facts are these—the Government was beaten, if I am not mistaken, nine times in the course of its existence, and in the last two years, I think it was, of its existence it gained one seat and lost twenty-three to its opponents—an absolute record, I believe, with regard to by-elections. It is, after all, vain to quote some *obiter dictum* of Mr. Gladstone when in opposition and to ignore his consistent conduct in every Government of which he was a member. His position was, I believe, perfectly constitutional, though I am of opinion still, as I was when I addressed the House a few hours ago, that he drove his theory to excess, and was too little regardful of those collateral circumstances which might well influence a Government in its decision. No reply has been made to me on this subject. Hon. Gentleman have been abusing me all the afternoon—a useful and congenial occupation. They have not answered, or even attempted to answer, a single one of the constitutional arguments I have used. They have almost implied that they mean to start a new order of things, that they mean to ignore the Parliamentary past of this country and to make precedent which is to govern the future. I hope they will do nothing of the kind. They have an opportunity to-night of expressing their opinions; are they going to express them? They have an opportunity, and a very good opportunity, of voting now upon a point which will show at all events what this House of Commons thinks of the matter in dispute. I agree with the hon. and learned Member for Waterford that it was desirable that the matter should be debated this afternoon; I agree with him that it was desirable that a vote should be taken; and I can only recommend the House, after having heard the arguments of both sides and the invectives of one side, to make up their minds as to the side on which the balance of truth and constitutional propriety lies, and as to whether we are not carrying out, and our opponents refusing to carry out, the Parliamentary tradition which has so long guided the deliberations o this House.

Question put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at twenty-two minutes after Seven o'clock.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 25th July, 1905.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that no Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bill;—Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law) (No. 2).

The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

Report from, That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the Wigan Corporation Bill ought to be dispensed with, and the Bill allowed to proceed. Read, and agreed to.

Ealing Corporation Bill. Reported, with Amendments.

Wemyss Dock Bill [h.l.]. Report from the Select Committee, That it is not expedient to proceed further with the Bill; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

Thames Conservancy Bill. Moved, That the order made on the 16th day of March last, "That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 27th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bill be now read 2^a; agreed to. Bill read 2^a accordingly, and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

London County Council (Money) Bill. Read 3 (according to order), and passed.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill. Moved, That the order made on the 16th day of March last, "That no Provisional Order Confirmation Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 27th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bills be now read 2^a; agreed to. Bills read 2^a accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [h.l.]. Commons Amendment considered (according to order), and agreed to.

Glasgow University Order Confirmation Bill [h.l.]. Read 3^a (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS: ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3450. Sweden (Gothenburg).

No. 3451. Germany (Dantzig).

No. 3452. China (Kiukiang).

No. 3453. Brazil (Porto Alegre).

No. 3454. Italy (Lombardy).

No. 3455. China (Swatow).

No. 3456. Germany (Finances of the German Empire).

STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS (BOARD OF TRADE (LABOUR DEPARTMENT).

Report on strikes and lock-outs in the United Kingdom in 1904, and on conciliation and arbitration boards.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE AND COURT OF APPEAL, ETC.

Account showing the receipts and expenditure in respect of the High Court of Justice and Court of Appeal during the year ended March 31st, 1905.

LAND REGISTRY.

Account of receipts and payments in respect of the land registry, for the year ended March 31st, 1905.

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS (INCORPORATION OF WIMBLEDON).

Charter of Incorporation of the borough of Wimbledon, dated July 24th, 1905.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

PUBLIC HEALTH ACTS (AMENDMENT) BILL [H.L.].

Report from the Select Committee (with the Proceedings of the Committee and Appendix), made, and to be printed. (No. 154.) Minutes of Evidence laid upon the Table, and to be delivered out. Bill reported, with Amendments, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Friday next; and to be printed as amended. (No. 153.)

COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGE TO CROPS BILL.

House in Committee (according to order). Bill reported without Amendment; and recommitted to the Standing Committee.

COUNTY COURTS (IRELAND) BILL [H.L.].

House in Committee (according to order.) Bill reported without Amendment. Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^a on Tuesday next.

COAL MINES (WEIGHING OF MINERALS) BILL.

Reported from the Standing Committee without Amendment; and to be read 3^a on Thursday next.

GERMANY AND THE WELSH COAL-FIELD.

Lord MUSKERRY: My Lords, I beg to ask the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question of which I have given him private notice—namely, whether His Majesty's Government have seen the statement in the public Press of July 20th and 21st, that a coalfield in Wales has been purchased by a German firm; and if this is true, whether, in view of the great importance to our Navy of possessing an adequate supply of Welsh smokeless coal, and also in view of the said coal being declared as contraband of war by Russia, the Government intend to take any steps in the matter either now or later on.

The SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, our attention has been called to the statement to which the noble Lord refers, and we have made inquiries in regard to the facts. So far as we have been able to ascertain, the particular coalfield to which the statement has reference is outside the area in which steam coal available for naval purposes has hitherto been found. We also learn that the property in question has been for sale for the last twenty years, and that the quality of the coal believed to be found within it is inferior. I should say upon the whole that the transaction does not seem to be one affecting the adequate supply of Welsh smokeless coal for the Navy.

PUBLIC ROADS (IRELAND) BILL.

House in Committee (according to Order).

The Earl of ONSLOW in the Chair.

Clause 1.

The LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL and PRESIDENT of the BOARD of EDUCATION (The Marquess of LONDONDERRY): My Lords, I have, on behalf of the Government, to move several Amendments in Clause 1 of this Bill. They are of a purely drafting character, and are merely put down to give effect to an Amendment which was carried through the other House by Major Griffith Boscawen. That Amendment provided that for the purpose of determining extraordinary expenses for repairing a road there should be a comparison with the average cost of maintaining the particular road damaged, and not with that of the whole of the roads in the area. The Irish Government in the other House accepted this Amendment, but they realise that it would be ineffective if the Amendments standing in my name are not agreed to. I therefore beg to move the Amendments.

On Question, drafting Amendments agreed to.

Remaining clauses agreed to.

The Report of Amendments to be received on Thursday next.

ARMY.

Lord TWEEDMOUTH rose "To call attention to the continued deficiency in the number of officers in the British Army; to ask if any, and what, steps have been taken to mitigate this grave source of weakness to the eficiency of our land forces; and to move to resolve "That this House is of opinion that the supply, training, and conditions of service of officers in all branches of the King's Army require the instant attention of His Majesty's Government."

The noble Lord said: My Lords, I feel that it is rather presumptuous of me, whose military experience does not extend further than a few years in a school rifle corps and afterwards eight or nine years in a Yeomanry regiment, to venture in this House, where there are so many noble Lords who have served in the Regular forces of His Majesty, and so many distinguished soldiers, to raise a question which is primarily of military importance. But it is something more than that. This is a question which interests all of us, whether civilians or soldiers, being a very important point of military policy, and it is not, I think, a controversial one, but one on which men of all Parties may agree. It does not raise any of the knotty points as to compulsory service or as to a big Army or a small Army.

For my own part I frankly answer that I am against compulsory service, and am in favour of a moderate-sized Regular Army, thoroughly efficient and sufficient to meet any reasonable calls upon it in our Colonies, in India, or in our other dependencies beyond the seas. I believe that for the defence of these islands we should depend upon our Auxiliary Forces; that those forces should be as efficient as possible, and that the measure of their efficiency should be the efficiency they can obtain without individuals being prevented from doing their full civil duties and fulfilling their civil employment. Holding that view, I think it is necessary that the Regular Army should be properly and sufficiently officered, that there should be a large reserve of officers, and that there should be a strong staff and an Intelligence Department thoroughly informed and efficient and able to form plans of campaigns in the different parts of the world in which our Army may be called upon to act. It is especially necessary that we should have officers trained to lead our Auxiliary Forces when they are called into action, for above all is it necessary for men who are partially trained to have officers to lead them who are fully trained and thoroughly acquainted with the arts of war.

I am particularly anxious that our officers should be many, should be able, should be contented, and should be sufficient for all the duties that are thrown upon them. What is the shortage now to be found among the ranks of officers? It is rather remarkable. The figures I shall quote are all absolutely official, and have been given by Ministers in one House or the other. In the cavalry there is a shortage of sixty-five officers, in the Guards a shortage of twenty-nine officers, and in the infantry of the Line a shortage of 148 officers; in all, a shortage of 242 officers in the Regular Army. It must be remembered, so far as the Guards are concerned, that a considerable addition has been made in the last month or two by the admission to both the Horse Guards and the Foot Guards of officers who have passed no examination, and who are admitted as probationers, having to fulfil certain conditions after two years service. That is a new departure. I do not think, of recent years at any rate, that officers have been admitted to His Majesty's Army without examination, and this new departure has helped up the number of officers in the Guards.

To give your Lordships an idea of what this shortage means in individual regiments, I will take the case of seven cavalry regiments as given in the Army List of this month. Each of these cavalry regiments has an establishment of six second lieutenants. The 1st King's Dragoon Guards has one sub-lieutenant, the 3rd Dragoon Guards has two sub-lieutenants, the 4th Dragoon Guards has two sub-lieutenants, the 5th Lancers has one sub-lieutenant, the 8th Hussars has three sub-lieutenants, the 11th Hussars two sub-lieutenants, and the 18th Hussars three sub-lieutenants; that is to say, in those seven regiments, instead of forty-two sub-lieutenants, you have at this moment only fourteen. That seems to me to speak for itself. Leaving the Regular Army, let me come to the Auxiliary Forces. The shortage of officers there is more remarkable. In the Militia you have a shortage of 1,010 officers, in the Yeomanry a shortage of 344, in the Volunteers a shortage of 2,799; in all, a shortage of 4,153 officers. That, I admit, is perhaps a little overstating the case, because from this total should be deducted certain supernumerary and seconded officers who are included in the deficiency. The supernumerary and seconded officers included in the deficiency are—Militia, 244; Yeomanry, 63; Volunteers, 193. That makes a total of 500, and if you deduct that number from the total I have given, there is left a shortage of 3,653 officers in the Auxiliary Forces.

This shortage of officers works out in a singular way with regard to the Militia. You may almost say that in some Militia regiments the subaltern ranks are almost non-existent. In the Highland Light Infantry there are three subalterns out of an establishment of twelve; in the Manchester Regiment there are four subalterns out of an establishment of twenty-four; in the Sherwood Foresters there are three subalterns out of an establishment of twelve; in the Black Watch there are eight out of an establishment of twelve, and in the East Surrey ten out of an establishment of fifteen; whilst the East Lancashire Regiment has no subalterns at all. I only quote this shortage to show what a sorry plight we are in. This is, I think, a state of affairs serious enough in time of peace, but what would be the state of affairs in case of war? What would be the call made upon our forces for officers in war and to fulfil the duties of the Army Service Corps, the Intelligence Department, and the general staff? The call likely to be made on officers for these purposes in anything like a serious war will be very great, and one that, to put it very mildly, it will be very difficult to meet.

We are always told that the most probable theatre of war is the North-West Frontier of India. Now, let as suppose a war in that region—a war for which it would be necessary, let us say, to mobilise and despatch eight divisions. What would our shortage be in the first instance? I leave out the question of the Auxiliary Forces altogether, merely saying that the shortage of officers in the Auxiliary Forces, and especially in the Militia, would be a very serious thing when you came to the question of getting fresh officers for an emergency to serve in the Regular Army. One of your great sources of supply of officers will be taken away, and if you pass your measure which lays on the Militia the duty of going abroad, I think the power of taking officers from that source will be still more diminished in the future. In the first place, then, supposing that such a war as I have described—which, please God, may not happen—should break out, you would have your original deficiency of 242 officers. Then I am told that the Indian authorities say that they want at least 600 officers in India. I believe that is the number which has been named by Lord Kitchener, and which he would ask for. I think you will admit that I do not exaggerate when I say that a further 300 officers would be wanted for Staff purposes, and for the Army Service Corps and other purposes another 200 officers; that is to say, a total of 1,342 officers. I do not know, but I am told that the War Office estimate for the purposes I have mentioned no less than 1,850 officers, so that my estimate is not a high one.

Then I have assumed that you would have to mobilise these eight divisions and send them out. I should like to put it to the noble Lord whether I am overstating the case when I say that in order to make up these eight divisions you would have to fall back on your Reserves. You have 91,000 Reservists in this country, and to make up the eight divisions you would have to call out 60,000 Reservists. How are you going to officer those 60,000 Reservists, taking one officer to every thirty Reservists? It would require 2,000 officers to officer the Reservists who would be taken to make up the eight divisions. That is at the commencement; but some allowance must be made for wastage in war and for loss among officers through death and disease.

Sir Coleridge Grove stated in his evidence before the Elgin Commission that 3,000 officers above the normal were supplied during eighteen months of the South African War, excluding Auxiliaries. The campaign that I am supposing is not in a country anything like so healthy as South Africa. There is no doubt that we were saved great losses in South Africa by the healthiness of that country, and the conditions, therefore, under which our troops were able to serve there; but on the North-West Frontier of India you have great extremes of temperature, and a very rough country to fight in. You would, I suppose, be fighting against European soldiers. You have also to consider the high mortality that is always found to ensue when native troops are led by white officers. White officers have to show themselves well to the front, and consequently they suffer. I do not think that I am putting it very high when I say that you ought to allow 1,000 officers for twelve months service in such a war.

But that is not all. It is not sufficient to provide for a year's war. The war might come to an end at the conclusion of the first year, but still you must be prepared for the contingency of its going on beyond the first year. I know that both the Intelligence Department and the Staff College have estimated that in order to keep a force of eight divisions and your Indian Army in full strength you would require to supply 140,000 men a year. I suppose you would take steps at once to get this number of men to reinforce your Army during the second year. What would you then have to fall back upon? I daresay there might be about 30,000 recruits not of sufficient age to go in the first year to the war. Then you might have, perhaps, 30,000 Militiamen to send out. That would leave you with still some 80,000 men to find, and you would have to recruit them. You would also have to train those 80,000 recruits at home during the first year of the war. You must have officers to do that. If I may take one officer to every thirty men, 2,600 officers would be required in order to train and make ready the troops that would be necessary to continue the war and to reinforce your Army during the second year.

That little sum amounts to this. There is the original deficiency of 1,342; there are the 2,000 officers for the Reservists who would go out the first year of the war; there are the 1,000 to meet the wastage of the first year; and there are the 2,600 to train the recruits in case the war should go into the second year, making a total of 6,942 officers who would have to be provided during the first year's hostilities. My Lords, where are you going to get that number, or half that number, from? You have no reserve. At this moment I believe, you have eighty-seven Staff College officers, with instructors; I think your junior officers' reserve is about 479, and I believe you have about thirty officers unemployed under the rank of colonel or second in command. That is the asset you have to set against this great demand for officers. It may be thought that I am drawing on my imagination, but I do honestly believe that that is about the number of men that would have to be provided, and that we ought to be able to provide, in order to carry on operations such as I have described and such as I believe are considered to be possible.

I will leave that and come to the present difficulty. After all, nobody denies that there is a difficulty now in obtaining officers. I remember that the other day the noble Earl the Under-Secretary of State for War said, in the debate raised by the Duke of Bedford, that there was no difficulty in getting candidates for commissions. I agree with him on the whole, but I do say that at this moment you have not got sufficient candidates for the cavalry and the Guards; or I will put it in this way, that you are beginning to feel a tightness in the supply of candidates for the cavalry and the Guards. What, then, does this shortage arise from? It is admitted that it does not come from any want of men ready to serve in the Army. It comes from the fact that you have had an altogether abnormal number of resignations of officers who have already obtained a certain position in the service. The noble Earl, in the Answer he gave to Lord Heneage the other day, said that since the South African War 321 cavalry officers had voluntarily retired or resigned their commissions, and during the same time 116 have received commissions.

Let me take the case with regard to the Guards and the cavalry. I will take the year before the effect of the war can have at all acted on the motives of men remaining in or leaving the Army. In the year 1898 I find that there were fifty-two voluntary retirements or resignations from the Guards and cavalry. In 1903, again, there were no less than 144 such voluntary retirements or resignations, or nearly treble the number in 1898. What I am told is that quite recently over 1,000 officers have either resigned their commissions, given notice that they will resign them, or have told their commanding officers that they are thinking of resigning. I have seen that put at 1,500, but I am not going to argue upon any particular figure. My point is that there is a great movement in that direction, that the ordinary number of retirements year by year throughout the Army is gradually increasing, and that you are losing valuable men who have already received training and have had considerable experience. Even when they are replaced they are replaced by men who have to be trained in order to become efficient.

There are various reasons given for this state of things. Some people say it is because the pay is too low. I have not got much belief in that. I quite admit that the pay of the Army officer is not high, and I think that at any rate in the lower ranks some increase might well be given. I think second lieutenants might get 6s. 6d. a day instead of 5s. 3d., and I think lieutenants might get 7s. 6d. a day. But the amount of pay is not what will bring men into the Army. Whatever you are likely to give will not be such as to be a great inducement to men to become officers in the Army. They will enter for other reasons than that of pay. Another explanation is that it is on account of the great amount of work that has been thrown on officers lately. I do not believe that either. If you said that it was on account of the great worry that had been thrown on officers lately there would be something in it; but I do not believe it is either insufficiency of pay or over-sufficiency of work that has caused these retirements. That being the case, you will say, what do I think has been the cause? I can tell you very shortly. It is the absolute uncertainty of the position of the Army and of the officer in the Army, and the uncertainty as to what is going to happen to the Army, or to the particular regiment or officer. Nobody knows what is going to happen, and naturally officers do not like to remain in that state of uncertainty and doubt. If they enter a career they like to have an opportunity of following it out with some certainty of success if they are competent.

When you hear of a regiment being ordered abroad, and of that order being suddenly countermanded after all the arrangements have been made by the officers; when you hear of a commanding officer who has three houses on his hands at the same time because he has been moved so often from one place to another; when you hear of officers who have held high positions and who had every right to expect to be maintained in those positions suddenly thrown out without any particular reason—I am not going to mention names, though they could be easily given—when you hear these things you can quite understand why retirements and resignations come about. The great reason for all these retirements is that the War Office is out of touch with the Army altogether. I will grant that the War Office is extremely anxious to apply remedies to the Army. During the last few years it has gone on applying remedy after remedy, but it has never diagnosed the disease, and a great deal of the present discontent arises from the fact that officers do not like to feel that their career and their position is largely at the sway of what I can call nothing but ignorance and incapacity.

The effect of this has been to excite the discontent of two classes of officers. The officer who is keen for his work dislikes this new *régime* and this new order because he feels the utter hollowness of all the worries that are imposed upon him. The idle officer hates them also because they interfere with his pleasure. I expect that under any improved system for the Army you would find the idle officer's pleasures interfered with, and, if he went, I daresay the country could get on well without him. The authorities have been desirous of making a great show. They have gone in for a great many field days; they have imposed a great many examinations. No doubt it is a very good thing for an officer to know all about the American War and the Peninsula War, and to write an essay on the tactics of Moltke in 1866 and 1870; but the first duty of officers is to be able to train their men, and they cannot do that unless they are given men to train and are allowed to train them. That is what is not done now.

As a matter of fact, what does a company officer find? He thinks himself very lucky if he gets half his company out on any occasion. Let me give you an instance. There is supposed to be a cavalry brigade ready to take the field at Aldershot—three regiments supposed to be of the strength of 600 each. What is the fact? By putting into the ranks their mess waiters and the officers' servants they can just each average 200, so that the total of that brigade when it comes to war is 600 of all ranks instead of 1,800. The fact of the matter is, the regimental officers—and I own that I myself have a great tenderness for the regimental officers, for it was they and the soldiers, not the generals or the staff, who pulled this country through the South African War—the regimental officers get very little opportunity of seeing their men, much less of training them. For the annual company field training no doubt the regimental officer does have his men, but he only has half a company instead of a whole company. On field days he sees them, such as they are, and also on church parade. Beyond that he does not do very much, and I honestly believe that the cause of good officers leaving the Army is that they are sickened by the hollowness and mockery of their everyday life. It is not for me to suggest a remedy for this state of things. I merely ask my noble friend if any and what steps have been taken to mitigate this grave source of weakness to the efficiency of our land forces, and I ask your Lordships to support me in declaring that this House is of opinion that the supply, training, and conditions of service of officers in all branches of the King's Army require the instant attention of His Majesty's Government.

Moved to resolve, "That this House is of opinion that the supply, training, and conditions of service of officers in all branches of the King's Army require the instant attention of His Majesty's Government."—(*Lord Tweedmouth.*)

LORD LOVAT: My Lords, I congratulate the noble Lord who has just sat down on the very interesting way in which he has put the facts before the House. They are facts which the nation as yet has not had placed before them, but they are facts each one of which can be deduced from the Blue-books and from the Army List. There are certain general principles which make it essential that our Army should be more thoroughly officered with qualified officers than any army on the Continent. Our Army is founded on the basis of possible expansion. We have a small standing Army which, in time of need, has to be very considerably increased; and therefore it is of the first importance that we should have a good supply of officers. It is well known that men, provided they can shoot, can be quickly made into soldiers; but, as was pointed out in the Report of the Elgin Commission and also in the Report of the Norfolk Commission, officers cannot be improvised in a moment, and it is therefore most essential that we should have a sufficient supply of officers in the ranks, and an adequate reserve to meet the casualties which must occur.

Our Army, moreover, must always be made up of men of various degrees of training. It must consist of a certain number of Regulars, a certain number of half-trained Militiamen, and an even larger number of Volunteers who have had but little training at all. It is a well-known axiom that the less educated the troops the more educated the officers must be who lead them. There is another principle which is equally applicable to the British Army. The whole of our Army is founded on the voluntary system of service, and the men in it must be led and not driven. The iron discipline of the Germans is inapplicable in our case. It is essential that each officer should have the respect of his men, otherwise the *morale* of the Army must suffer. The Elgin Commission in their Report said that—

> "There is no subject of more supreme importance to the organisation of the Army than the supply of officers."

Well, my Lords, how do we stand in this respect? What we want is a supply of junior officers, of subalterns, and captains. Of colonels and higher officers we have always had a redundancy. In the German army they have, in the Landwehr Reserve, over 13,000 second lieutenants; they have something like 7,000 first lieutenants, and some 3,000 captains. The French army, in connection with which it was stated that they had the greatest anxiety about the scarcity of officers, possesses 18,500 in the Reserve. We, with all our expansion, have a reserve, I think, of seventeen second lieutenants, of about 100 first lieutenants, and some 600 or 800 captains. Included among the lieutenants are Cabinet Ministers and others. We see officers who command Auxiliary units figuring among these officers. It is a well-known fact that on mobilisation during the South African War a very considerable number of these did not appear through ill-health, monetary causes, and otherwise; and that is what we have got to fall back upon to fill up this enormous number of vacancies which Lord Tweedmouth has pointed out.

As to the exact deficiency of officers, everyone who works it out will probably come to a different result, but I think we are safe in saying that for service abroad and for our Auxiliary Forces we are not less than 10,000 officers short at the present time. The statement of Sir Coleridge Grove that 3,000 officers were required for the first eighteen months of the South African War was exclusive of officers for the Auxiliary Forces. They were to fill the ranks of the reserve forces of officers and to replace the casualties. There could be no war in which the casualties were fewer than in the South African War. Would anyone compare South Africa, which has, perhaps, the best climate in the world, with the North-Western Frontier of India, where the thermometer varies nearly a hundred degrees from morning to night? Sir Evelyn Wood pointed out, in his evidence, how one Reserve officer commanded 850 men at home. From another statement before the same Commission it appears that there were seventeen officers during the South African War to officer the whole 4,500 gunners who were mobilised. There were companies in the war which had only one or two very junior officers. If we add to the officers who would be required to go to the front the officers necessary for the proper training of the Reserves not immediately sent out, the number of officers deficient would be very considerably increased. It is no exaggeration to say that the deficiency, including the Auxiliary Forces, is 10,000 officers. Of some of Lord Tweedmouth's figures I do not pretend to judge, but I consider his statement as to staff officers very much below the actual requirements. When you consider that in evidence before the Norfolk Commission 453 officers were put down for the Army Service Corps alone, the number which the noble Lord calculated —13,000—is by no means over-estimated.

How is the existing deficiency going to be made up? It is constituted, in the first place, by a deficiency in Regular officers. I do not agree with the noble Lord as to the gravity of the deficiency of 250 officers, because that will be put right, to a certain extent, very soon when the next batch come up from Sandhurst and the garrison regiments are dismissed. But there is one question with regard to that which is of importance. The senior subalterns of to-day put in an average of six and a-half years service, while previously they put in rather over nine years service. That means that you are now losing your officers who understand their work, and that is a sign which is not hopeful for the future of the Army. I do not wish to enlarge on the point which Lord Tweedmouth raised as to the pinpricks to which officers seem to be subject at every turn, but I think there are certain matters which the War Office might without much difficulty redress. I mean, for instance, such questions as the continual changes of drill-books and drill regulations, the continual changes of dress, and the shifting of barracks. Again, if you wish the senior officers to regard the War Office in a friendly spirit, it is not a good thing, for two years in succession, to have the seniority examination held on Derby day. I do not say that officers need necessarily be encouraged to go racing, but I think

Lord Lovat.

that on the day of a national festival like the Derby it is rather unnecessary, after some trouble had been raised last year, to have Derby day again appointed for the examination of senior officers.

Then there are other matters, such as the short notice which is given of changes. The 17th Lancers were ordered to go to Egypt. They had procured their houses in Egypt and bought their polo ponies there; they had given up their houses in this country and made all the arrangements to start, but at the last moment were told they were not to go. That makes dissatisfaction almost indelible. Junior officers see the statement which was made by Lord Kitchener, that as a whole the junior officers did better work than the senior officers throughout the South African War; yet it is the junior officers to whose interests no consideration whatever is given.

I wish for a moment to go into the question of Staff and mobilisation. Evidence taken before the Elgin Commission made it clear, according to the Report of the Commission, that confusion was caused by the fact that there was much improvisation in Staff arrangements at the beginning of the war. At the present moment there are in England only twenty-nine unemployed Staff officers under the rank of colonel—twenty-nine for eight divisions. In the late war there was about the same number. One general said—

> "There was no officer of any war experience on my staff."

Lord Kitchener, too, complained about the inequality of the work, and it is well known that only one brigade—General Hildyard's—left England as a constituted body with all the staff known to the general. That will happen again; we shall have identically the same thing repeated. I asked the noble Earl the other day what the exact deficiency of Staff officers was, and he informed me that that was not the time to bring the matter forward. I would now ask the noble Earl what the deficiency of Staff officers is in the Army as a whole on mobilisation.

There are certain things which might be done without very much cost. In the first place we should have both a long course and a short course at the Staff College. We ought to have a long course of two years for those who were going to the general staff, a shorter course of one year for those who were going to be the acting staff officers in the various brigades, and, furthermore, we ought to have a course of six months or so for the pick of our Auxiliary adjutants to learn staff work. They will have, in the case of the mobilisation of the whole of our forces, to act as Staff officers for the Auxiliary brigades and divisions, That has also been advocated by Lord Kitchener in his evidence before the Elgin Commission. I would also like to say a few words on the subject of the Auxiliary Forces, in connection with which a terrible deficiency exists. The numbers have already been quoted. In the South African War we took Militia officers, but we shall be able to take them no longer. We have to go down to the Volunteers to fill up the ranks of officers in the Regulars. Many of the officers in the Volunteers are simply serving in order to get recruits and to keep the regiments together.

If you do not recruit from the Volunteers, where will you go for your officers to make up this deficiency of something like 7,000 for service abroad? You will have to go out to the man in the street. We tried that in the South African War, and what did we find? Of 500 officers for one lot of Yeomanry 148 were cashiered before they had been out in South Africa many months, and, in addition, there were a considerable number who were not cashiered, but who were left in camps as perfectly hopeless to command men in the field. If you recruit again in the same way, 50 per cent. of your men will, as in the case of the Yeomanry officers to whom I have referred, be useless after short service and have to be fired out. As to what may be done to improve matters in regard to the Auxiliary Forces, the principle might be adopted which is laid down by the Norfolk Commission—namely, that an officer should not have to pay to serve his King. It would appear that many gentlemen who now serve as non-commissioned officers or privates are kept out of the commissioned ranks because they are not able to face the expense of £20 or £30 which it is necessary to incur to be an officer in these regiments. Surely, by some proper rearrangement of the capitation grant, officers need not be called upon to pay to serve in that force. I am convinced that there are only two methods by which we can get the officers necessary—either by some system of compulsory service for the leisured classes—by that I mean the enforcement of the Ballot Act against those without incumbrance who have, say, £400 a year and have reached the age of twenty-one—or, by what I think is more rational, an appeal to the Universities and the seats of learning.

*THE EARL OF ERROLL: My Lords, perhaps I may be allowed to make a few remarks on this subject purely from the point of view of cavalry officers. I have been watching for some time with considerable anxiety the gradual and steady decrease in the number of officers in the cavalry, and I feel that unless this wastage can be arrested the efficiency of the cavalry must be very seriously prejudiced. I seldom look into the *Gazette* without seeing two or three resignations, and I very rarely find a corresponding number of appointments to fill up the vacancies. In August, 1903, the date which I think the noble Lord took, I find that the cavalry was seven officers over its strength. When we come to January, 1905, the surplus had been swept away and we had by that time a deficiency of thirty-seven. In April, 1905, just three months later, that deficiency had risen to sixty-seven. Taking cavalry officers at somewhere between 600 and 700 strong, your Lordships will see that this deficiency comes to something like 10 per cent.

I am informed by officers who are qualified to know that the establishment of our cavalry at the present moment is none too high even if all the regiments were full and up to their proper strength. These defects ought to be remedied and to be remedied at once. The effect which this has upon the cavalry is cumulative. As the shrinkage increases the work also gets harder, and the tendency to resign becomes very much stronger. There is one regiment which the noble Earl mentioned, the 5th Lancers, which has five subalterns short. The meaning of that is that nine subalterns have to do the work of fourteen, and consequently there is a tendency to discontent in the regiment. Your Lordships understand that it is quite impossible to improvise officers. Officers to be efficient must have a thorough professional training, and it is very important that this training should be given them in the early stages of their service when they are young. We must remember that the subalterns of to-day are the captains of five years hence, and that if we have a large deficiency now in the junior ranks in the future we shall have no experienced officers to take the places of those captains who are either promoted or pass into civil life. I think that is one of the strongest reasons why immediate action should be taken.

I am happy to think that this subject has been occupying the attention of His Majesty's Government. I believe that a Committee has been sitting, and that certain recommendations have been made. I do not, of course, know what they are, but I hope that the noble Earl the Under-Secretary of State for War will be able to reassure us, and to tell us that some steps will be taken which are likely to make the cavalry more attractive than it is at the present moment. In my opinion—and this is purely my own opinion as a soldier—there are various reasons why the cavalry is unpopular at the present moment. I believe that the chief among these are the inadequacy of the pay, the uncertainty of the prospects, and the constant worry, which has been already referred to. I do not believe that it is the extra work that the officers mind—I believe it is the constant and never-ending examinations. In the Navy a sub-lieutenant when he has been to Greenwich at the age of about twenty finishes all his examinations. He has no further compulsory examinations, and I do not think anybody will say that the officers of the Navy are less efficient than the officers of the service to which I have the honour to belong. But, my Lords, these examinations in the Army are constant and never-ending. One officer described the situation, I thought, somewhat aptly when he said—

> "We seem never to get away from examinations, they seem to last all our lives, and even after death we have a *post mortem*."

I believe that this question resolves itself into one of supply and demand. When there were a great many more officers than were necessary to fill up the vacancies the country was able to make its own bargain. Now that the supply has fallen below the demand, and, if I may say so, the boot is on the other leg, I think some extreme measures will have to be taken to fill up the vacancies. Increase of pay would be of great service. This is the opinion of a great many senior officers with whom I have conversed on the subject. In the Indian cavalry there is no difficulty in recruiting officers because the pay is very much better and the pension is worth looking forward to. The pay of a private soldier has during the last thirty years been materially increased and his position has been very much improved in various ways. Officers' pay has alone remained stationary, although the expense of living has very much increased and the consequent spending value of money very much decreased.

At one time it used to be thought that the supply of officers was inexhaustible, and that if you gave them no pay at all you could get as many as you liked. Those times have changed. Suitable young men have gone on strike, an abnormal number of resignations is taking place, and it is more difficult every day to fill the vacancies. In old days the Army was looked upon as a service in which to spend a few years among pleasant companions, with a chance of seeing a little active service, and when not too great a call was made upon the officer's time during peace; I believe that the miserable pittance which is called "pay" was looked upon more as a sort of retaining fee, and that the life was sufficiently attractive to get the number of officers required. As I have said, the times have considerably changed. I am not finding fault with that change. I am far from denying that we should have officers highly trained and up to date, but I cannot conceal from myself at the same time the fact that their work has increased ten-fold. Now that their whole time is given up to soldiering they should receive much better remuneration.

At the present moment it seems to me we are rather falling between two stools. We are not getting the old sporting officer that we used to get because he will not stand quite so much interference with his liberty, and we are not getting the poor man because we do not pay enough to make it worth his while to serve. If we do not look out, I think we shall end by getting neither. I know I am laying myself open to be told that any appreciable increase in the pay of the officer would not be stood by the taxpayer. If the taxpayer will not pay the market price and if this wastage goes on, as I venture to predict it will, all I can say is the taxpayer will have to do the work himself. I think the advantages which the taxpayer enjoys in immunity from conscription are so great and so far-reaching that he ought not to grudge a fair wage to those who guarantee him that security, without which it would be impossible for him to carry on his commerce, his business, and his daily life in safety. I quite admit that the Army Estimates are very high, but my point is that the men who do the work—that is to say, the combatant officers—do not get their fair share. I should like to read to your Lordships a comparison of the pay given to British, Australian, and American officers. The second-lieutenant in the British Army gets the princely wage of £95 a year. In Australia apparently there are no second lieutenants, but in America the second lieutenant gets £280 a year. A lieutenant in the British Army gets £118 a year; in the Australian Army £200, rising by £25 a year to £300; and in the American Army £300. Captains in the British Army get £211; in the Australian Army from £325 to £400; and in the American Army £360. Majors receive in this country £247; in Australia from £425 to £500; and in America £500. Lieutenant-colonels receive here £328; in Australia from £500 to £600; and in America £600. I think this shows that the Colonies recognise the justice of giving a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, and that they treat their officers very much more generously than we do.

What are the conditions under which we ask the British subaltern to serve? In the first place he has to pass a very stiff examination, and in consequence of the somewhat antiquated methods of our public schools he has to go through a special and expensive preparation—how expensive some of your Lordships who have had sons at crammers must know. Then, after he has gone through this ordeal you give him the wages of an artisan or of one of your Lordships' butlers. For this pay he runs a very great risk of being killed or of dying of fever in a far off country, while the said artisan is able to carry on his work in perfect peace and the butler is able to pour out your Lordships' claret, neither of them doing anything personally for the defence of their country. If he grumbles in the least, or gives out that it is difficult to make both ends meet, what do you do? Do you give him more pay? Certainly not. You begin cutting down his little comforts and make his life as unattractive as you possible can.

There is nothing that the British citizen likes so much as lecturing the subaltern on his extravagance. I believe the extravagance is very greatly exaggerated. I am informed by officers in the cavalry who have every right to know, that it is perfectly possible for an officer in a cavalry regiment to live now on £300 a year. The initial expense of joining is also much less. The cavalry is no doubt a less expensive force now than it used to be, but at the same time it is more difficult to get officers. Regiments very often get the blame when a young man comes to grief, although they have done all in their power to help him. It depends on the boy much more than on the regiment. When I used to be asked by parents how much money young men coming into my regiment as officers would want, I used to reply that it would depend very much on the boy and how he had been brought up. I have no sympathy with a man who sends his son into a very expensive regiment because he thinks he gets some sort of social advantages thereby, and then writes to *The Times* and grumbles at the expense. I hope that, whatever steps the Government take to get officers, we shall not get a different class of officer in the cavalry from that we have had in the past.

I daresay this is not the opinion of the man in the street, but it is the opinion I have formed after thirty-six years service, and it is the opinion held by every Inspector-General of Cavalry and by every commanding officer of cavalry whom I have met, that what we want in the cavalry are sportsmen. We do not want prigs or pedants. There is a popular fallacy in this country that all Englishmen are horsemen. I do not believe that is the case. We are not a riding nation. I say that with all diffidence in your Lordships' House, where there are so many brilliant examples to prove I am wrong. Englishmen cannot compare with Australians, South Africans, Canadians, or any of our frontiersmen in the matter of horsemanship. The people of this country very seldom got on a horse at all, and they do not get that rough-and-ready life which best fits a man for service in the field. The nearest approach to it is to be found in the hunting field. Why were the Boers such good scouts? Not because they were scientific soldiers or highly educated. If it had come to the question of education we should have had a walk over. It was because of the outdoor and sporting life they led. I venture to think the country will get better value out of the sportsman who hunts and plays polo than out of the man who never gets on a horse except on parade. He is not only a better horseman, but, what is more important on service, he is a better horsemaster. Some of the best scouting that was done in South Africa was done by the foxhunting officers of the first contingent of Yeomanry who went out and who had little technical knowledge before they started. Instead of driving this class of man out we ought to do all we can to keep him in, at any rate until we can get others to take his place.

Another reason why we have not got officers is that the standard of education has become rather too high. No one values the advantages of education more than I do, but I think at the present moment it is being rather overdone. No amount of education will make a good general. Nothing but force of character and strength of will will do that. There is no doubt that at the present moment the high standard of education frightens away a great many men who would make very good cavalry officers. This principle has been to a certain extent acknowledged by admitting officers to the Guards without examination as probationers, though they will have, after a couple of years, to pass a purely technical examination in order to be allowed to stay on.

It is not so much the falling off in the candidates which seems to me so very serious. It is, as has been mentioned before, the abnormal number of resignations. The noble Earl told us the other day that the resignations had numbered about 320 since the war. Making all allowances for the supernumeraries, I think this total is too high, because it comes to very nearly half the number of officers we have got in the cavalry. I believe it is due, as has also been stated, to the uncertain prospects of the officer. It is easy enough to get boys. The love of adventure, the chance of seeing active service, and the sort of glamour that always hangs round the soldier's life will get you the boys; the difficulty is to retain the best men, who see much better opportunities in private life. The prospects of the majority of our officers are not brilliant owing to the tendency of recent legislation to reduce the appointments for seniors. This, I believe, makes a good many men resign. A man is very lucky now if he gets command of his regiment or battalion, but it is after that that the pinch comes; and I believe that the abolition of depôt centres has had the effect of putting a good many officers on the shelf. There is no doubt that this amalgamation of depôts has been a good thing in itself, but it has reduced to a certain extent the chances of senior officers securing advanced appointments and they get put on half pay at £300 a year or are retired on a totally inadequate pension of £420. The command in Egypt has been reduced from that of major-general to brigadier-general, and in consequence the A.A.G. has been done away with. In the artillery I believe many posts for senior officers have been done away with. It is changes like these that give rise to unrest and prevent men embarking on a career the plums of which become fewer and fewer every year. In the cavalry the prospects are worse, because there are fewer billets open to cavalry officers when they have left their regiments than are open to officers of the other branches of the service.

I am afraid we cannot disguise from ourselves that there is a feeling that the officer is not very generously treated by the country. I do not think that that feeling is against any particular Government or any particular Party. It is a feeling of resentment against the policy which has been acquiesced in by successive Governments, and it tends to focus itself against the War Office. Governments may come and Governments may go, but from the soldier's point of view the War Office goes on for ever. There is no doubt that there is a feeling against the War Office that officers are not well treated, and which gives a sort of soreness which it is almost impossible to ignore. This feeling is not of recent date; it dates almost from the days when purchase was done away with. To sum up, my contention is that if the country wants to attract the best men it will have to pay the lower grades better, and it will have to give a certainty of employment to the higher grades. In other words, it must make the service good enough. The prospects at the present moment are too shadowy to attract good men, and, what is more important still, to keep them. I thank your Lordships for the patience with which you have listened to me. This is a subject on which I feel very strongly, and this must be my excuse for having detained your Lordships so long.

THE EARL OF ARRAN: My Lords, I venture to address your Lordships with some diffidence after so many more prominent Members have spoken, but I do so because I think perhaps the opinions of one who until recently had the honour of holding a commission in His Majesty's service may prove of some interest. The figures which have been given by Lord Tweedmouth represent a very serious state of affairs, because they show that the class which has until now supplied the British Army with officers is no longer able to supply them, or, if it does, that those officers are no longer willing to stay. However advanced may be the opinions one may hold, I think all who have had anything to do with the Army will agree with me when I say that to get the best officer you must go to the upper or the professional classes. Experience has shown that the rank and file will more readily obey and respect a man who has been brought up under circumstances different to their own. Since we see this dearth of officers, it is necessary for the country to make the most earnest inquiries as to the cause, and, having satisfied itself on that point, to remove that cause, whatever difficulties and expense may stand in the way.

The opinion in the Army, and my own opinion, is that the reasons of the deficiency of officers are two-fold. First of all, because you do not pay the officer enough for all that you ask of him, and, secondly, because he is being continually worried about. Those of your Lordships who have been soldiers will understand the expression "worried about," which comes from Aldershot; but for the information of those who have not been soldiers, "worried about" may be defined as meaning that officers are treated as irresponsible children instead of responsible men, and orders are given and work insisted upon which cause expense and worry to the officers without leading to the efficiency of the Army. I will give you an instance of the first kind. Just before I left the Army there was published an account of a War Office order, which was received in a very laudatory manner by the Press, and which was to the effect that colonels commanding regiments were not to give leave to young officers under their command until they had previously ascertained whether their parents were anxious and ready to receive them. I would remind your Lordships that an officer, however young, holds a very responsible position, both morally and financially, and I should like to know what the men over whom he is in command can think of an officer who, while he is considered capable of looking after them and of granting their leave, is not capable of going outside his barrack yard by himself. I confess I should not have been surprised if this order had been supplemented by a further order saying that colonels of cavalry regiments were to forbid their officers keeping hunters and polo ponies, and were to encourage them in the care, shall we say, of white rabbits, the officers being given professional advancement who could produce the most remarkable animal of that kind. I do think that such an instance as this of being worried about must not only disgust officers already in the service, but have the effect of preventing young men entering on a military career.

The Earl of Arran.

There is the other question of officers being given work which really leads to nothing very great. I have been talking to several senior officers lately. They have obtained field rank; their soul is in their profession, and they have served their country all over the world. They gave me instances of certain infantry battalions being sent this summer into camp for their training—a course of instruction that has lasted two months; that is, without musketry instruction and without manœuvres, which may be coming on. As I know from personal experience, camp life is at least 25 per cent. more expensive for an officer than barracks. At the same time there are many officers who are married, and who not only have to incur the extra expense, but have at the same time to keep up their home establishments as well. I do not say that if this training was necessary for the efficiency of their units the officers would not cheerfully have acquiesced, but they all say that the scheme of instruction which they had to give their men could have been easily given in three weeks or a month, and they felt that through mismanagement the men were getting stale and overworked, and everybody under them was getting discontented.

You ask officers to undertake a profession that involves a very high level of education, which I think perfectly right, and which also involves a very expensive outfit, residence in every class of climate, continual moving, and also a very uncertain career, because, of necessity, promotion must depend on the opinion and whim of one man. For all this you give an officer, as my noble friend Lord Errol, said just now, the wages of an artisan. He has great moral and financial responsibilities and you pay him only a little over the wages of a weekly labourer. Great changes have been made in the Army. You have very properly increased the comfort of the men and their pay; you have made many changes in the interior economy, and I think every change has been for the good. But with all these changes, and with all the expense that has been incurred, the country has clean forgotten the officers. If you are to get the same class as officers that you have now, if you are to have the same class of men who up to now have done the work conscientiously, efficiently, and well, you must pay them properly; you must pay them the wages that they would get in other professions. High education turns a man into a reasoning animal, and he says to himself that if he has to work so hard for such little pay in the Army he might as well turn his attention to another career in which he would have a chance of making his fortune and of securing a competency for himself and his wife and family in advanced age.

THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE: My Lords, hitherto I have not taken part in any of these debates in your Lordships' House, but I think I may claim that I am entitled to be listened to for a few minutes as the only commanding officer of Volunteers who commanded an entire Volunteer battalion in the field in the late war. As one who for many years has taken the greatest interest in the Volunteers, I would embrace this opportunity of asking the noble Earl the Under-Secretary of State for War for a statement as to the intentions of the War Office as regards the Volunteers in the immediate future. The noble Lord who raised this discussion to-night mentioned the deficiency of Volunteer officers as 2,799. I do not think the noble Lord understated it, because that is not including quartermasters and other non-combatant officers. I wish to ask the noble Earl in what way he proposes to remedy the evil, for if the Volunteers are to be a reality and not a sham they must perforce be attended to. There are plenty of men in the ranks readily available and socially qualified to become officers if they receive at the hands of His Majesty's Government some encouragement and some little financial support. Many good men are deterred from joining the commissioned ranks by reason of the fact that they shirk responsibility, and many more by reason of the fact that they cannot afford the £20 or £30 which it is necessary for a commissioned officer to spend. I myself have seen men with large incomes serving in the ranks and doing fatigues and other menial work. That was three or four years ago. There are still men who will do such work to-day rather than become officers, because they shirk responsibility.

The Norfolk Commission declared that no officer ought to be compelled to pay for the privilege of serving the King. I am not going to enter into the rights or wrongs of that, but I understand that it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to reduce the Volunteer force to 180,000 men, thereby, I believe, effecting a retrenchment of between £300,000 and £400,000 per year. I would ask the noble Earl whether some of that saving could not find its way into the Volunteer force. Can he not do something by way of increasing the capitation grant? Can he not give a little towards defraying the expenses which officers joining the commissioned ranks are bound to undertake? I should like to see the capitation fee made more elastic. Before sitting down I should like to direct attention to the transport service. There are many regiments in the Volunteers which have no transport service at all, and others which have very inadequate transport service. I have been shown the place which the brigade that I have the honour to command will occupy in the case of invasion. Am I to go to this place with inadequate transport and also with a deficiency of officers? Is my brigade of four battalions to take its place in the defence of the country inadequately furnished?

*THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of DONOUGHMORE): My Lords, I say at once that I have nothing but friendly feelings towards the noble Lord opposite for having brought forward this important subject to-day, and I am very glad to join in a debate the tone of which has been so businesslike and so earnest in dealing with a matter, which is, I think, the most important that could possibly confront any Minister replying for the War Office in your Lordships' House. The noble Lord asks your Lordships to express the opinion that this matter requires the instant attention of His Majesty's Government. I am sure I am speaking within the recollection of those of your Lordships who have been at the War Office, or been connected with the War Office, when I say that this is a matter which calls for constant attention, and it has been kept anxiously in mind during the last few months. I will not in these circumstances offer any objection to the Motion which the noble Lord has moved appearing on the Journals of the House.

The debate this afternoon has ranged over a very great number of subjects, and I am glad that it should have done so. The noble Lord who initiated the discussion, although he dealt with the shortage now existing in the Auxiliary Forces and in the Regular Forces, applied himself more particularly to what I agree with him is infinitely the larger and more important part of the subject—the general question of the extension of the whole Army for purposes of war. But before turning my attention to that I should like to deal at once with the Question asked me by the noble Earl Lord Albemarle. I can assure the noble Earl that we attach great importance to the necessity of developing Volunteer transport, and have intimated our intention to make a grant for this purpose as soon as money is available.

I pass to the undoubted shortage of officers in the Auxiliary Forces. This is a very serious matter. I do not think the noble Lord opposite gave the percentage, but it practically amounts to 25 per cent., and I admit that it is by far the most serious problem which confronts the military authorities in connection with the Auxiliary Forces. The shortage is easier to explain than to remedy. It must, of course, not be forgotten that we are still feeling the effects of a great war of long duration—the longest war in which we have been engaged for a whole century—in the course of which many officers of the Auxiliary Forces achieved the two-fold purpose with which they joined, the patriotic purpose of serving their country and the desire to see war service if the opportunity presented itself. It is natural, perhaps, that the ambitions of many of them in this direction should have been satisfied, and it is not a thing that we can complain of that there should now be, as there always has been after a war, a considerable increase in the number of resignations. No action that any Government can take can remedy such a thing as that. We have to wait for a remedy for that difficulty until a younger generation shall grow up who have not had the opportunities for war service.

Lord LOVAT: I should like to ask the noble Earl if that means that we must wait for twenty-five years before getting a new set of officers.

*The Earl of DONOUGHMORE: Will the noble Lord let me finish my sentence? I was only introducing the subject with some general observations, and showing how natural it is that at the present moment the impulse to join the voluntary Army should be weaker than it has been, and making good my point that it is easier to find reasons for the falling off than to suggest a remedy. But we have done something towards remedying the evil, and we intend to do more, as financial opportunities permit, to reach what is undoubtedly the true ideal, as laid down by the Norfolk Commission, that no man should be out of pocket by serving his country. We hope to increase the camp allowance to Volunteer officers, and to provide them with horse allowance. Since the war we have provided an outfit allowance for the Militia. These, I admit, are only palliatives. More drastic remedies will have to be found. The remedies suggested to us in your Lordships' House by those who are every bit as qualified to suggest remedies as we are, have not up to the present time been of a very practical nature.

My noble friend Lord Raglan last year suggested £100 a year for Militia officers as a retaining fee. I said then, and I still think, that that was not a practical remedy. I am familiar with the remedy suggested by my noble friend opposite in his evidence before the Royal Commission, that we should have compulsory service under certain conditions. That is not a remedy which we can at present contemplate, and I am sure the noble Lord, in his heart of hearts, does not expect us to contemplate it. He referred to another scheme which he has made his own—the use of the Universities to a larger extent than at present in the plans for obtaining officers for the Auxiliary Forces. It is too early for us definitely to announce our adhesion to that scheme; it is an expensive scheme. But we are going into it, as the noble Earl knows, in great detail, and I can promise him that it will receive careful consideration. If I may express a purely personal wish I will say that I hope both for the noble Lord's sake and for our own that it may lead us definitely along the path which we all so much desire to tread.

I now turn to the Regular Army. The noble Lord who moved the Motion before the House gave the figures correctly. The shortage of officers in the Guards is twenty-nine, in the cavalry sixty-nine, and in the infantry of the Line to date, 156. As regards the Guards, we have, as the noble Lord said, initiated the system of appointment on probation, and if your Lordships will consult the Army List you will see that as a result a considerable amelioration has taken place in the numbers of junior officers. We believe that this system, which was very carefully drawn up in consultation with colonels of the Guards, is leading us on the right road in solving the present difficulty. It has been settled that these probationers should be appointed every six months, not indiscriminately, and everything points to the probability that in this way a remedy will be found for the shortage in the Guards.

EARL SPENCER: I should like to ask the noble Earl whether it is proposed to extend the same system to the cavalry.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: It has been suggested, but at present it is not intended. The case of the cavalry is far more serious than that of other branches, and a Committee has recently been sitting in connection with the matter. That Committee has collected a great deal of evidence from cavalry officers, which is, to a great extent, contradictory, as to the cause of the deficiency in the cavalry. I had hoped to have been able to inform your Lordships of the decision of the Army Council upon that, but we have not yet arrived at a full decision with regard to it. We admit that some special measures will be necessary in order to deal with this very serious deficiency in cavalry regiments — a deficiency which gives no sign whatever of decreasing of its own accord.

EARL SPENCER: And prompt measures?

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: Yes. The engineers and artillery have at the present moment reached the establishment authorised by Parliament, and, as regards the infantry, the deficiency is not so much in the number of candidates that come forward; it is due to some extent to the want of accommodation at Sandhurst. The term there is very shortly coming to a conclusion, and as a result about 120 officers will join the infantry from Sandhurst at an early date, which will reduce the deficiency of 156 to only thirty-six, which is a very small percentage.

I now come to another point touched on by the noble Lord—the question of the staff. It is impossible for anyone to affirm that the Staff College turns out at present enough trained staff officers for the requirements of the Army, especially in view of the expansion necessary in time of war; but, as your Lordships will perhaps remember, some advance has recently been made in this connection. Lord Kitchener has decided to open a Staff College in India, which will, of course, benefit the British Army to a considerable extent. I believe, though perhaps I may be wrong, that the last figures the War Office have shows that the Indian Staff College will turn out twenty-four staff officers every year. This will set free a number of places at the Staff College at home which are at present earmarked for candidates coming from India, and will have the effect of increasing *pro tanto* the present output of thirty-two staff officers per annum.

I do not pretend that this is anything like the end to which we should go, but it is at any rate a step in the right direction. The only difficulty, as your Lordships will realise, in the way of considerably extending the Staff College is one of pounds, shillings, and pence. We still have a considerable amount of money available from previous Loan Bills to be applied to educational establishments, and I can assure your Lordships that we intend to apply a portion of that to increasing the accommodation at the Staff College. As regards the point mentioned by Lord Lovat with reference to the way in which improvised staffs went to South Africa, your Lordships are no doubt aware that at Aldershot and in some of the other commands in the kingdom the units are now organised under the staffs which it is proposed should command them in time of war—a state of things which in no way existed before the South African War broke out. The noble Lord touched on what is one of the most burning questions with regard to staff education—namely, whether we could arrange a short course as well as a long course at the Staff College. He quoted Lord Kitchener as being in favour of such a course.

Lord LOVAT: The noble Earl is incorrect. I only quoted Lord Kitchener as to the deficiency.

*The Earl of DONOUGHMORE: I beg the noble Lord's pardon; I misunderstood him. But he must know that that is a subject which occasions considerable controversy. A great many staff officers do not like the idea of going through a short course for fear they should be labelled as Class B. officers, while those who went through the longer course would be labelled Class A.

I now come to what is, of course, the most important part of the whole subject —the necessity of expansion in time of war of the present establishment of officers. With regard to the existence of that necessity there cannot possibly be two opinions. I do not wish to follow the noble Lord into his estimates as to what that necessity is. He put it at 7,000, and my noble friend opposite put it at 10,000. I admit, of course, that the number is very considerable. We hope to very materially increase the number of officers in the Army. My noble friend the Secretary of State for War announced a year ago that he hoped to add five officers to every regiment, but to my mind, though you may increase the number of officers in the Army on the active list, what is needed is a large reserve, on which to draw. We have at the present moment a rather larger reserve than is represented by the figures given by the noble Lord opposite. We have 2,744 officers in the Reserve——

Lord LOVAT: How many of those are senior officers?

*The Earl of DONOUGHMORE: Of those 2,744 officers, 2,500, roughly speaking, are under the rank of colonel. I admit, however, that very few of them are subalterns, and that is the direction in which we have to find the greatest expansion. A Committee is now sitting considering this very important subject, but I cannot anticipate when their Report will be received. Several proposals are before them, one of which is, that we should insist on all officers giving a certain service to the Army either on the active list or in the Reserve; but it is possible that to insist on that might affect the number of officers that would be obtained. The subject, therefore, is one of extreme delicacy, which can only be approached after mature consideration. With regard to Sandhurst it is very satisfactory not only that the candidates vastly outnumber the vacancies, but that the candidates who have qualified, who have reached the standard that we consider necessary, also vastly exceed the vacancies. In November, 1903, we had 443 candidates; eighty were admitted, and, beyond these eighty, 232 qualified outside the list of those successful. In June, 1904, eighty-four were admitted out of 522, and 257 qualified outside. And last November 511 candidates came forward, 129 were admitted and 244 qualified outside. That is, perhaps, the only satisfactory feature in connection with the whole question. We have made a temporary alteration —a retrograde alteration, I am sorry to say—at Sandhurst, and by reducing the course from two years to one we shall obtain accommodation for 230. By this alteration in the course we have doubled the accommodation, but we feel that we must still considerably increase the accommodation at Sandhurst. That will cost £300,000, if not more; but we have made up our minds that expenditure in this direction is necessary, and plans are well forward for carrying out this alteration.

The noble Lord opposite has shown, and I do not deny it, that there is a considerably larger movement in the direction of resignation than existed before the war. I think we must accept such a movement as inevitable for the reasons I have already outlined in dealing with the Auxiliary Forces. There are always a certain number of men who leave a voluntary Army at the end of a big war. I am glad that the noble Lord who moved the Motion now before the House does not put forward the view that the pay is too low.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: Except in the case of the junior ranks.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I accept the correction. I do not admit the justice of the comparison which has been drawn between the British officer and the artisan. I have not the least idea what the average artisan in this country does receive, but the amenities of the officer's position, at any rate, widely separate his lot from the lot of the artisan. I would instance the fact that in the case of the artisan there is the danger of unemployment. The artisan, again, does not receive housing from his employer, and there are other advantages, such as free doctoring, etc., which do not fall to the lot of the artisan.

THE EARL OF ERROLL: The artisan does not have to live like a gentleman. Unless an officer lives like a gentleman he is of no use to you as an officer.

THE EARL OF ARRAN: And the officer has to keep up an expensive uniform, which is not the case with the artisan.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: That only emphasises my contention that there is no earthly comparison between the two. The noble Lord opposite referred to the question of expense. I quite agree that the question of expense to officers is a very important one; and I am sure my noble friend, whose experience in the Army is a recent one, will admit that a great deal has been done in the direction of lightening officers' expenses. In this connection, however, it is an interesting fact that a certain amount of evidence has been placed before the Cavalry Committee claiming that the deficiency in officers is due to the fact that the War Office interfere with the way officers spend their money. The attempts which have been made to diminish expense are, it is said, resented by officers who wish to live as expensively as they please. I do not put that forward as a final argument for consideration, but it is worthy of note that such an argument has been put forward. It is also a curious circumstance that the regiments familiarly called crack regiments, which are supposed to be the most expensive in our cavalry, are not the regiments which have had the greatest difficulty in getting officers.

I agree, however, that there has been need for action in the direction of the diminution of expenses, and I claim that the Government have taken action in that direction. Cavalry officers are now provided with their chargers at the public expense. Issues of saddlery and of a certain amount of farriery are also made at the public expense. The officers' quarters and mess are not now, indeed, furnished at the public expense; but officers receive privileges and assistance which has not, I think, always met with a just measure of appreciation. Officers have undoubtedly been saved considerable expense in this direction. There is no body in the world more subject to rumours than the British Army, and I cannot help telling your Lordships of an experience

I had in Ireland shortly after I went to the War Office. Your Lordships are aware that officers are provided with furniture, and that a certain charge for depreciation is made against them. I was at a big public entertainment, and a fond father whose son had just gone into the Army was there contending that his son had been supplied with furniture worth £50, and was charged £30 a year rent for it. The facts of the case were that he was charged one penny a day, which worked out at 30s. Yet this fond father was going about all over the place blackguarding the War Office on account of their rapacity.

The action of the War Office in helping officers in this manner has not been as much appreciated as it ought to have been. I am not familiar with the figures quoted by my noble friend behind me with regard to the pay of officers in the Australian service and in the service of the United States; but I think if they were inquired into we should find considerable difference in the conditions of service which would largely account for the apparent discrepancy in the amount of pay. The noble Lord opposite touched upon the complaints which have been made in certain quarters that the Army is unpopular because there is too much work to do.

Lord TWEEDMOUTH: I said too much worry, not too much work.

*The Earl of DONOUGHMORE: Although that may not have been the noble Lord's suggestion, complaints have been made in certain directions that too much work is given to the officers. I am glad the noble Lord dissociated himself from that suggestion; but I join issue with him as to there being too much worry. I confess I heard with astonishment the suggestion that the War Office is out of touch with the Army. What is the War Office? The War Office is a body of, roughly, a thousand members, rather more than half of whom are soldiers. Why should it be said that a soldier who goes to the War Office is necessarily out of touch with the Army from which he is for the moment separated by only a few miles? I can assure your Lordships that we are in constant touch with the Army. Only a few days ago I had a conference with cavalry officers from various commands all over the country. The whole tendency at the War Office is to keep officers flowing between the War Office and the Army, and to have officers who are administering the Army in different parts of the country coming up and giving us the benefit of their advice.

Then there is the Selection Board, the body which advises us with regard to promotion and appointment in the lower ranks. It consists of the commanders-in-chief of the six different distinct commands in this country, and I can imagine nothing more calculated to increase the degree to which the Army and the War Office are kept in touch than the Selection Board. I am sure that Lord Tweedmouth's figures have been supplied to him on excellent authority, but I cannot for the life of me comprehend that such a thing could have happened as that three regiments in a cavalry brigade at Aldershot should have had only 200 men available to come on parade. I have before me a Return, the latest we have, dated the 1st June. This Return shows that the strength of the three cavalry regiments in the cavalry brigade at Aldershot on that date was, after deducting those sick and absent, as follows: 1st Dragoon Guards, 21 officers and 637 men; 5th Lancers, 21 officers and 621 men; 8th Hussars, 24 officers and 601 men. I accept the noble Lord's statement, but I cannot provide an adequate reason for this extraordinary shortage, whereby each of these regiments could only produce one third of their full number on parade. I cannot help thinking that some very special circumstances must have been in evidence on the day he refers to. I quite sympathise with Lord Lovat as to the holding of promotion examinations on Derby day. But I would remind your Lordships that it is not the custom of Parliament to adjourn on Derby day, and I am sure the inconvenience which is caused to a few officers going up for promotion in the British Army does not constitute such a very great grievance when Parliament itself continues sitting on that day.

The noble Lord opposite referred to the inconvenience entailed on the 17th Lancers through being ordered to Egypt and then having those orders countermanded. That order was given in accordance with the decision to considerably decrease the garrison of Eygpt, and I think your Lordships will admit that no other course was open to us than the one we followed. The only alternative was, after having decided that this cavalry regiment was not required in Egypt, to calmly send them there in order not to entail inconvenience upon them; and this, I think, would have been an illogical action for any Government to have taken.

Lord VIVIAN: May I ask whether any compensation has been given to those officers of the 17th Lancers who had already sent their baggage on to Egypt?

*The Earl of DONOUGHMORE: I have not the least idea. I am not aware that any application has been made. My noble friend Lord Erroll animadverted, from the cavalry officers' point of view, upon the number of examinations in the Army, and compared the position of the Army with that of the Navy, to which he looked with longing eyes, stating that no naval officer after passing the rank of sub-lieutenant is troubled with examinations. I am not aware of the practice in the Navy, but as a humble reader of the newspapers I have noticed that such distinguished persons as admirals are sent to Greenwich for instruction. Whether that instruction is followed by examination I do not know, but at any rate instruction is considered necessary; and, after all, instruction is the important thing, whether there is an examination at the end of it or not. The object of the examination is only to make sure that the instruction has taken place. I would point out that while the noble Lord is opposed to the present high standard of educational requirement for the Army, he will not find any large consensus of opinion among cavalry officers to agree with him in the advisability of lowering the standard. One of the facts which has come out very strongly in the evidence before the Cavalry Committee is the strong feeling of opposition among cavalry officers to any reduction in the educational requirement of their branch of the service

Though my noble friend was correct in saying that a certain number of billets in the Army had been abolished by the organisation of depot centres, I would again ask him to contemplate the alternative. The only alternative would have been to retain these billets, having made up our minds that they were not necessary for the good of the service. It is, of course, an unpopular thing at any time to do away with appointments, but the general benefits to the service must, I submit, be always considered as of more importance than the convenience of certain individuals. Every cavalry officer who is qualified for a high command is just as likely to be appointed to it as an officer in any other branch of the service. It is possible that there may not be the same large number of billets earmarked for officers in the cavalry, and I should be very glad if it were so. I regard it as a most vicious system that high oppointments should be earmarked solely for certain branches of the service; except, of course, where expert knowledge is necessary. The true ideal we should put before ourselves is that any officer, no matter what branch of the service he may belong to, should be eligible for any billet provided he is the best man for it.

As regards the instance given by my noble friend of a regiment sent into camp for two months I do not recognise the case, but shall be glad to inquire into it if he will communicate with me privately. As my noble friend knows, officers in camp draw camp allowance, and, therefore, I do not think the expense is necessarily so great as he would have us believe.

The Earl of ARRAN: Has an alteration been made in the camp allowance of staff officers?

*The Earl of DONOUGHMORE: Yes; staff officers now draw consolidated pay, which includes certain allowances which they did not draw in old days when in camp. I do not wish to conceal that we intend to apply the principle of consolidated pay to officers throughout the whole Army. I think I have now dealt with most of the points which have been raised in the course of this debate. I admit the great importance of this subject; it is the most important of the subjects that could be discussed in connection with the military forces of the Crown. I can assure the House that we fully recognise its importance, and I am glad to be able to accept the Resolution of the noble Lord opposite.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, I wish to briefly thank the noble Earl for accepting my Motion. He differed from me on, I think, only two points, and one was as to the War Office being out of touch with the Army. That is a matter on which he would naturally take a view different from my own. The noble Earl at the beginning of his speech said that the resignations of officers of the Auxiliary Forces were due to the war, to the fact that that they had had enough soldiering. I do not think the resignations arise so much from that reason as from the reason that you are using your Auxiliary Forces for purposes for which they were never intended. A man joins the Auxiliary Forces for the purpose of defending this country, and the fact of his being sent out of the country—not without his permission, I admit—would naturally have a deterrent effect on other possible officers. I agree that it is a pity that the course at Sandhurst should be cut down from two years to one, and I had hoped that it was intended to restore the two-year course.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: Yes, when we get the extra accommodation.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: It does seem to me that it would be a good plan, for admission to the Army, to put the Militia or the Volunteers and Sandhurst very much more on a footing; that is to say, the candidate should have the choice of going to Sandhurst or of joining the Volunteers or the Militia for a certain period, and after that period of service in the Auxiliary Forces he should pass exactly the same examination as is given to the cadet at Sandhurst at the end of his time. In that way you would have, so to speak, a check on the officers issuing from Sandhurst, and at the same time a check on the qualifications of the officers passing through the Militia or the Volunteers. The reason I think this system desirable is that it would secure a greater number of officers for the Militia. It is most necessary that the Militia should be used as a sort of intermediate stage to the Army. If you had a great number of young men joining the Militia for the purpose of entering the Army under such conditions as I suggest, those who did not eventually succeed in getting into the Army would remain in the Militia regiments, and would be more or less capable officers who could be used from time to time. Then I am extremely favourable to the idea that all officers joining the Army should agree to serve for a definite time. That would be putting them on exactly the same footing as an ordinary soldier in the ranks, and it seems to me it is no hardship to say to the officer that if he joins His Majesty's service he shall remain in it for a certain time, except on the payment of a heavy fine. In that way you would greatly increase your reserve of officers. I again thank the noble Earl for accepting my Motion, and would express the hope that the War Office will pay particular attention to the words in it which insist upon the urgency of the question.

EARL CARRINGTON: My Lords, the noble Earl the Under-Secretary for War questioned the statement of the noble Earl opposite when he said that the subaltern in the British Army was not paid so well as the average artisan. The pay of the subaltern is, I believe, £95 per year; that is, including Sundays, 5s. 2d. per day. The wages of an engineer are 6s. 6d. a day, and in the shipbuilding yards the wages of good rivetters are 8s. 2d. a day; engine-drivers get either 6s. 6d. or 7s. a day. I only mention these facts to show that my noble friend was perfectly accurate when he said that the subaltern in the British Army is not as well paid as the skilled artisan.

*THE EARL OF LONSDALE : My Lords, I understood the noble Lord, the mover of the Motion now before the House, to say that the shortage of officers in the Auxiliary Forces was due to the fact that those forces had been used for purposes for which they had not been enlisted. I have only risen for the purpose of saying that if there is one thing which has been more conducive than another to the happiness and good feeling of the Yeomanry and Volunteers it has been the fact that they have been allowed to take an active part in the service of the country, and to fight for their King and country.

On Question, Motion agreed to.

SUNDAY TRADING.

LORD AVEBURY : My Lords, I rise to ask whether His Majesty's Government remain of the opinion expressed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that a further inquiry should take place on the conditions under which Sunday trading is now carried on ; and, if so, what steps they propose to take. At the commencement of this session your Lordships in a full House, and after considerable discussion, gave a Second Reading, without a division, to a Bill which proposed to amend the law relating to Sunday trading. The Committee to which it was referred were unanimously in favour of the Bill, but when it came back to your Lordships' House, though no notice of any opposition was given, nor a single Amendment put on the Paper, it was thrown out in a small House by a majority of twenty-one. In those circumstances the Committee have felt that that vote did not express the deliberate judgment of the House. They have satisfied themselves that the Bill was supported by an overwhelming majority of shopkeepers in the country ; in fact, it was their Bill. It was also supported by a large number of the principal local authorities throughout the country, and of the trades councils. I was glad to notice that my noble friend the Leader of the House, though he objected to some of the details of the Bill, which we thought were matters that could have been satisfactorily dealt with in Committee, did not express himself as hostile to legislation, or to the very natural desire of the shopkeepers of this country to have Sunday as a day of rest. The Committee thought they had inquired fully into the question. As to the facts there is, I believe, no question—no other subject of inquiry suggested itself or suggested itself to them. But the noble Marquess said he would be glad of some further information on the subject. In those circumstances I beg to put to my noble friend the Question standing in my name.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE) : My Lords, I think the best Answer I can give to my noble friend is to remind him of the fact that there is on the Journals of the House a record which shows that when the Sunday Closing of Shops Bill came up for Second Reading an Amendment was moved by my noble friend Lord Belper, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, to this effect—

> "That the House is not prepared to legislate upon this subject without further information as to the facts of the case, and that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the conditions upon which Sunday trading is now permitted by law."

That Motion represented our views. We did not press it upon the House because we had reason to believe that many of your Lordships preferred a different course. It still, however, represents our view, and at a proper time we shall be ready to agree to a Motion for an inquiry into the present condition of the law. But it is quite impossible for me in the last days of the session to tell my noble friend that we have any intention of ourselves moving in the matter.

THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND : I should like to ask the noble Marquess what is the exact interpretation we are to put on the very kindly and encouraging words which he has just uttered with regard to this measure, in which we take very great interest. The noble Marquess quoted a Resolution which had been carried in your Lordships' House at the beginning of this session.

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: No.

THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND: Well, the Committee was appointed in consequence of that Resolution, was it not?

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: No. My noble friend does not grasp the distinction between what we proposed and what was actually done. We proposed that there should be no legislation, but that there should be a Committee of inquiry. In deference, however, to what we believed to be the views of the House we agreed to read the Bill a second time and to refer it to a select Committee.

THE DUKE of NORTHUMBERLAND: As I understand it, His Majesty's Government are not satisfied with the inquiry which has taken place, and think that some further inquiry should be instituted. If that is the case, I am quite sure no one would object to the course proposed. We recognise that the question is a very difficult one, and that a thorough inquiry should be made. I am only sorry that the Committee was allowed to sit and to occupy its time with an inquiry which apparently could not in its nature be satisfactory. I earnestly hope that no time will be lost in inquiring into the subject and arriving at a conclusion upon it, because every day the question becomes more serious and difficult.

*THE EARL OF WEMYSS: My Lords, I think a small Commission would be more to the purpose than a Parliamentary Committee. It would have to be a locomotive Commission and go and see this evidence for itself. What I urged on the members of the Committee was that they should go and see this Sunday trading, and I defy anybody who has witnessed it to support with a light heart a Bill which would put a stop to it. Since the Sunday Closing Bill was thrown out I have received innumerable letters thanking me for the course I took in reference to the Bill. The tone of them is that poor people living in one room, which is their bedroom, their workroom, their everything, find it most inconvenient and unhealthy to have to keep their provisions in that room, and they therefore strongly urge that they should be allowed to continue to purchase these goods on Sunday mornings. Another argument was that the Bill would take away the livelihood of thousands of small tradespeople. One man wrote to me saying that his actual takings in a week were 26s., of which he took 14s. on a Sunday. That is the sort of small trader who would be injured by my noble friend, who has shopmen and shopgirls on the brain. But I look beyond them. They can take care of themselves. What we have to do is to guard against committing a great injustice to the mass of the population, and not only causing them great inconvenience but ruining small traders. As I have said, I defy anyone who goes to see Sunday trading carried on, to pass a Bill such as that introduced by the noble Lord, and I would suggest that next Sunday the Cabinet should meet in Petticoat Lane between the hours of 10 and 12.

*THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: My Lords, as one who has taken a keen interest in this subject, I should like to express my satisfaction at learning that it is not the view of His Majesty's Government that this matter is finally closed. Perhaps it is hardly reasonable to expect at this period of the session that the noble Marquess should go into detail as to the manner in which the question should be reopened. But at least we have his assurance that it can and will be reopened. I desire to endorse what has been said by the Select Committee and by Lord Avebury and the noble Duke who have spoken this afternoon, that there is an urgent need that something should be done in regard to this matter. The noble Earl who has just spoken has suggested an interesting excursion on a particular day to a region in which these markets exist. Some of us are not only able to speak from occasional visits but have lived for years in those parts of London where the whole thing is going on around us; and we are thus familiar with many of the things that surprise the noble Earl. But

I admit that it is a perfectly legitimate matter for further inquiry. I have always felt that the difficulty of these inquiries arises not in getting evidence about the shopkeepers but in getting evidence as to the needs of the customers. I think further inquiry on that subject is still desirable, and would contribute very largely to the possibility of our being able to satisfactorily legislate on the subject.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN: My Lords, I only rise to associate myself with what was said by the noble Duke as to the urgency of the question and the desirability of no time being lost in inquiring into the subject and arriving at a conclusion upon it. I am glad that the noble Marquess does not think that this is a matter which can be passed over as not requiring attention, and that in his opinion it is a question deserving a further inquiry.

House adjourned at half-past Seven o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter-past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 25*th July*, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz.:—Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill [Lords]. As amended, to be considered To-morrow.

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill (by Order); Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill (by Order); Edgware and Hampstead Railway Bill (by Order); London and North Western Railway Bill (by Order); Metropolitan Electric Tramways Bill (by Order); Dublin United Tramways Bill (by Order); Midland Railway Bill (by Order); Skegness Water Bill (by Order); Woolwich Borough Council Bill (by Order). Consideration of Lords Amendments deferred till To-morrow.

Formby Township Bill [Lords] (by Order); Workington Harbour and Dock Bill [Lords] (by Order); Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council Bill [Lords] (by Order); Matlock Bath Improvement Bill [Lords] (by Order); Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District) Bill [Lords] (by Order); Sheffield University Bill [Lords] (by Order); South Lancashire Tramways Bill [Lords] (by Order). Third Reading deferred till To-morrow.

Bangor (County Down) Water and Improvement Bill [Lords] (by Order). Consideration, as amended, deferred till Monday next (Evening Sitting).

Littlehampton Urban District Council Bill [Lords] (by Order); Shepton Mallet Gas Company (Electric Lighting) Bill [Lords] (by Order); Bristol Blind Asylum Bill [Lords] (by Order); Corbett Estate Bill [Lords] (by Order); County of London Electric Supply Company Bill [Lords] (by Order); Humber Conservancy Bill [Lords] (by Order); Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board Bill [Lords] (by Order). Consideration, as amended, deferred till To-morrow.

Earl of Stamford's Cheshire Estate Bill [Lords] (by Order); Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers) Bill [Lords] (by Order). Second Reading deferred till Thursday (Evening Sitting).

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill [Lords]. Second Reading deferred till To-morrow.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [Lords] (by Order). Consideration, as amended, deferred till Thursday (Evening Sitting).

South Barracas (Buenos Ayres) Gas and Coke Company, Limited, Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Shipowners' Negligence (Remedies) Bill; Rotherham, Maltby, and Laughton Railway Bill; Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power Bill; Caledonian Railway Bill; North British Railway (General Powers) Bill; Rhondda Urban District Council Bill; Liverpool Corporation Bill, with Amendments.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Paisley District Tramways." [Paisley District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.]

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Glasgow Corporation Tramways. [Glasgow Corporation (Tramways Consolidation) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.]

Paisley District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and ordered, under Section 9 of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, to be read a second time upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 282.]

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe) asked if it were not the duty of the Chairman of Ways and Means, under the Standing Order, when objection was taken to a Bill to put it down for an evening sitting.

*MR. SPEAKER: The duty of the Chairman of Ways and Means is to fix a time—not necessarily an evening sitting. It might be that a Bill objected to to-day would not be objected to to-morrow. But Bills opposed on the merits must eventually go to an evening sitting.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): Cannot a discussion be taken on an opposed Bill at two o'clock, and the Bill be passed if the opposition is disposed of by 2.15.

MR. SPEAKER: I believe that strictly according to Standing Orders it could be done, but it is obvious if one Bill is thus dealt with others on the Paper subsequent to it and unopposed would be endangered.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Could a division be taken after 2.15?

MR. SPEAKER: I think not.

Glasgow Corporation (Tramways Consolidation) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and ordered, under Section 9 of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, to be read a second time upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 283.]

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS.

Copy presented, of Charter of Incorporation of the Borough of Wimbledon, dated July 24th, 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SHIPPING CASUALTIES (1903-4).

Copy presented, of Abstract of the Returns of Shipping Casualties which occurred on or near the Coasts or in Rivers and Harbours of the United Kingdom from July 1st, 1903, to June 30th, 1904, and of the Returns of Shipping Casualties to British Vessels elsewhere than on the Coasts of the United Kingdom, and to Foreign Vessels on or near the Coasts, or in Rivers and Harbours, of British Possessions Abroad, etc., with Charts and Appendices [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS.

Copy presented, of Report on Strikes and Lock-outs of 1904, and on Conciliation and Arbitration Boards [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

POWER BRAKES ON RAILWAY LOCOMOTIVES.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered April 10th; *Mr. Bell*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 256.]

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3454 to 3456 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS (IRELAND).

Return ordered, "giving the number of Arrests for Drunkenness within the Metropolitan Police District of Dublin and the cities of Belfast, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, from the hour of 8 a.m. on Sunday till 2 p.m., from 2 p.m. to 7 p.m., from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m., from 9 p.m. to 12 midnight, from 12 midnight to 8 a.m. on Monday, between May 1st, 1904, and April 30th, 1905, both days inclusive, the arrests being given from 8 a.m. on Sundays till 8 a.m. on Mondays."

"And, similar Returns for the rest of Ireland from May 1st, 1904, to April 30th, 1905."—(*Mr. Sloan.*)

CYPRUS.

Return ordered, "of all sums paid in the years 1903-4 and 1904-5 respectively, out of the moneys arising from the revenues of Cyprus, in discharge of the interest upon the Turkish Loan guaranteed by this country and France in 1855; of all sums voted by Parliament during the same period in aid of the administration of Cyprus; and of the surplus remaining in each year over and above the payments made, with interest thereon (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 360, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Pierpoint.*)

TRINITY COLLEGE (INTERMEDIATE SCHOLARSHIPS).

Return ordered, "of Copy of Correspondence between Trinity College, Dublin, and the Board of Intermediate Education in Ireland, on the subject of Intermediate Scholarships in Trinity College, togethe with the Board's Resolutions in the matter."—(*Mr. Walter Long.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Charity Commissioners' Scheme for Shrewsbury Municipal Charities.

MR. H. D. GREENE (Shrewsbury): To ask the hon. Member for the Tunbridge Division, as representing the Charity Commissioners, whether their scheme for the Shrewsbury municipal charities is out of the hands of the King's printers; and when it may be expected to come into operation.

(*Answered by Mr. Griffith Boscawen.*) Printed copies of the draft of the scheme, framed by the Charity Commissioners, for the Shrewsbury municipal charities have been sent for the consideration of the trustees, and will shortly be published. An Order establishing the scheme cannot be made before the expiration of one month from the date of publication.

Boards of Guardians and Midwifery Relieving Orders.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he has considered the difficulty which poor women may experience in getting assistance in their confinements in consequence of unregistered midwives being afraid to attend, as in the Smallburgh Union; and whether he can take steps to point out to boards of guardians the duty of the relieving officer to grant midwifery orders to women destitute of the means of procuring medical attendance.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) At present I am not aware that boards of guardians and relieving officers generally do not realise their duty in this matter, but I am making some inquiry on the subject, and particularly as regards the Smallburgh Union.

Payment of Overdue Salaries of Teachers in Montgomeryshire Voluntary Schools.

LIEUT-COLONEL PRYCE-JONES (Montgomery Boroughs): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether he is aware that, notwithstanding the Board's letter of 15th July, the Montgomeryshire Local Education Authority are still refusing to pay the salaries of teachers in voluntary schools within their area which have for some time past been due for the quarter ending 30th June last; and, in view of this refusal, what steps the Board are taking to prevent continued hardship to the teachers concerned.

(*Answered by Sir William Anson.*) The Board are in communication with managers of voluntary schools on the subject. In four cases the Board have to-day repaid to managers sums properly expended by them in paying the salaries in question, and others will probably be paid very shortly.

Issue of Notes of Less Value than £5.

Sir THOMAS DEWAR (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will consider the desirability of appointing a Committee to inquire into the expediency of prohibiting the issue of currency notes of a less value than £5, especially taking into consideration that a paper currency of so low a denomination as that common to Scotland and Ireland may constitute a medium for the dissemination of disease.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) I am not aware of any necessity for the appointment of a Committee on this subject.

Assaults and Murders Committed by Indian Natives on White People.

Colonel LONG (Worcestershire, Evesham): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he will state the number of assaults and murders committed in India on white people by natives, as shown in the police reports, during each year of the last five years; and what has been done to identify and punish the native offenders.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) There are no statistics at my disposal from which the figures asked for by my hon. and gallant friend could be supplied. The class of cases to which the Question refers are not separately recorded, but I will ascertain if any more general statistics can be supplied.

Travelling Allowances to Riding Masters and Quartermasters in India.

Sir SEYMOUR KING (Hull, Central): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been called to the fact that, since 1st October, 1904, riding masters and quartermasters of the British services doing duty in India receive a travelling allowance of 2½ annas per mile irrespective of the number of their families, and that, previously to the date mentioned, they and their families travelled wholly on a warrant; and, seeing that where the family of the riding master or quartermaster consists of more than two the allowance of 2½ annas per mile entails a loss on them, whether he will take steps to have this grievance remedied; and what reply, if any, the Indian Government made to his promised inquiry on the subject of their Indian pay and allowances.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) I am drawing the attention of the Government of India to the matter of the grant of travelling allowance for the families of riding masters and quartermasters of the British service. The Government of India have still under consideration the question of the rates of pay admissible to these officers.

Assaults and Murders Committed on Natives of India by Foreigners.

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE (Bethnal Green, N.E.): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he will state the number of assaults and murders committed in India on the people of that country by foreigners, as shown in the police reports, during each year of the last five years; and what has been done to identify and punish the foreign offenders.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) There are no statistics at my disposal from which the figures asked for by my hon. friend could be supplied. The class of cases to which the Question refers are not separately recorded, but I will ascertain if any more general statistics can be supplied.

Epizootic Lymphangitis and Glanders amongst Horses in Ireland—Compensation for Compulsory Slaughter.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the disease of epizootic lymphangitis was introduced into Ireland by troop horses which had returned from South Africa, and that the Government promised to provide safeguards to prevent its introduction; whether he can state what measures were taken, and also how many cases have occurred in Ireland, and with what result; whether he is aware that more recently the disease of glanders has also been introduced into Ireland by troop horses; and whether, under these circumstances, he will consider the advisability of asking the Treasury to recoup to borough and county councils, and, through them, to relieve the Irish ratepayers from the expense attending the compulsory slaughter of horses suffering from contagious diseases imported into Ireland by troop horses.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) This Question is partly answered by my reply to the Question of the hon. Member for South Glamorgan on the 5th instant†. There have been nine outbreaks of epizootic lymphangitis on civilian premises in Ireland, and twenty-five affected animals have been slaughtered, including four horses "in contact." In addition, forty-two affected horses have been destroyed in military stables. It is not the case that glanders has been recently introduced into Ireland by troop horses, for the country has never been wholly free from that disease for the last twenty-five years. With regard to the last inquiry, I have already stated that the question there raised is under consideration.

Redistribution Scheme — Representation of the City of Bath.

COLONEL WYNDHAM MURRAY (Bath): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the proposal of the Redistribution scheme as affecting the county of Somerset that Taunton with a population of about 20,000 shall be represented by a Member, he will arrange that the city of Bath, with already about 50,000 inhabitants, shall have its Parliamentary boundaries extended if required to enable it to continue to return two Members, if necessary in separate Divisions, to Parliament, as has been the case by charter since the thirteenth century.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) The population in 1901 of the municipal borough of Taunton was 21,087. It includes the Parliamentary borough, the population of which in 1901 was 19,723, and hence, under Rule 7, the Parliamentary borough would be extended so as to be made co-extensive with the municipal borough. As the scheme stands it would not be disfranchised. The population of the Parliamentary borough of Bath in 1901 was 52,773. It has two Members, and consequently, under Rule 5, it would lose one. To enable it to retain two Members it must under the rule have had in 1901 a population of 75,000. The Parliamentary borough includes, and is larger than, the municipal borough, the population of which in 1901 was 49,839. The Government scheme does not contemplate that a Parliamentary borough should be extended except where it is necessary to make it co-extensive with the municipal borough. It will be observed that in order to prevent its losing a Member under Rule 5, an area with a population of 75,000, 52,773, or 22,227 would have to be added.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Theatres at Royal Marine Barracks.

*MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty, having regard to the fact that the theatre within the barrack walls at Deal was built at the public expense, at a cost of £3,622, will he state at what cost the theatres situated in other Royal Marine barracks were erected, and the average annual expenditure for the maintenance of each theatre.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxlviii., 1134.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): Apart from Deal, theatres have been erected at the public expense at the following Marine barracks, the cost of erection being as follows:—

	£
Chatham . . .	904
Eastney . . .	2,921
Forton . . .	1,182
Plymouth (about) .	2,000

The average annual expenditure for maintenance, including structural repairs, is £10 per theatre.

Receipts and Expenditure of Theatres at Royal Marine Barracks.

*MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty, seeing that the public are freely admitted on payment at the doors to theatres specially provided and maintained by the Government for the use of the Royal Marines, will he state under what Vote the receipts and expenditure of these theatres appear.

MR. PRETYMAN: It is incorrect to say that the public are freely admitted on payment at the doors; only such of the public are so admitted as are allowed to enter the barracks at certain gates. The receipts and expenditure resulting from entertainments are in no sense Government monies, and consequently do not appear under any Vote. They are dealt with by the committee chosen to manage the establishment, and the receipts are devoted to the necessary expenses of the entertainments.

Ullapool and the Royal Naval Reserve.

*MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he is now in a position to state when the construction of a Royal Naval Reserve Battery at Ullapool, Ross-shire, will be proceeded with.

MR. PRETYMAN: I have nothing to add to my reply to a similar Question put by the hon. Member on June 1st† last.

*MR. WEIR: Twelve months ago I was told that tenders had been invited.

MR. PRETYMAN: Yes, but the matter has been reconsidered since then.

The Franchise in the Transvaal.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the instructions to registration officers in the Transvaal provide that the franchise is to be conferred upon military officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, irrespective of whether they are qualified under the Constitution; whether he is aware that their pay as soldiers is thus their only qualification; and whether he will cause these instructions to be modified, having regard to the fact that soldiers as regards residence are subject to their superior officers, that they have no permanent interest or *bonâ fide* residence in the country, that they may be sufficiently numerous in some districts to swamp a majority vote of the people, and that their pay is found by the home Government.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): The Letters Patent were not designed to admit soldiers residing in official quarters or in receipt of pay provided by this country to the franchise, and the Transvaal Government have been advised that under the Letters Patent III., 2, C, soldiers are not qualified to be registered as voters, as their pay is not *bona fide* earned within the colony, and that those who are compelled to reside in official quarters cannot be regarded as occupiers within the meaning of that instrument. Instructions have, with my approval, been issued to the registering officers accordingly.

Alleged Illegal Flogging of Chinese in the Transvaal.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to the evidence, at the inquest, on June 22nd, on the body of a white miner named Bradley, of Mr. Stewart, late compound manager to the Crœsus Mine, to the effect that he had in many cases flogged Chinese coolies, that he knew it was against the law, but that he, Stewart, had done it; and whether, seeing that the pledge of the Colonial Secretary to the Chinese Minister, of February 15th, 1904, that corporal punishment should not be inflicted upon Chinese coolies by any employer or his servant, has not been respected, he will say what steps he proposes to take to secure the fulfilment of this pledge.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxlvii., 430.

MR. LYTTELTON: In my Answer to the hon. Member on Tuesday† last, I referred to this evidence, but I attach even more weight to the information given to me by the hon. Member for Morpeth. I have only to make the following addition to my Answer of Tuesday last—Lord Selborne has from the first given close personal attention to the labour conditions on the Rand. He is fully seised of the facts to which I have adverted and to which I have drawn his special attention, and I am satisfied that he will take all necessary measures to prevent their recurrence.

Proposed Partition of Bengal Province.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether any minutes or opinions of dissent were recorded, under Sections 23, 24, and 25 of the Government of India Act, 1858, by any members of the Council of the Secretary of State for India regarding the proposed partition of the Bengal Province; and, if so, whether he will include these minutes and opinions, together with others that may have been recorded, among the Papers which will be laid upon the Table of the House.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): No such minutes or opinions of dissent were recorded.

In reply to a further Question, Mr. BRODRICK said Papers now on their way home from India would be laid as soon as possible.

Press Censorship in India.

MR. O'DOWD (Sligo, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether, under the system of Press censorship established in India, the names of all newspaper correspondents are registered with the object of punishing any correspondent transmitting to this country any item of news which might be considered as unfavourable to the Government of that country.

MR. BRODRICK: I have nothing to add to the Answer which I gave to the hon. Member's Question on this subject on the 11th inst.† If the hon. Member can give me any reliable information that such a system is in force I will make inquiry.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): Why not telegraph to Lord Curzon?

The Kuklitch Outrages.

MR. NOEL BUXTON (Yorkshire, N.R., Whitby): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what punishment has been inflicted on the Turkish officers and men responsible for the crimes committed at Kuklitch, according to the report furnished by the Russian officer who witnessed them.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.): As the result of the Inspector-General's investigation of the outrages committed at Kuklitch four Bashi-bazouks were condemned to one year's imprisonment each and three others to six months. The Turkish Commission appointed to inquire into the guilt of the officers implicated have only just presented their report to the Minister for War. It will be submitted to the Supreme Court-martial at Constantinople, and some days must elapse before the final decision can be known.

Macedonian Finance.

MR. YERBURGH (Chester): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the delegates to be appointed by the Powers to control the finances of Macedonia are to have equal powers with the Russian and Austro-Hungarian agents over other matters than finance; and, if so, what are the other matters.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxlix., 1060.

† See (4) *Debates*, cxlix., 261.

EARL PERCY: The Note presented by the Powers makes it clear that the delegates to be appointed by them will be empowered to deal with all matters which involve considerations of finance.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) asked the noble Lord when further Papers would be laid on the Table of the House.

EARL PERCY: As soon as possible, but I am afraid some time must elapse before they can be presented.

Housing in the Island of Lewis.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate whether, in view of the fact that for some time past numerous cottar fishermen and their families have been evicted from houses built by themselves in the Island of Lewis, Ross-shire, and are now living under sails and old fishing boats, can he state if the Local Government Board for Scotland are making any provision for the housing of these homeless families during the coming winter, seeing that the local authorities have already imposed the maximum rate, and are consequently without means to make the necessary provision.

THE LORD-ADVOCATE (Mr. SCOTT DICKSON, Glasgow, Bridgton): The information I have received does not bear out the assertions on which the hon. Member's Question is based. Several of the families evicted have been reinstated; in other cases the proprietor has offered accommodation at his own expense in Stornoway. In no instance is there any reason why the evicted tenants should be living under sails and old fishing boats if they have elected to do so. There does not seem at present to be any necessity for any special action by the Local Government Board.

MR. WEIR: I hope an inspector will be sent to verify the statements in my Question. I can vouch for their accuracy.

Public Fishing Rights in the Poolewe (Ross-shire) River.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the public have recently been prohibited from fishing with rod and line in the tidal waters of the river at Poolewe, Ross-shire; and will he state whether any public fishing rights at Poolewe have recently been sold by the Office of Woods and Forests.

MR SCOTT DICKSON: No information has reached me in regard to the first part of the hon. Member's Question. I am informed by the Commissioners of Woods that no fishing rights at Poolewe have recently been sold by them.

Untenanted Lands in Sligo.

MR. O'DOWD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether untenanted grass farms situate in the baronies of Cavan and Ligny, in the county of Sligo, have, with the sanction of the Estates Commissioners, been sold to non-residential graziers and others since the passing of the Act of 1903; and, if so, whether he can give the number of such sales, the names of the purchasers, and the amounts of public money advanced for the purchase of these farms.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): The Commissioners are unable to identify these farms upon the information before them. If the hon. Member will furnish me with the names of the owners, further inquiry will be made.

MR. O'DOWD: I will send the right hon. Gentleman the information.

Gore-Booth Estate, Sligo.

MR. O'DOWD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the purchase agreements entered into by the landlord and tenants of the Gore-Booth Estate, situate at Lavagh, Tubbercurry, county Sligo, have yet been submitted to the Estates Commissioners for ratification; and, if so, will he state what arrangements, if any, are being made for the reinstatement of John Quinn, an evicted tenant on the estate.

MR. WALTER LONG: The estate has been inspected, but advances have not yet been sanctioned by the Commissioners. No arrangements for the reinstatement of John Quinn have been made, for, as I have already informed the hon. Member, Quinn has refused the terms offered to him.

Irish Trade with Great Britain.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction is in a position to obtain the necessary information in order to compile complete statistics as to the trade between Ireland and Great Britain; and, if not, will he make such representations to the Treasury as will secure the removal of any difficulties that may exist.

MR. WALTER LONG: As the result of negotiations with the harbour and port authorities, the Department are now preparing statistics of Irish imports and exports. The first publication of these statistics will take place about the end of this year.

MR. BOLAND: Will it cover the whole trade?

MR. WALTER LONG: I think so.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): Is there any secrecy about this matter? As a member of a harbour board I have been informed there is.

MR. WALTER LONG: No. No doubt in the collection of financial statistics certain information is regarded as confidential, but the results will be included in the Return.

MR. JOYCE (Limerick): Will the right hon. Gentleman give instructions to carry out the request of the hon. Member for South Kerry?

MR. WALTER LONG: That has been done.

Derryquin (Sneem) Police Force.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, seeing that no police patrols are now required at Derryquin, Sneem, he will arrange that a reduction be made in the police force in this village.

MR. WALTER LONG: The strength of the force at this station is normal, and it is not intended to make any reduction.

Irish Valuation Appeals—The Law Officers' Fees.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Attorney-General for Ireland and the Solicitor-General for Ireland, who were engaged by the Valuation Department in the Court of Appeal, in the case of Armstrong *v.* The Commissioners in Ireland, were paid in fees for their services by the appellant; and, if so, will he state what was the amount paid to each of them, and whether the salaries of both these officials include remuneration for such services; and whether, in view of the fact that this was the first opportunity afforded for having the law on the subject expounded, and that the result of the decision in the case has been to increase the amount of revenue derived from Ireland, he will consider the advisability of having the fees paid to the two officials refunded to the appellant.

MR. WALTER LONG: In this case each of the Law Officers received £48 6s. 0d. in fees, which eventually fell upon the appellant, costs having been awarded against him by the Court. The salaries of the Law Officers do not include remuneration for such services. The reply to the last inquiry is in the negative.

Irish Education Rules.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the new rules, 127 (b) and 186, as published, were based on any official returns, previously made out, showing how the interests of the teaching staffs would be affected by the operation of these rules, or were they based on unofficial documents.

MR. WALTER LONG: If the hon. Member will refer to the Parliamentary Return (No. 184 of this year) which was recently issued, he will find an Answer to this Question.

Rockfield Grass Farm, County Westmeath.

Mr. SULLIVAN (Westmeath, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Irish Estates Commissioners or the Land Commission have sold a grass farm called Rockfield, near Streamstown, county Westmeath; if so, who is the purchaser; and was any effort made by the Commissioners to have the land divided among the small under-tenants on the property and occupiers of uneconomic holdings in the immediate locality.

Mr. WALTER LONG: This farm was sold by direct sale, under the Act of 1903, by the owner to the occupying tenant, Mr. W. H. Stuart. No question, therefore, arose as to the division of the farm amongst other tenants.

Mr. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.): Was the man to whom the farm was sold an eleven months tenant or one entitled to have a judicial rent fixed?

Mr. WALTER LONG: He must have been a tenant in order to come under the Act.

Mr. KILBRIDE: Was he entitled to have a judicial rent fixed?

[No Answer was returned.]

Untenanted Lands in County Cavan.

Mr. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state what the Estates Commissioners are doing with regard to the tract of untenanted land known as Lissanover, containing some 274 acres, near Bawnboy, county Cavan.

Mr. WALTER LONG: The Commissioners are unable to identify this case upon the information before them. If the hon. Member will communicate to me the name of the owner further inquiry will be made.

Rates of Freight on Seed Oats and Seed Potatoes from Dublin to Bawnboy Road (Cavan).

Mr. VINCENT KENNEDY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the rates of freight charged for the conveyance of seed oats and seed potatoes from Dublin to Bawnboy Road Railway Station, in county Cavan.

Mr. WALTER LONG: The rate per ton by both the Great Northern and the Midland Great Western Railways is 13s. 7d. For six ton lots an exceptional rate of 11s. 7d., at owner's risk, is in force.

Irish Mounted Police Stations.

Mr. VINCENT KENNEDY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state in how many cases the horse police stations have been discontinued in Ireland; and whether the stables are now used for any purpose; and, if so, by whom.

Mr. WALTER LONG: Mounted police have been withdrawn from twenty county headquarter stations. The stabling at these stations is now used for the Judges' escorts at Assizes, and for other public purposes.

Royal Irish Constabulary—Disciplinary Inquiries.

Mr. VINCENT KENNEDY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state how many inquiries were held into charges of alleged misconduct, gambling and otherwise, affecting the Royal Irish Constabulary in Ireland for the last three years, distinguishing the numbers for the four provinces.

Mr. WALTER LONG: Sixty-six Courts of inquiry into various disciplinary offences, namely, fourteen in Ulster, eleven in Leinster, twenty-eight in Munster, and thirteen in Connaught. There were also 213 unsworn investigations, namely, fifty-one in Ulster, fifty-six in Leinster, eighty-three in Munster, and twenty-three in Connaught.

Over-bridge Trams.

Dr. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been called to the recommendation of the Royal Commission on London Traffic to the effect that immediate attention should be given to the provision of trams running over the Westminster and Blackfriars Bridges and along the Victoria Embankment; and whether he can suggest any means whereby the conferment of this boon upon the working people of London may be facilitated.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I believe that the hon. Gentleman's interpretation of the Commissioners' Report is substantially correct. The Government have not yet had time to consider the practicability of their suggestions, but, if Parliament were in favour of this or any other scheme, it would, no doubt, give effect to them in the usual way.

The Government's Fiscal Policy.

MR. BLACK (Banffshire): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he can now state whether, at the general election, the Government is to ask a mandate to support or to oppose the protective or preferential taxation in this country of wheat and flour, and of certain raw materials.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think I have had occasion before to reply to the hon. Gentleman on this subject. He shows an almost morbid curiosity about the contents of my election address, which will, no doubt, appear in due time.

MR. BLACK: Does taxation of this character still occupy the first place in the Ministerial programme?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon Gentleman by that, of course, means the Ministerial programme for the next Parliament. I do not know what the Ministerial programme for the next Parliament will be.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton): Will the right hon. Gentleman say when he proposes to issue his election address?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: In due time.

MR. CHURCHILL (Oldham): It is overdue now.

MR. BLACK: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he can state whether, at the general election, the Government is to ask a mandate to support or to oppose a general tariff on imports from foreign countries.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think the reply, which I hope was satisfactory, to the last Question will be found equally sufficient to this Question.

MR. BLACK: Has a general tariff been added to the half-sheet of notepaper?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The half-sheet of notepaper remains a half-sheet of notepaper.

Redistribution—Plural Voters.

MR. BLACK: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, with reference to his proposal for Redistribution, whether the Government will grant the Return as to non-resident electors in the constituencies of the United Kingdom standing on the Paper for to-day; and, if the Government declines, can he state the reason for such declination.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The object of the Government, in the Resolutions in which their scheme was embodied, was to bring in a Redistribution Bill, not a Reform Bill. The Return which the hon. Gentleman asks for might be a very proper preliminary to a Reform Bill, but it is extremely costly and extremely difficult to make, and I do not think it would be worth while either going through the labour or incurring the expense for a measure which this Government has no intention of introducing. The Return referred to is as follows—Parliamentary Constituencies (Non-Resident Electors, etc., United Kingdom). Return showing (1) the number of Voters in each Constituency in Great Britain and Ireland who appear in the last adjusted Voters Roll as residing beyond the bounds of the Constituency; and (2) the number of Ownership Voters in each of the Boroughs in England and Wales who vote in respect of their ownership in the adjoining county (supplementary to Return relative to Parliamentary Constituencies, etc., presented 21st February.)

The Irish Land Commission Vote.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he intends to set up afresh the Vote for the Irish Land Commission; if not, does he propose to maintain the regulations indicated to the House on Thursday; and is it intended to introduce a Bill during the present session to give effect to the Chief Secretary's financial proposals for removing the block in the Land Judge's Court.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: It is the intention of the Government to maintain the regulations sketched out by my right hon. friend, and it is my right hon. friend's intention to introduce a Bill, the contents of which he described in general terms on Thursday last. With regard to the first Question of the hon. Gentleman, I have examined the condition of public business this week, and at all events this week no steps will be taken.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): When will the Irish Land Amendment Bill be introduced?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: It will be introduced either to-morrow or in a very few days.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: Under the ten minutes' rule?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I think so. [Loud Opposition cries of "Oh."] Well, I will consider whether it ought to be presented in the ordinary manner or under the ten minutes' rule.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): May I ask whether, having regard to the very deep feeling existing among landlords and tenants as to the proposal to pay the landlords in depreciated stock, the Government will take that feeling into account before the Irish Secretary introduces the Bill?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR It is manifest that if the classes in Ireland affected by this Bill do not desire to obtain the relief which the Bill affords the Bill has no chance of passing, and it would be improper to ask the House of Commons to spend any great amount of time on it.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the proposals amount simply to the addition of 10 per cent. to the price of Irish land for the tenant?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I have heard two versions.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Can the right hon. Gentleman give any explanation of the proposal to make payment in stock on the price of to-day?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: That matter has been considered by the Government. I think, however, that Questions as to the details of the measure might with more propriety be addressed to my right hon. friend.

Unanswered Questions.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil) said that on Thursday last he had a starred Question on the Order Paper, addressed to the First Lord of the Treasury, which was not reached by five minutes to three o'clock. He desired to hand it in to the Clerks at the Table for the following day, but was informed that this was not necessary, as it was customary to circulate the replies to the starred Questions which were not reached. No reply to the Question had reached him, however, either privately or with the Parliamentary Papers, and he desired to ask Mr. Speaker whether, under the Standing Order, such replies ought to be circulated.

*Mr. SPEAKER: It certainly is the duty of any Minister whose Question is not reached to hand in his reply at the Table, so that it may be circulated with the Votes, if possible, the next morning, or, if not, the morning after.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE: And in the event of a Minister failing to do that, what remedy have we?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said it was sometimes difficult for him to comply, as the Answers to Questions addressed to him were not written out. He therefore could not simply hand them in in the ordinary course to the newspapers. [An Hon. Member: To the clerk.] He believed it was the practice, and in some respects he dared say it was a very good one, to make a double copy of the answers to Questions, one for the Press or the Clerks at the Table and the other for Members. But occasionally slips would occur, especially when Questions were exhausted, and the serious catechism began which he had to deal with from day to day, certainly with cheerfulness, and he hoped with patience. While he was not personally conscious of any lapse in the matter, he entirely admitted—providing the hon. Member's statement of fact was correct, and he did not doubt it for one moment—that he was in the wrong.

MR. KEIR HARDIE said he would put the Question to-morrow.

Report of Naval Works Resolution.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Does the Prime Minister intend to take the Report of the Committee on the Naval Works Resolution to-night after twelve o'clock?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

CAPTAIN JESSEL (St. Pancras, S.): Can the Leader of the House make any statement as to the business for this week?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Report of the Churches (Scotland) Bill will be taken to-morrow, and on Thursday the Supply put down will be the Colonial Office Vote first and the Home Office Vote second. As at present advised, the Second Reading of the Naval Works Bill will be taken on Friday, the Money Resolution being taken after midnight to-day. To-morrow evening is promised for the consideration of the Report of the Public Accounts Committee.

DRUNKENNESS (IRELAND) BILL.

Lords Amendments to be considered upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 284.]

PUBLIC PETITIONS COMMITTEE.

Fourth Report brought up, and read; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

REGISTRATION OF NURSES.

Report from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence, brought up, and read. Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 257.]

NEW BILLS.

METROPOLITAN BOROUGH COUNCILS ASSOCIATION (No. 2) BILL.

"To authorise expenditure by Metropolitan Borough Councils in connection with certain associations," presented by Captain Jessel; supported by Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. W. F. D. Smith, Mr. Hayes Fisher, Dr. Macnamara, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Mr. Remnant, and Mr. Crooks; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 285.]

NATIONAL GALLERIES OF SCOTLAND BILL.

"To establish a Board of Trustees to manage the National Galleries of Scotland, and for other purposes connected with the promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland," presented by The Lord-Advocate; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 286.]

SUPPLY [16TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[MR. GRANT LAWSON (Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1905–6.

CLASS IV.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £631,721, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for the Expenses of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, including a Grant in Aid of the Teachers' Pension Fund, Ireland."

MR. CHURCHILL (Oldham): I desire, Sir, to move that you do report Progress and ask leave to sit again.

THE CHAIRMAN: I cannot accept such a Motion. This is an allotted day, and it will remain an allotted day, and I think it would be an abuse of the forms of the House which might be used very much against the Opposition of the day if I were to accede to it.

MR. CHURCHILL: On a point of order, I trust I may be permitted. [At this juncture an hon. Member on the GOVERNMENT side audibly mimicked Mr. CHURCHILL's halting manner of speaking, and this at once evoked a storm of indignant shouts from the NATIONALIST and OPPOSITION Benches. Comparative calm having at last been restored.]

THE CHAIRMAN: I trust the Committee will allow the hon. Member to state his point of order.

MR. CHURCHILL: I desire to submit that the circumstances under which we met together to-day, having regard not merely to the general political situation, but also to the nature of the Supply to be taken, are wholly exceptional.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not a point of order.

MR. CHURCHILL: I desire to point out reasons against the ruling you have given, and to show for the general convenience how the exceptional circumstances which have arisen supersede it. In the first place I would draw your attention to the fact that the hostile vote which was carried against the Government has not been rescinded, and the Government have no intention of asking that it be rescinded. In the second place, no Motion of confidence in the Government has yet been carried, and thirdly, the Chief Secretary is in charge of this Vote, and although his conduct has been specifically condemned by a vote of this House he, departing from precedent, has not offered to resign——

THE CHAIRMAN rose again.

MR. CHURCHILL: I am finishing.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is quite obvious I ought not to allow the hon. Member on a point of order to make the speech he would have made on the Motion which I refused. I have given my decision to the best of my ability, and I mean to abide by it.

MR. CHURCHILL: I have practically finished stating my point of order. I only wish to submit the position in which the Committee is placed by having to conduct a debate, the result of which will be treated by the Government with contempt, seeing that any adverse vote is sure to be ignored while any Minister who may be censured will be sure to stick to his office.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) said his object in interposing was that there should be no misapprehension as to the effect of the Chairman's ruling. If he understood it correctly, it was a very wide one, and one that might have a very important effect in the future, because it amounted to this—that no special circumstances would justify a Motion for reporting Progress if it happened to be made on a day allotted to Supply. He would urge the hon. Gentleman to reconsider his decision, because it went much further than was required by the necessities of this case. Might he add that the situation would be eased at once if the Chief Secretary would rise and make a statement as to his position and responsibilities on the question of Irish administration? At any rate he would like to understand the full effect of the present ruling.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am extremely reluctant to set up a precedent, but I have never known such a Motion before. I do not say that no special circumstances would justify such a Motion; but I do say that in the present circumstances the Motion would be an abuse of the rules of the House, and I must adhere to my ruling.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said he was about to deal with the dull, prosaic, and unimportant question of Irish education, and as that was a subject in which the gentlemen of England took no interest, perhaps they would kindly withdraw. He would give hon. Gentlemen opposite a few minutes to withdraw to the smoking-room, as he thought it would be more courteous for them to go out before he began his speech. [Some Unionist Members here left the House, and others were doing so as the hon. Member proceeded with his speech, there being considerable noise and interruption.]

THE CHAIRMAN said that hon. Members who did not desire to wait to hear the hon. Member for East Mayo should withdraw at once, and should not interrupt the hon. Gentleman's remarks by going out singly.

MR. DILLON complained that they never had an opportunity of considering the question of Irish education as a whole, for there was no harmonious and all-embracing system of administration. To debate the question of primary education without considering in connection with it the question of secondary and University education was very much of a farce, and there could be no greater misfortune than to have a shallow and inefficient system of technical education forced upon a people where there was no broad and good foundation of general education. [Here MR. DILLON, referring to the growing stream of Members leaving the House, expressed a hope that hon. Gentlemen would act upon the suggestion of the Chairman.] He desired to survey the whole field of education in Ireland, for unless that were done the discussion would be fruitless. [The hon. Member was again interrupted by the cheers of the NATIONALISTS as MINISTERIALISTS left the House.] He should move to report Progress so as to allow an interval in which hon. Members opposite might withdraw.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman has a very large audience, and a large audience is apt to be restive. I have already suggested that hon. Members who do not wish to listen to the hon. Gentleman should withdraw.

MR. DILLON: And come back to vote.

MR. BURDETT-COUTTS (Westminster): I desire to ask you, Mr. Chairman, whether it is not in accordance with the traditions of this House and its universal practice that Members should leave exactly when they please.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is so, but Members must as far as possible leave in an orderly manner.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): What about the traditions of the House?

MR. T. L. CORBETT (Down, N.) likewise sought to raise a point of order, but, until the intervention of the Chairman, he was shouted down, and then he was inaudible.

MR. DILLON, continuing, said the usual course when Irish Nationalists were discussing their affairs was to leave them with empty benches. That did not show very keen interest in the welfare of Ireland. For his part, if English Members on the other side would only go away and not return till the vote he should be glad. On the present occasion hon. Members appeared to have elected to remain in the House and refuse them a hearing. [MINISTERIAL cries of "No."] The hon. Member proceeded to call attention to the last Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, and protested against the belated character of the document, the Report being for 1903, and issued only in April, 1905, although received by Sir Antony MacDonnell in August, 1904. Why was it thus suppressed? It was nothing short of a scandal and disgrace that year after year they should have to discuss this question of national education with nothing before them later than two years old. The House ought not to be treated in that way.

Now he would turn to the Report itself. It was exceptional in its nature, because the Commissioners in their own defence prefaced it with an historical review of the progress of national education in Ireland—a review which was absolutely misleading and false. Let him take one point, the question of co-ordination. He had before expressed the opinion that no administration of primary education in Ireland could be of any value which ignored the whole system of education in the country. The Report on page 14 dealt with the question of co-ordination, and the Commissioners there expressed their desire to see provision made by which clever pupils of national schools should be afforded facilities for a wider education, and added that in their opinion the best results from any system of primary education could only be obtained if it were coordinate with secondary and technical education, made introductory so far as possible to University and professional education. They went on to suggest that the teachers of the advanced departments in higher-grade schools should possess University degrees. Incidentally he might remind the House that the Catholics had no University which could confer degrees. The Commissioners continually complained that their proposals for co-ordination had been negatived by the Treasury, which had refused the necessary money. About two years ago the Government brought over from this country Mr. Dale, an inspector of English schools, to report on the national system of education in Ireland, and he wished to know from the Chief Secretary, who appeared to be asleep, on what grounds the Government in Ireland refused to let them see the observations of the National Commissioners on Mr. Dale's Report. That Report was comprehensive and extremely able; it was intolerable they should have to discuss it without knowing the views of the Commissioners on it, and his second Question to the Chief Secretary was on what grounds were the Commissioners' observations on it withheld.

The next question he desired to touch upon was the scandalous condition of the schoolhouses in many parts of Ireland. With regard to that question the Commissioners admitted and deplored that scandalous condition which no doubt was largely responsible for the low average attendance of scholars. It appeared, however, that in 1902 a proposal was made that a loan at 5 per cent., repayable in thirty-five years, should be advanced for building grants, which would have removed the difficulty, but the Treasury refused to accept the proposal. The Commissioners complained that for many years they had been urging on successive Governments to make adequate provision, and an Interdepartmental Committee investigated the whole question in 1902, but neither the Report nor the decision of the Government had been communicated to them, with the result that the work of providing suitable schoolhouses had actually been brought to a standstill because of the desire of the managers to ascertain the outcome of the inquiry. It was a monstrous thing that the Treasury, which was asleep when millions were being wasted on fraudulent contracts in South Africa, should become educational experts and display such infernal activity when it was a question of saving a few pounds by starving Irish school buildings. They were in fact starving the Irish school children. The hon. Member then noted that the Chief Secretary had withdrawn, and, asking abruptly where he was, he moved to report Progress.

THE CHAIRMAN refused the Motion, and said that no doubt the right hon. Gentleman would be back shortly. It was perfectly obvious that the right hon. Gentleman must go out sometimes.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.) The right hon. Gentleman will be back again in a moment.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Progress, progress.

MR. DILLON: I decline to argue this question with the Secretary to the Treasury.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Who represents the Government? Where is the Attorney-General?

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): And where is the Prime Minister?

MR. DILLON: The Chief Secretary is paid £5,000 a year for maladministering and muddling Irish affairs, and now it turns out that he cannot sit here for five minutes while we discuss Irish education.

MR. WALTER LONG here returned to his seat.

MR. DILLON, continuing, cited the Government's refusal to do anything in the matter of instruction in domestic subjects, such as cooking and laundry work, as an example of the manner in which Irish education was starved, and, passing from a general complaint of three days only being allotted for the discussion of the administration of Ireland, he declared that it would be exceedingly difficult to imagine anything worse than the state of Irish education. There was confusion, overlapping, waste, starvation of schools, and want of any sound guiding principle. There was a total absence of conference between the various boards and managers; new schemes, crude and undigested, were hatched and launched on the country without previous consultation with the owners and managers of schools, with the result that at present Ireland had the worst system of education of any country in the whole of Western Europe.

There were four special points he intended to dwell upon. First, the effect of the new grading system on the position and salaries of the national teachers; second, the controversy about Rule 127 (b), which had during the last six months torn the whole educational system of Ireland to tatters; third, the treatment of the Irish language in Irish schools; and, fourth, the continued withholding of the Development Grant from the service of the Irish schools to which it properly belonged. He might assert without fear of contradiction that the new grading system had affected the position and salaries of the national teachers by introducing an element of uncertainty and confusion in the highest degree detrimental to the prospects of the teachers. The Education Board had not kept their pledge of regarding vested interests when they deprived pupils of the training colleges and the younger teachers of the prospects of promotion which would have come to them under the old system. No doubt the National Board were contending that they fulfilled their pledge not to injure vested interests when they secured that no teacher should be deprived of the salary he already enjoyed. But the fact remained that numberless teachers had lost their prospect of immediate promotion and large increases of salary which were almost within their grasp, and it was an extraordinary contention that there had not been an interference with vested interests. He complained that the initial salaries were absurdly small, and reminded the Committee that under the old system clever young men could rise to the highest grade in a few years after leaving the training college. If he had a fairly large school he could rise in about ten years to the highest salary and he could get the immediate reward of his skill in teaching. The result was that a young man who might have got as much as £150 a year under the old system found that under the new system he had to go up the ladder step by step, and although the latter might appear the more logical system it took away from him the incentive that formerly existed. A young man who joined the service would under the new system have to encounter so many obstacles and disabilities artificially created that he was discouraged, as the result of a system which conveyed to him no sense of justice and which must be absolutely fatal to the efficiency of the teaching staffs in Ireland.

The consequence was a state of things which was indicated to him by one to whom he had been talking and who had said to him that whereas five or six years ago there were three times the number of candidates necessary for every vacancy in the King's scholarships, now they were almost obliged to take anyone who offered, and he warned the House that the result would be that the *personnel* of the teachers must rapidly deteriorate, and that under the system as it would exist an exceptionally clever and brilliant man would find himself blocked by the new conditions, and would be placed in such a position that if he could get an appointment in England he would leave Ireland and come here; so that the best men would be drawn off from the teaching staffs in that country. He would read a couple of extracts to show the general sentiment of the country upon this question. The first was a letter which ought to have some effect on the mind of the Chief Secretary. It was written by Cardinal Logue to a great meeting in Dublin last February—

> "The result of this will be that we shall have no candidates for the office of teacher except persons who are either physically or mentally unfit for anything else."

That was the result of years of administration by this enlightened Government under which they lived. Here was an extract from the *Irish Times*, the chief organ of Unionist opinion in Ireland—

> "If we seek to inquire as to the manner in which the sum now withheld from education might be advantageously expended, we have only to compare the position and prospects of Irish teachers with those of Great Britain. As far as the great majority of the teachers here are concerned, it is practically impossible for most of them to secure a maximum salary in excess of £86 per annum for males and £72 for females. These are far below the average salaries in Great Britain, where the position of the teacher during the past twenty years has been materially improved. In Ireland, on the contrary, the recent changes introduced by the National Board all tend towards the lowering of the *status* and remuneration of the teacher. The limitation of the number of teachers eligible for the highest grades under which not more than 10 per cent of them can qualify for that distinction tends to discourage effort and to paralyse energy."

Here were some of the results of the system as described in another Dublin newspaper—

> "Only a few years ago the announcement of a vacancy on the staff of any school brought a crowd of teachers jostling each other to get in; and if the position was fairly desirable, say assistantship in a city school, there was special anxiety to secure it. All that is changed. During the past month two large schools in the city of Dublin have repeatedly advertised for assistants without receiving a single application. . . . A vacancy recently occurred in a southern school. A young teacher trained last year was about to accept the appointment, but before closing with the manager he was offered an assistantship in the North of England, and thither he has gone. In Durham his income is £90 a year, rising by increments to £150. In Munster he would start with £56, never to exceed £77."

He mentioned a case which had been brought under his notice the other day. He cross-examined the man himself with regard to it. He would not give his name. He took the opportunity of protesting against the system of blackguard intimidation set up by the National Board of Education. He could not give the name because the teacher would be a marked man by the National Board, but he

Mr. Dillon.

warned the Board that if they carried on this system they would find that they had stirred up a nest of hornets about their ears in Ireland. This was the case of a young man who was classed in the first division before the introduction of the new rules. The result of the new rules was to degrade him. The reports concerning his school and his work had been excellent, and one of the inspectors had told him that he might expect an increase of salary. He had won much distinction, but a vigilant Treasury pounced upon this poor schoolmaster and cut off £25 a year. He had heard of another case of a schoolmaster which gave a further illustration of how a man could be deprived of his genuine vested interest. This was a case in the city of Dublin which he knew about himself. The teacher was a most distinguished man in his profession. He had a salary of something over £100 a year, and since the new rules came into operation he had moved into one of the large schools in Dublin where the average attendance was 250. Under the old system he would have had about £180 a year, but now under the new system he got only £135, being deprived of £45 a year. He held that a case of that sort was calculated to knock the heart out of these men and to cause them to seek their fortunes in some other land. He would say no more upon that matter, not because it was not very important, but because there were so many other subjects to be dealt with.

Now he came to another illustration of the business methods of this Board. The whole of Ireland had been ringing about Rule 127 (b). Amongst those interested in primary education little else was talked about. He turned to Section 2 of the appendix to the Report of the National Commissioners issued two months ago, and he found that it contained the rules and regulations of the Commissioners. He asked the House to note that the Report was issued two months ago, and then to note that in the rules there was nothing about 127 (b). That was an example of the up-to-date methods of the Board. The Board palmed off on them a copy of the regulations that were in force two and a-half years ago. That was the latest information they had. Rule 127 (b) was a rule requiring that all boys under eight years of age should be sent to a girls' school where a suitable girls' school was to be found in the neighbourhood. There were certain limitations and qualifications in regard to the rule. The first thing he had to say as to the regulation was that he did not think it would be possible to imagine a more fatuous proceeding on the part of a public board in Ireland than to launch on the country such a regulation without consulting the managers of the schools throughout the country. If they wanted to kick up a row they could not have hit on a happier plan. This rule had very far-reaching results. It had been considered for months in secret and behind the scenes by the Chief Secretary, the Irish Government, and the Board of Education, but it never occurred to those wise and learned men that they should consult the managers of the schools and the Irish public before it was issued. The result had been that the whole body of the managers in Ireland—Protestant and Catholic—were in revolt against the rule, and the Board had been reduced to a condition of absolute contempt. He warned the Chief Secretary that he would have to withdraw it because, otherwise, he would reduce education in Ireland to a condition of absolute chaos.

In a Return made to that House the other day there was a copy of the minutes of a meeting of the National Board of Education at which this rule was agreed to. First of all he would ask the Chairman, on a point of order, whether it was correct to insert in this Parliamentary Return extracts from the draft of a letter from the Board to the Under-Secretary and, at the end of the Return, an extract from the draft of a letter from the Treasury dated March 14th, 1903. Were they not entitled by the rules of the House to have the whole of these letters?

THE CHAIRMAN said that on the point of order he thought that the hon. Gentleman was thinking of the rule by which if a Minister quoted from an official document he must give the whole of it. He did not think that that applied to a Return granted by a Minister.

MR. DILLON said that then he must fall back on fair play. He thought the Government ought to give the House the whole of these letters. They were very important and extraordinary, because if the Chief Secretary would direct his attention to this Return he would see that it was one of the most extraordinary documents ever laid before the House of Commons in more respects than one. It commenced with the statement—

> "That it was proposed by the Bishop of Killaloe and unanimously adopted by the Board 'that the Resident Commissioner be hereby requested at his earliest convenience to bring before the Board a report on the excessive expenditure incurred by the multiplication of small schools, and to prepare a resolution on this question.'"

Then there was an extract from the draft letter of April 27th, 1904, to the Under-Secretary explaining what the Board proposed to do in pursuance of this policy to cut down extravagant expenditure. They said they insisted on the transfer of all boys between three and seven years of age to girls' schools. On 25th October, 1904, when the scheme came to be considered, the age was extended so that all boys under eight years of age would be ineligible for enrolment in the boys' schools. On whose suggestion was the boys' age raised from seven years to eight years? Here he came to the extracts from the minutes of the Board where the Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin gave notice of a motion that—

> "All schools upon which the effect of Rule 127 (b) would be to impair the strength of the teaching staff, to reduce the salaries of existing teachers, or to turn 'separate' into 'mixed' schools, shall be exempt from its operation, until the Commissioners can provide some means of obviating these objectionable results."

The Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin moved that resolution on April 11th, but he was defeated by thirteen votes to two. Here was a proposal to moderate the effect of the rule so as to protect the teachers from injury and to prevent the children from being swept into unsuitable schools. Certainly he could warn the Chief Secretary that although that resolution had been negatived by that large majority this rule would have to be withdrawn. He laid special stress that the whole proceedings started with the resolution moved by the Bishop of Killaloe, that this measure was to be taken to reduce excessive expenditure; and the Treasury wrote a letter headed "Superfluous Schools" in which they said—

> "The Lords of the Treasury are glad to observe—(the Lords of the Treasury had turned into educational experts)—that the Commissioners are taking up the question of amalgamating small schools and separate departments of schools where the attendance is insufficient."

and they went on to say—

> "My Lords in particular express a strong hope that the Commissioners will take steps for substituting mixed schools for separate schools for boys and girls"—

No reference was made in that letter to the public opinion of Ireland—

> "It appeared to their Lordships that the remarks of Mr. Dale upon the gross extravagance should strengthen the Commissioners in taking this part of the subject vigorously in hand."

This was what the Commissioners had done. They got their head inspector, Mr. Naish, to report that—

> "The financial effect of amalgamating the existing schools, which are at present separate and have small attendances, must be to increase the expenditure."

And Mr. Naish went on to say that—

> "The aggregate financial effect of amalgamating the small schools must, therefore, be to increase expenditure considerably."

That was to say that the Board turned round and said that their policy was not a policy of economy, but that it must increase expenditure. Was there ever a more dishonest document placed before Parliament? His conviction was that the policy was one of mean economy, and that the second thought of the Board was an attempt to disarm the storm of disapproval that they had to face in Ireland.

What was the next stage? The Catholic managers and the public throughout Ireland rose up in arms against Rule 127 (b) and against this interference with the managers to handle their own schools in their own way. Here he might say that if the object of the Board had really been to improve the conditions surrounding the education of infant boys, they would have taken the public of Ireland into their confidence; and had they done so and produced any well thought-out scheme to improve the education of infant boys they would have met with fair consideration from all Parties in Ireland. That was not their object. Their object was to carry out the orders of the Treasury and starve Irish education. And the pretext that this Rule 127 (b) was for the advantage of infant boys was a mere afterthought, in order to give some semblance of plausibility to this revolution in Irish education. The body of clerical managers in the county of Wicklow sent a memorial to the Commissioners that they would not administer the new rule; and this was the letter addressed by the secretary of the Board to the school managers in county Wicklow—

> "Dublin, 2nd June, 1905.
>
> Reverend Sir, Referring to the memorial of school managers, teachers, and representative persons of the county of Wicklow, forwarded to the Commissioners on the 30th ult., to which your name is attached, I am directed to call your attention to the terms of the last paragraph of the memorial in which the unconditional withdrawal of Rule 127 (b) is demanded, and in which the memorialists say, 'we pledge ourselves to resist the enforcement of the rule by every legitimate means in our power.' In view of your undertaking as a manager of national schools to have the Commissioners' rules and regulations complied with, I am further directed to inquire whether you signed the memorial or authorised the attachment of your name to it, and, if so, to request an explanation on the subject."

The Chief Secretary was not content with turning the Land Commissioners' Court into a Criminal Court, but he must turn the Board of Education into a Criminal Court which could cite Bishops, priests, and managers to appear before it. Was there ever a piece of greater audacity on the part of the Board in Ireland? The Board got an explanation the following week. A representative body, speaking for the whole Catholic clerical managers of Ireland, passed the following resolution—

> "That we consider the modification of Rule 127 (b), recently sanctioned by the Commissioners and published on May 4th, 1905, as altogether unsatisfactory, and we refuse to accept this rule, even as modified, on the grounds that it still works injustice to the teachers, both principal and assistants; it is retrograde from an educational standpoint; it ignores the natural rights of parents; and has been insidiously introduced to pave the way for the utterly inadmissible system of indiscriminate amalgamation."

He advised the Chief Secretary that he had better dismiss the whole of the clerical managers in Ireland and send over to Ireland a set of English inspectors to take their place. But there was another resolution passed by the same representative body which stated—

> "We demand the immediate reform of the Irish Board of National Education, on the grounds that, as at present constituted, it is unrepresentative, irresponsible, unprogressive, and, to a large extent, antagonistic to the national and religious feelings of the majority of the Irish people."

The Bishops met a few days later and heartily endorsed the opinion of the clerical managers. He should hear with great curiosity what the Chief Secretary proposed to do with reference to the rule.

He came now to the question of Irish in the schools. In spite of concessions obtained by persistent agitation the present state of affairs was entirely unsatisfactory. Irish could not be taught as an extra subject by a teacher except in a school which was satisfactory in English according to the report of the inspector, and which showed merit all round. That threw the school on the mercy of the inspector, whom he could not blame if, disliking Irish, he naturally discouraged it as much as he could. The next provision was a most objectionable one. The fees would not be paid if Irish were taught to pupils of a lower standard than the fourth. It cut out the power and right of the teacher to gain the special fee of 10s. for Irish language in all grades below the fourth, and, as the Irish schools were mostly composed of grades lower than the fourth, it cut off a large part of his income. These two provisions ought to be withdrawn. Then it was the custom of the Board to send inspectors who did not understand Irish, and who were absolutely incapable of making a proper and intelligent report on Erse. He would further like to have the declaration of the Chief Secretary as to the following extraordinary statement. At a meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian body in Belfast, Dr. Wilson, one of the Presbyterian members of the National Board of Education, said he was opposed to the payment of 10s. for the teaching of Irish, and he could inform them that the Treasury, after April, 1906, would pay nothing on that subject. He should very much like to know whether Mr. Wilson had any authority for making that statement.

He now came to the last point on which he proposed to take up the time of the Committee, and that was the question of the development grant and the Marlborough Street Training College. Up to two years ago a sum of £185,000 was set aside as the grant for Ireland, corresponding to the English education grant, and under the old practice that sum belonged by right to Irish education. But then a new system was set up, and under it that money was captured by a series of Bills and devoted to all kinds of purposes except education, with the result that the schools had been starved, teachers had been denied what they were justly entitled to, and all kinds of objects in connection with Irish education had been left unattended. In the name of the whole of the Irish Party and of the Irish people, he protested against the withholding any further of the equivalent grant. The time had come when the almost ananimous opinion was in favour of giving without further delay all that remained of the development or equivalent grant for the improvement of Irish education. There had been a proposal to set aside from the equivalent grant a sum of £50,000 for the provision of a residence in connection with the Marlborough Street Training College. He asked the Chief Secretary when he spoke to make a full and frank statement as to the present position, and as to what were the plans of the Government with regard to the college. He was not prepared to take up the position that the college should not get a fair and proportionate sum; but he challenged the granting of this enormously disproportionate sum. The Bill passed for the Marlborough Street College was based on an entirely different scale to those for other colleges in Ireland. There ought to be fair play and reasonable proportion. Was it true that £15,500 had been paid already to the landlord in the case of the Marlborough Street College? If it were true it was an extravagant and an extreme sum. They knew from Answers already given in the House that all that it was proposed to build was a residence for the college; and in his opinion the sum of £50,000 was entirely out of proportion to the number of students and the importance of the system which they represented. After all, the college represented that small section of the population—at the outside only one-tenth—which desired a mixed education, and to grant them £50,000 for the residence of a college would not be fair. He had no desire to be unfair. All that he asked was that the Government should make a statement showing that from these slender sources, already depleted most unfairly and outrageously, there should not be given to any section any sum which would be greatly in excess of what they deserved.

He had succeeded in pretty well emptying the House. The subject was one on which, frankly speaking, it was impossible to interest Englishmen and Scotchmen, though for some inscrutable reason they persisted in keeping the matter in their hands. They had produced the most indefensible, most confused, ineffective, and wasteful system known in any country in the world; and, if he thought his words would have the least effect, he would make one last appeal to the House to leave them to work out their own destiny and see whether they could not make something better of the education of Ireland than the miserable mess made of it under the English Government.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That item A (salaries and wages) be reduced by £1,000."—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

*MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.) said he thought there was a matter of vital constitutional importance regarding the position in which they found themselves. It must not be forgotten that they were debating an Estimate on which last year the House by a solemn vote condemned the administration of the Government. Last year, before any of the excitement of the present situation, before the right hon. Gentleman who was now Chief Secretary took office, the House did what was practically unparalleled, viz., carried the "classical" reduction of £100 upon a Vote for National Education in Ireland. Therefore they were dealing with a system which the House of Commons in Supply had already condemned. More than a year—he believed fifteen months—had passed since that solemn condemnation by Irish, and English opinion assisting, was made. What had the Government done since? They had made a change in the Chief Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman was very vigorous in upholding law and order. What had the right hon. Gentleman done in regard to education that affected not 100 landlords or scores of peasants, but millions of people — Protestants and Catholics — throughout the country? Instead of applying themselves to the betterment of that condition of affairs the Government had entered upon a scheme which would increase tenfold the indignation and exasperation already prevailing as to the system of Irish national education. He ventured to say that, serious as was the indignation which had previously existed, that feeling to-day was ten times intensified.

The Chief Secretary might say that he had nothing to do with the National Education Board in Ireland, and that he would wash his hands of the whole matter. Thus there had been reached, after all the years of the Union, this extraordinary position—that it did not matter how Irish Members voted or spoke—the system still went on. Talk about reducing Irish representation, 103 Gentlemen were brought across the channel, by the magnetism, he supposed, and the surroundings of the British Houses of Parliament, they got even the English Members to join them in condemnation of a certain Irish policy, and yet that policy was going strong still—worse, indeed, than ever. Another "classic" reduction of £100 was carried the other day on the land question, and the Leader of the Government said, in effect, that he did not care a brass farthing; things would go on as they had been going. This, therefore, was the situation—that if Irish Nationalists wished to do anything which would disturb the Government they must ally themselves with some English Members on some questions for which they did not care a farthing—the fiscal question, for instance, as to which he personally did not care one way or the other, and for which anybody might have his vote if it would help the cause of Ireland. The First Lord in effect said, "Bring forward China, Madagascar, the Cape, or the North Pole, and on that move a vote of censure, and then the great Tory Ministry will take it into consideration." Was there ever such a broken-backed Government, or was there ever such an absurd proceeding as that the Irish Members, who for the most part cared nothing for any English question or any foreign question—nothing about China or Gibraltar or all the rest of the places in the Archipelago—should have to join with English Members on some question in which they had no interest—and then, forsooth, if they won only to change the Government for the perpetuation of the old system? That was the naked position of affairs. On divisions last session and this session on the two great questions of Irish land and Irish education, the Nationalists had twice been able to condemn the policy of the Government, but the Nationalists might as well talk to the reporters in the lobby, or, for that matter, to those they might meet on a bus while coming to the House. Their words, and even the defeats they were able to inflict in the division lobbies, were ignored, the Government's only reply being, "Oh, you did not attack us on a vote of censure." Practically speaking, the only way in which the Nationalist Members could deal with Irish questions was in Committee of Supply, but, in spite of what had happened in Supply on the education and the land questions, instead of any benefit being achieved new grievances had arisen, and he could not help wondering how reform could ever be secured in Irish matters. It apparently could not be obtained by legislation; almost as certainly it could not be obtained on the Estimates since the Prime Minister had practically said that divisions on the Estimates on Irish questions were of no account. What, then, were the Nationalists to do? It was in a practically bankrupt condition, so to speak, as to Parliamentary devices that they were obliged to attend the House. He did not see why the Prime Minister should attend the House at all when Committee of Supply was on. It was actually supposed by some people in Ireland, not in lunatic asylums, that debates in that House had really some effect on the Ministry of the day. He had rarely known it to happen, but the Nationalist Members were sent there to do their duty to their constituents, and he would therefore put a few considerations before Ministers as to the education question, though they would not care one groat for what he might say.

Of every injury which was inflicted upon Ireland the Treasury was practically at the bottom, and it was so in the present case. It was pretended that a change was being made in the interests of education, but if the Government would guarantee that Mr. Starkie's salary should not be increased if he effected an economy of £20,000 or £30,000 a year nothing more, probably, would be heard of any change. What was it the miserable Treasury were doing—he could not think of them without hatred? They were constantly practising a system of bribery on the higher officials of Departments to make so called economies by the prospect of increased salaries to the individual. They wanted to deprive Ireland of some little grants. Starkie had already, it was true, probably become a C.B., but, though he might have wanted the Bath very much, it was doubtful whether that would satisfy him—he would probably also want something in cash. He wished to ask the Government for an estimate of the sum Starkie would save and what was the amount of commission they proposed to give him—was it 2½ per cent. on a saving of £20,000 or £30,000 per year? Because that was what was at the root of the first proposal.

He further suggested that the Board of Irish Education should have its proceedings open to the Press, a course which would let the public know from day to day what was going on, and would, perhaps, by the force of public opinion, prevent some of the worst of the Board's proposals from being carried into effect. Ireland, of course, was an idolatrous country. The people there worshipped idols, as was well known, and the system of education provided for them was this—that the Board chosen to administer that education should be largely non-idol worshippers and should have every interest they could in warping the minds, harassing the consciences, and annoying the feelings of the idolaters. The Government had great respect for idolaters in India. He believed at that moment there was in Burmah a British soldier, paid by that House, marching up and down before one idol in order to prevent that idol being awakened. The Burmese, he understood, believed that if any noise were made near the idol the whole of Burmah would be submerged by an earthquake. Accordingly British prowess with a fixed bayonet marched up and down in front of it by day and night. Then, too, a college had been provided for Mahommedans at Khartoum. In fact, the only subject-people who got any consideration from England were idolaters, and therefore he put in a humble claim that Irish idolaters should be allowed to get their proportion of this money unaffected by the views of the so-called Christians. Surely it was not a strong demand to ask that Irish children should be allowed to have their education settled for them by people of their own persuasion, and, as the Government insisted on one-half of the National Board being composed of Christians and the other half of idolaters, he asked that at all events the proceedings of the Christians should be open to the Press. What a splendid thing it would be for evangelical religion in Ireland and the spread of the Gospel if the people could know what these Christians persons were devising for the benefit of the benighted classes whom they had to educate.

Nearly £1,400,000 was placed in the hands of this Board every year, and it took them two years to make a Report to that House. There must be some weighty reasons for so great a delay on the part of a Board representing all the wealth, intelligence, education, and Christianity of the country. And let the House consider the time that would be saved if every week one could read in the newspaper what the Board were doing. He would never dream of troubling the House of Commons at all with debates on their published proceedings. If anything objectionable were then proposed, a crowd could go to Marlborough Street and break the windows, which might have some effect. But under existing circumstances two years elapsed before the public knew what the Board were doing; by that time two or three of the members had died, others had become Judges, and an entirely new set of men had been appointed, so that if the public went and threw stones they would probably break the windows of the wrong persons. The sum of £1,400,000 was sufficiently large to justify the demand that it should not be passed in the dark. The Committee had absolutely no information about the matter, and the only means by which public opinion could be brought to bear was by opening the proceedings to the Press. Such a reform did not need any Bill or Resolution of that House; it could easily be effected by the Chief Secretary. The defects of the system and the absence of control had been admitted by successive Chief Secretaries.

The opportunities of life in Ireland were small. The only two Government institutions by which the sons of the peasantry were afforded a chance of earning a decent livelihood were the Royal Irish Constabulary and the teaching profession. Probably four times as much was spent on arms and oppression as upon education. In every village could be seen on the one side the frowning barracks with ten well-paid policemen, and on the other side the little schoolhouse where a starved schoolmaster and his wife were attempting to instil British civilisation into a reluctant population. At the instance of the Treasury, without any regard whatever to Irish desires or interests, the stimulus which the prospect of entering the teaching profession gave humble people to become trained had been destroyed, and neither Catholics nor Protestants—he was most anxious the Protestants should be educated; he thought they needed it—had any longer any inducement to become national teachers. He really did not know why anybody should remain in Ireland. England had made it the saddest and the most miserable country in the world. One might as well live in a tomb as in some Irish villages. And now this one little avenue to decency and respectability which had been still open to poor men was closed, and, at the instance of some wretched Treasury clerk, the whole scheme of education had been degraded. This was the common avowal and confession of everybody connected with the system. First the teachers were robbed by being invited to subscribe to a pension fund for their old age, and then being told that the fund was bankrupt; and now, the old men having been defrauded and their hopes withered, the hearts of the young men and women were to be crushed, and they were to be left with neither hope nor outlook.

This was strictly in accordance with the English system of education and government in Ireland. He defied the Chief Secretary to get any independent Irishman on his own side of the House who had studied the subject and was not in the receipt or the expectation of a salary to defend the Board of Education or its administration. Like Job on his dunghill, Irishmen had a right to protest. But whereas Job addressed the Almighty they were addressing the English, and they knew that just as it was in the beginning of the century so it was now and ever would be so long as that House attempted to govern the country. If Englishmen were making anything out of this he could understand it. But they were not. Not a single Englishman would be the better, the wiser, or the richer for the system; it simply bred irritation. It was not like grabbing Africa; the irritation of Ireland put nothing in their pockets, and yet they perpetuated this unholy and unhappy system simply because it was in existence, and they would not take the trouble to reform it. None of the plans he had suggested would involve the expenditure of any Parliamentary time. All he asked the Chief Secretary to do was to let in a little light on the National Board. Since he came into office the Chief Secretary had in less than four months sent a good number of men to jail. It had been a good time for Irish lawyers. The lawyers were saying, "Long live the Chief Secretary for Ireland," as the owls blessed the Sultan Mahmoud for creating ruins, because there would always be plenty of prosecutions so long as the right hon. Gentleman remained in office.

This was a matter which affected the Protestant and Unionist teachers as well as the Catholic teachers. Were the Protestant teachers satisfied with the system and their treatment, and were they satisfied with the right hon. Gentleman's proposals? Were they satisfied with Mr. Starkie? Was the Member for Belfast satisfied with Mr. Starkie? Their efforts were almost useless, and they could do nothing for unfortunate Ireland because they had to deal with a House and with a Ministry who would do nothing. Year after year they were getting grey exposing grievances, and yet they saw nothing done except Ministers drawing their salaries. Why did the Chief Secretary not express his opinion freely about the Treasury? He was the Irish Minister and he was supposed to defend Irish interests. The right hon. Gentleman would get his salary all the same whether he condemned the Treasury or not. Why should he not give the Committee his view upon these Treasury proposals?

Mr. SLOAN (Belfast, S.) said this was not a question of Roman Catholic or Protestant but a question of efficiency and how they could best deal with the misdoings and the grievous wrongs which were continually imposed upon Ireland by the present system. Of course the Chief Secretary had no control over the Commissioners of Education, and therefore he was not responsible for the charges brought against the system of education in Ireland. But that was no reason why the grievances should remain unredressed, and it was the duty of the House to honestly try to remove grievances which were admitted as much on the Government side as upon the Opposition side of the House.

Mr. FLAVIN (Kerry N.): Why do not you support us with your votes?

Mr. SLOAN said he had sufficient independence to vote either for or against proposals as he thought fit in the best interests of his constituents, and that independence had not only led him into the thorny paths of misrepresentation and misunderstanding, but in his desire to serve all classes and all creeds in matters into which no sectarianism ought to enter he was in the proud position that day of being repudiated by both political Parties. That, however, did not alter his view, and he was so thoroughly convinced of the necessity of representing not a section only of Ireland or a section of his own constituents that he did not hesitate to associate himself with a protest which was universally believed in against a system which did no good to the education of Ireland and which could not under any circumstances receive the approval of right-thinking men.

It was a most unfortunate thing that there existed the system of confidential documents under which the character and reputation of an Irish teacher was at the mercy of any individual manager, whether Protestant or Catholic, and the teacher in this way could be villified, ruined, and dismissed without any chance of defending himself. A system under which the victim of a confidential circular could not defend himself was a disgrace to the Irish administration of national education, and the House of Commons ought to take steps to immediately remedy that state of things. Even a criminal in the dock was allowed to defend himself, but every national school teacher was within the power, and often became the victim, of a particular school manager. It might be that a national school teacher would not go to a certain Sunday school or play a certain musical instrument in connection with a certain church, and because of these things the manager, who was responsible to nobody, could by means of a confidential circular make certain charges against that teacher which the teacher would have no chance whatever of refuting. Why was the national school teacher not paid by the National Board? He got his salary through the manager. The manager came on quarter-day, or whenever it might be, and you might think he was paying the teacher a compliment, or giving him some bonus he was not entitled to, from the manner in which he handed him his salary, Why was not the national school teacher paid direct by the National Board? As the hon. Member for Louth had said, what was the reason the proceedings of this marvellous Board, of which he had the courage to believe and the grace to state that it had perhaps done good work in its day, were not published? At present its work, whether good or bad, was unknown to the country, and he thought it would do no harm, but really be a blessing or a boon in disguise if they had some account of the business transacted at the meetings of the Board. The Board comprised, he understood, an equal number of Protestants and Catholics. Why should there not be a Minister of Education such as Scotland had?

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): We should have one under Home Rule.

Mr. SLOAN said if the hon. Member addressed the House in a Home Rule debate they would all listen to him with pleasure. He agreed with the hon. Member for Louth that if the Board was serving a public interest, and was for the good of education in Ireland, there ought to be no secret about the transactions which took place when it met. Instead of having Reports, much belated, he admitted, though hardly so much belated as the hon. and learned Member stated, they should be such as would enable them to understand how the business was being carried on. He objected to the Board because it was not a representative Board. It was co-opted, or it was appointed by the Crown. The House of Commons had no control over it. The Government had no control over it. And if they put a Question on the Paper, the Answer, like many other replies given in that debate, would be handed by the First Commissioner to the Chief Secretary, who was compelled by the force of circumstances to tell the House exactly what he had been told to say. That was a state of things with which all Irishmen who desired the common good of their country must be dissatisfied—and because Members on the other side demanded Home Rule, while he believed that the Unionist policy was the better one for Ireland, that was no reason why a wall of partition should be built up against joining hands for what was good for Ireland, and he did not know what should have the first place in their heart if not education.

Take the case of the small schools. The Chief Secretary for Ireland, asked the total saving under the new system, stated that instead of a total saving there was an additional expenditure of £50,000. He asked as a supplementary Question whether that £50,000 included the £28,000 given out of the equivalent grant christened the development grant. The Chief Secretary replied to him that he could not tell. They got by Question and Answer in the House only broad statements, and the rules of the House prevented them from so interrogating the Chief Secretary as to get the Question on the Paper answered. He thought the Chief Secretary ought really to take into serious account the united and unanimous desire of the Irish representatives to put the education of the country on a basis which would be acceptable not to one class only, but to all classes, and to give the teachers of Ireland the same opportunities, the same privileges, and the same rights as his fellow school teacher in England or in Scotland.

He quite agreed with the Member for Mayo in asking why the equivalent grant was applied to other purposes than those to which it should be applied. Ireland got as its share of the equivalent grant £185,000, which was accumulating every year. Out of it there had been paid £10,000 to the Tralee and Dingle Railway, and £75,000 to carry out the administration of land purchase. That money ought to be applied for the education of the children and for the maintenance of the schools in a proper condition. There were instances where children had to go to school with pieces of turf in their arms in order to heat themselves. He submitted to the Chief Secretary that these were questions that ought to engage the attention of the Irish Administration. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dover indicated in the House of Commons some time before his resignation that it was his intention to bring in a Bill to deal with the question of Irish education.

MR. DILLON: I asked the Chief Secretary, just after the Address, whether it was his intention to bring in a Bill this session, and he said "No."

MR. SLOAN said that was very unfortunate. One thing that ought to be remedied was that the £185,000 should be applied to education. This amount went on accumulating, and it would only go as doles to particular interests—he did not care whether they belonged to the North, South, East or West. This was education money and it ought to be applied for educational purposes. He knew the difficulties under the present system in country schools, and he had known a national school where a teacher getting only a salary of £50 or £60 had to repair the floor of the school in order that the children might not get their legs broken. What was being done with the £185,000 as regards education in Ireland? Nothing. Only £28,000 had been devoted out of that sum and that was the result of an agitation got up on both sides of the House. It was not a question of Protestant or Roman Catholic. It was not a question of sectarian bitterness on one side or the other. It was a question of whether Ireland was being educated or not, and whether an Irishman's child was to have facilities for meeting the hardships of life and going forth to the world with an education capable of enabling him to obtain a position of honour in the industrial world that would be a credit to his country. There was no Irishman, whatever constituency he represented, who would get up and justify the present antiquated administration so far as education in Ireland was concerned, and the fault must lie not with the Chief Secretary, but with the present Government. He did not know if it would require a stroke of the pen or instructions from the Chief Secretary. He thought under an Act of Parliament the National Commissioners had the power they now exercised.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: They sit by charter.

MR. SLOAN said in that case it would require an Act of Parliament to put education on a more popular system. Why had local authorities no hand in this education? He thought that, so far as Belfast was concerned, if the local authority had to do with education matters it would be able to take a better and deeper interest in them. Those were his convictions, and if hon. Members did not like them he could not help it.

While he agreed with all that had been said regarding the importance of education in Ireland, he was entitled to dissociate himself from hon. Members opposite as to whether the mode they would apply for improving it was the right one. They should all be interested in applying a system which would give no offence to any person and give a monopoly to no person. So long as he was in that House he would associate himself with any reasonable reform for Ireland, no matter who proposed it, but he claimed the right to dissociate himself from any reform which he considered undesirable. He associated himself with the denunciation of the present system of national education in Ireland, and he trusted that the Chief Secretary would use his position and, if it was possible, his influence over his colleagues, so that that influence would be used to put a stop to a system which never could be popular with any class of Irish national school teachers, and never could do any real good to education in Ireland. He hoped for the best things from that debate, and he trusted that in the near future, instead of having red tape and stereotyped replies in regard to the grievances which occurred, they would have changes introduced which would place education on a more satisfactory footing. They had to bring these matters up continually at Question time in the House, and that was a way which was not satisfactory to the persons aggrieved, and did not enable them to bring home blame to the Administration. He asked the Chief Secretary if there was no possibility of an open door in regard to the difficulty on the education question, and whether they could not have some system whereby the children of Ireland should have the same rights as those in Scotland or England, whereby there might be a conference of the general public, and whereby the national school teachers might have redress against the managers in regard to the charges brought against them. He trusted that the Chief Secretary's reply would not be the annual reply to which they were accustomed, but that they would get something more than they had ever got before, which would tend to the progress of education in Ireland and merit the goodwill of all persons concerned.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL said they had been discussing that day perhaps the most important of Irish questions. It lay at the root of almost everything in Ireland, and yet he felt that they had been beating the air and wasting time. He said that because the National Board of Education in Ireland was so constituted that that House had absolutely no power or authority over it. It was established by charter. The Chief Secretary had no power to demand anything from it. The right hon. Gentleman might send a Question to be answered, and the Board could withhold the Answer if it chose. They were dealing with an institution which had done good work in bygone days, but was now completely out of date. What was the use of their sitting there and talking about education when those in charge of it, who were spending the money voted by the House, were not morally or legally bound to take the slightest notice of anything they did in the House? There was another reason why it was useless to debate education in that House. What did they do last year? The House of Commons was so conscious of the mischief of this system that it took the extraordinary step of deducting £100 from the Vote, which was the only condemnation the House could pronounce upon it. What happened? He did not know whether anybody was a penny the worse or not. He did not know whether the Chief Secretary made it up out of his salary or not. That was very unlikely.

He had listened to the hon. Member for South Belfast with interest. If this were a question of land they would see the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh in his place. He was the Leader of what was called the Unionist Party in Ulster. They had a right to have his advice and assistance in a matter like this. But where was he that night? If it was a matter of the Irish landlords or the Irish land system he would be in his place hurling defiance at those benches. There were only two members of the Ulster Unionist Party in the House now, when they were discussing a question of the most momentous importance to the people of Ireland. He hoped that fact would be noted by the Belfast newspapers. He did not suppose it would be noted by those newspapers, but it was a fact, and a very significant fact. When they reduced the Vote by £100 last year nothing came of it. They were not likely to repeat that to-night. The gentlemen of England would take care of that. They had got one fright and they would not be found wanting on that occasion. But any way, they did the only thing that was possible for them to do to show their condemnation of this system. If the Motion of the hon. Member for East Mayo were carried the Board would go on as gaily as before, doing as they liked. All that the House had to do was to vote the money which they spent perhaps in the worst possible way.

The whole education system in Ireland was a sham. There were thousands of Irish children being taught in schools which hon. Gentlemen opposite would not use for their spaniels. They were not fitted to be used as schools, but the managers could not get a penny from the Board to put an end to that shameful state of affairs. The whole system was rotten from top to bottom. He agreed with the hon. Member for Belfast that the local authorities ought to have some say in this matter—he did not care whether it was in the North or the South; they should have a legitimate position in those matters. There was not at present a particle of the representative character about it which there ought to be. At all events, they were now only beating the air. If the Motion of the hon. Member for Mayo were carried —which it would not be—the National Board of Education would take no notice of it: the Government would take no notice of it. They would go on as they had gone on before—destroying every chance which the Irish child had of being educated.

*COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) said that he agreed with much that had been said by the hon. Member for Belfast and the hon. Member for South Tyrone, but he wished to point out that an indirect attack had been made on the managerial system of education in Ireland. Now, he wanted the Committee to understand that the whole character of education in Ireland depended on the managerial system, and that they could not without danger risk a change of that system. He had been for many years a school manager himself, and he understood the question. As to the so-called confidential reports which were sent to the Board, he did not think they were the formidable documents which the hon. Member for Belfast made them out to be. These were a printed form which dealt with many subjects. One of these subjects was the character of the school teachers. It had been said that the teachers would have no security about those reports; but he should have thought that they were an advantage rather than otherwise to the teachers.

MR. SLOAN said that his argument was that confidential circulars were sent to the Board, making charges against teachers without the teachers having an opportunity of replying to those charges.

*COLONEL NOLAN repeated that his experience was that the reports were only sent up on printed forms on which the manager marked "Good" or "Bad." It must be recollected that the national system was originally instituted as a proselytising agency by Protestant managers, especially in the West of Ireland, and that one result of it was that the great Dr. MacHule, then Archbishop of Tuam, shut up the whole of the schools in his diocese and would have nothing to do with the system. But, as at present worked, the system, on the whole, was a tolerable system; and it would not do to have an immediate total change. Besides, he did not think they could get a sufficient number of Catholic squires and laymen to manage all the schools. The hon. Member for South Tyrone spoke in favour of some system of local representative management.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that all he had advocated was that the local authorities should be recognised.

*COLONEL NOLAN said he was very glad to have got that qualification from the hon. Member for South Tyrone; but his contention was that, on the whole, the present managers had worked well. People were not going to vote money for schools if they had not some control over the schools. The present managerial system had, he insisted, worked well on the whole, and it was suited to the wants of Ireland. In the large majority of cases the clerical managers of the schools had proved efficient. He agreed with the hon. Member for Belfast that they were all shocked at the way the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses had been treated by the Treasury, and the Chief Secretary should see that these deserving public servants were treated as well as the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses of Scotland and England were.

As to Rule 127 (b), he did not think that English Members understood what was being done under that rule. As a general rule, in Ireland boys and girls were separated; but under Rule 127 (b) the balance was changed and all children between three and eight years of age were put into girls' schools. The right hon. Gentleman said that that change was made for the sake of the children; but the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses in Ireland were paid chiefly by the number attending the school, and when there was a transfer of boys made to a girls' school that interfered with the prospects of the schoolmaster. He understood that a promise had been made that no schoolmaster or schoolmistress should suffer from the change, but that change ruined their prospects of promotion, which was practically a breach of faith with the schoolmasters. This was a point to which the Chief Secretary might be fairly called upon to give some attention. If schoolmasters were put permanently in a small school, with no chance of promotion, they stagnated. As to school buildings, the inspectors had marched with the times and insisted that the children should have more room and more air, and called upon the managers, who were not rich men, to carry out improvements; but the managers did not like to bleed the parish for that purpose. In some cases the proposed improvements were fads; and he suggested that where a certain amount of money had been spent on enlargement or improvement of the schools the Government should contribute a proportion of the expenditure, the past expenditure of the managers being taken into account. Some now thought the carrying of sods of turf for fuel a great hardship. In old times it was not so bad, but now the children were a little better clothed, and they did not like it. He thought it would not be fair to ask the managers to provide fuel, but he considered a fuel allowance—£2 per school would go a long way—might be made, and he hoped the Chief Secretary, as a good administrator, would look into the question and see if some such allowance could not be made. He hoped that before the end of the year they might have some better rule than Rule 127 (b).

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL said that the only possible solution for an effective and useful change was Home Rule. On that side of the House they were all agreed that education was a most important and vital question, and if it were to be carried on for many years longer in the same unbusinesslike manner in which it had been carried on for the past seventy years, the country was bound to suffer most severely. The education of the country was entrusted to some twenty men sitting at Dublin. They had been described in very effective and eloquent terms by the hon. Member for North Louth, who had shown the House how the country suffered from their work. He asked that if they were to continue to live under the National Board, the Press should be allowed to attend its meetings, this being one of the best ways of letting the country know what they were doing. He trusted the Chief Secretary would take seriously into consideration that reasonable and just demand.

The question of the payment of teachers in order to get good men was a very important one. In the last Estimates England was voted a sum of £12,500,000 for education, Scotland £1,817,000, and Ireland £1,391,000. In England and Scotland. where education had been conducted certainly on very much better lines than in Ireland, there were increases of £416,000 and £63,000 respectively, but in Ireland, where education was admittedly starved by the Treasury, there was a decrease of £1,900, even in the face of the reports submitted by the inspectors and by the English gentleman, Mr. Dale, who said that the teachers were badly paid, and that the schools were a disgrace to civilisation. That was a scandal and a thing which ought to be remedied. It had been said in previous debates that England and Scotland did not get more proportionately from the State for education than Ireland, and that England and Scotland contributed towards education from the rates. The first statement was inaccurate. England and Scotland got considerably more for primary and ever so much more for secondary and University education than Ireland. The average amount voted from the State per head of population for primary education in England was 8s., in Scotland a little over 8s., and in Ireland only 6s. Those were facts which could not be denied. They could not get away from the fact that Ireland was getting from the Imperial taxes a smaller amount for primary education than she was entitled to. If she were to get her proportion per head of population—the only logical and just basis—she would get £1,800,000 instead of £1,390,000. On that score alone, and apart altogether from the equivalent grant, Ireland was denied £400,000 per annum for primary education. Then, when they asked for more money to improve their schools, and to give decent salaries to their teachers, they were told they must contribute out of their rates, and that they were already getting more out of the State than England and Scotland. That was false, and it was treating Ireland in a manner shabby and mean.

Not only was the amount they got proportionately lower than was given to England and Scotland, but the administration was at least twice as expensive as in England and Scotland, being about 3 per cent. in England, 2½ per cent. in Scotland, and 5½ per cent. in Ireland of the respective grants, thus showing that the National Board, however bad it was, was twice as competent to spend money in administration as the English and Scotch Boards. What salaries were the Irish teachers getting? The best educated men of the country were being enticed, induced, and coaxed to come within the service of the National Board, which offered them the magnificent starting salary of £56 a year. Could it be imagined that the men entrusted with a great work, fraught with so much importance to the welfare of the country, and upon which depended the future progress of the children of the nation, were to begin with the miserable and wretched salary of a little over £1 per week? It was a shame to expect men to come to the service with such miserable inducements, and it was equally a shame to expect that good men would remain in it. There was no field for their energy and no certainty as to what might occur to them in after years.

He complained of the manner in which the teachers had been treated in regard to their pensions. The Treasury suddenly found out that the fund was bankrupt, that the pensions promised must be reduced from £88 to £60 a year, and that the teachers' contributions must be trebled. How was it to be expected, with the miserable salaries given, with the uncertainty increasing every year, and with the pensions reduced, that the proper class of men would enter the service or remain in it if they did enter? It was absolutely impossible. In England and Scotland it was found advantageous to give twice as much salary to the teachers as was given in Ireland. They demanded—and before long he thought they might insist upon it—a salary for the Irish teacher equal to that given to the English and Scotch teacher. He was as well trained for his work, and he was performing the same service for his nation. The question of pensions was one vitally connected with the question of salaries, and he wished to ask the Chief Secretary one or two Questions.

In 1900 the old system of education was changed and a broad new system substituted. The old teachers were regarded as not being up to date. In every other branch of the Civil Service, if, for the benefit of the nation, a change were found necessary, a man, often of ten, twenty, or twenty-five years service, would not be suddenly discarded without consideration, but when it was found that a change in the educational system was necessary, the national teacher was declared inefficient, cast aside, and dismissed without a pension. It was a shame and a scandal that men who had been in the service for thirty years should be dismissed in order that new men could be taken on at half the salary. Rule 127 (b) particularly affected the teachers in this way. One effect of the rule must be to lessen the number of teachers, and another would be to replace male by female teachers, with the result that the work would be less efficient. He, therefore, wished to ask the Chief Secretary whether he could definitely state that under this scheme no teacher at present in the service should suffer loss in his salary and that no teacher who was degraded to the position of an assistant should suffer any loss on his pension rights. Those were Questions to which, up to the present, they had been unable to obtain a definite reply.

In the Report of the Commissioners of National Education it stated that in the first standard in the national schools of Ireland there were 45 per cent. of the whole of the children attending the schools, whilst the first three standards contained 71 per cent. of the children attending the schools. That meant that the education given at the present time to 71 per cent. of the children of Ireland was of the most meagre description, and that a radical change must be made if there was to be any improvement in Irish education. He was proud to recognise that the Commissioners had stated that they had made demands on the Treasury for the building of schools and for setting up higher-grade schools. If Ireland had a proper system of education passing from the national through the higher-grade schools to the University, and if they could persuade those who had passed through the Universities to come back and give the benefit of the training they had received to the children of the peasants, there was no people who would more quickly benefit than the Irish. Higher-grade schools should be established all over the country, because there were thousands and thousands of young Irish boys whose minds were starved and who were denied opportunities of bettering their condition because their education had commenced and ended in the national schools. Were a system of higher-grade schools established they would soon show in commercial, industrial, and other walks of life that they were at least the equals of those who governed their country against their will.

Coming to the most important part of the question, namely, the influence which the teaching of the Irish language had had in arousing greater interest in the work of Irish education, he took leave to point out that while the Commissioners acknowledged the beneficial effect of teaching the national language in the schools, they were told by one of the Commissioners that next year, in 1906, the one subject which had stirred the whole life of Ireland and had engendered this greatly increased interest in the education of the country was to be abandoned by the Treasury and that no more money would be given for its teaching. Was it conceivable that now, when Ireland was making a start and had found the means of making up for the drawbacks of the National Board and improving the education of the country, the Treasury were going to block their efforts and were going to refuse the miserable sum which was given for teaching the Irish language. He could assure whoever was responsible for such a thing that if the Treasury insisted upon withdrawing the money at present given for that purpose they would raise such a storm about their ears that they would be prevented from carrying their intentions into effect. In Ireland they had training colleges supposed to train teachers to educate the children. The people of Ireland had emphatically declared by every form open to them that they desired to have the national language of the country taught to their children, yet in the face of that fact the Treasury had done nothing to compel these training colleges to train the teachers in the Irish language. He appealed to the Chief Secretary, and through him to Dr. Starkie, to meet the unanimous demand of the Irish people by insisting in future that no young man or woman should be allowed to remain in a training college without being taught the Irish language, and that they should not be allowed to teach in the schools until they had acquired a knowledge of the national tongue. The Irish people had a right to insist that their own language should be taught in the schools; they were a bi-lingual people, and he hoped that something would be done in this matter to meet the wishes of the people.

Dr. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.) expressed the opinion, after a close examination of the systems in vogue, that the Irish educational system was fifty years behind that of England and Wales, and 150 years behind that of Scotland. That was entirely due to the superimposition of a system from outside; superimposed by ignorance, with the result that a people loving education were driven to the necessity of detesting the means by which it was offered to them. As a result a great crime had been committed against the people of Ireland, and this country had been robbed of the services of a brilliant and intellectual people. The cost of the official administration of Ireland was £120,000 a year; that of Scotland, with an infinitely better system, was £60,000 a year. In England and Wales for every 20s. raised for education 3s. went in official administration; in Scotland 3s. 10d., but in Ireland out of every 20s. paid for education 6s. 6d. went in official administration, and a very bad administration it was. The Intermediate Board consisted of twelve Commissioners, two assistant Commissioners, and a host of paid officials, and they encouraged education in Ireland simply by paying result fees on examinations. That was a thoroughly rotten system of administering any form of education. Last year this egregious institution spent £98,550, of which £6,633 went in permanent salaries, temporary inspectors' remuneration, and locomotive expenses, and £10,843 in examiners' remuneration, examination superintendence, and locomotive expenses. The Board simply examined 7,909 pupils, without educating or assisting them in any way, at a cost of £2 4s 2d. per head, whereas the whole education of a child in the popular schools of Ireland cost only £2 7s. 6d. Then the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction had an income of £350,000 a year, and, as described to him by a witty Irishman, its whole function was to teach hens how to lay eggs. These were the central Departments which had to deal with education.

How were the teachers treated in Ireland as compared with the rest of the United Kingdom? The average salary, from all sources, of certificated headmasters in public elementary schools in Scotland was £176 14s. 3d., in England and Wales £151 9s. 11d., and in Ireland £105 4s. 9d. As to assistant masters, the average salary last year in Scotland was £120 11s. 8d., in England and Wales £110 3s. 1d., and in Ireland £73 13s. 10d. To put it in another way, where an Irish headmaster received 20s., an English headmaster received 30s., and a Scotch headmaster 35s., while even an assistant teacher in England received 24s. against an Irish headmaster's 20s. With regard to superannuation, he knew of no more scandalous piece of maladministration or more scandalous breach of faith than was involved in the revision of the pension scheme. That scheme was set up by diverting £1,300,000 from the Irish Church surplus, and an Act of Parliament was passed, the schedule of which laid it down on the faith of the British Government that the teachers should receive certain benefits. The system was in operation until 1897, when a mysterious Departmental Committee came to the extraordinary conclusion that the scheme was in a financially unsound condition, though where the money had gone Heaven only knew. Then, without any consultation of Parliament, a new set of rules was put into operation, the premiums were trebled, the benefits reduced, and the teacher compelled to adhere to the new scheme. That was a monstrous injustice, and he believed it was absolutely illegal, an opinion which, when briefed by the Irish teachers, the Irish Solicitor-General also held, though he was not of the same opinion now.

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. JAMES CAMPBELL, Dublin University): I have not said so.

DR. MACNAMARA said he was surprised Irish teachers took it so quietly. If he had paid premiums for twenty years in order to secure certain benefits under an Act of Parliament, he would have had those benefits or known the reason why. He did not think the House at all understood what was being perpetrated when the scheme was revolutionised. The premium was trebled, gratuities were abolished, the retiring age was increased by five years, and the maximum pensions obtainable were reduced, in the case of men, from £88 to £60, and, in the case of women, from £63 to £47. When the subject was discussed on April 11th last, he expressed the view that these alterations were illegal, and the Financial Secretary of the Treasury then said that the rules were framed in 1897 in accordance with the recommendation of a Departmental Committee, and had remained in force until the present time, though he candidly admitted there had been cases of hardship. Then, prompted by the Solicitor-General, he said—

> "It is only fair to point out that the teachers who were in the service on January 1st, 1898, had the option of remaining under the old rules or of coming under the new rules."

If that had been true all the teachers would have remained under the old rules because they were much more favourable, but, as he himself pointed out to the Financial Secretary, the teachers were compelled to accept the new rules. The Solicitor-General himself stated—

> The hon. Member for Camberwell made a complete mistake in supposing that these rules of 1897 deprived existing teachers of any right whatever in respect of their pensions."

That was wrong, and the Solicitor-General ought to have known it. It was true that teachers who had reached the first class retained the right to get the £88 maximum, but what about those teachers who were second of the first class, second class, and third class, who previously had a prospective right to the £88 maximum? The alteration in the rules robbed them of that right; and he was surprised that a legal gentleman with the training of the Solicitor-General should have endeavoured so seriously to mislead the House.

MR. JAMES CAMPBELL said that was a serious charge. On the occasion referred to the hon. Member asserted that all existing rights in all classes of teachers had been summarily interfered with. He then rose to correct that misrepresentation, and to say that the rights of the class he named had not been interfered with, and the hon. Member had to admit that he was right.

DR. MACNAMARA said his recollection was not the same as the Solicitor-General's, but he would not pursue the point. He was not now referring to any interruption, but to the body of the hon. and learned Gentleman's speech where he said the rules did not deprive existing teachers of any right whatever. They did, and the Solicitor-General knew it. It was true that they did not take away any right from a teacher who was then first in the first class, but they did take away the prospective right to the £88 maximum from teachers who had a reasonable expectation of arriving at that stage.

But this was not merely a question of salaries or pensions. The whole treatment of Irish teachers was absolutely wrong, and willing service, which was the only thing worth having, would never be obtained under such a system. Under the rules of the Commissioners, teachers were not allowed to go to fairs or to political meetings—although a few years ago Lord Londonderry made a violent political speech at a teachers' banquet, and if the teachers had acted according to the rules they would have repudiated the Lord President, in which case they would probably have been dismissed. Then they were expected to provide at their own expense prizes and treats for the pupils, and to make good wear and tear of buildings. With regard to school buildings—

> "The Commissioners expect that all teachers shall have done at their own expense the following, viz.:—Lime-washing, cleaning and

repairing glass; cleaning privies and ash-pits; gravelling yards and walks, and keeping surface channels in order; sweeping chimneys; making good any damage arising from carelessness or neglect; maintaining fences and gates, except damages from lapse of time; and, in cases of residences built by grants for teachers of national schools vested in the Board of National Education or in trustees, the Commissioners will inflict such penalty as they may deem adequate if the teacher fails to fulfil these conditions."

In fact, on nearly every page of these rules there appeared the words—

> "The Commissioners will inflict such penalties as they may deem adequate."

One alteration he was very glad to see. In the old edition of the rule it was provided that—

> "The national teachers shall be persons of Christian sentiment, of calm temper and discretion, and imbued with a spirit of peace; they must show obedience to the law and loyalty to their Sovereign."

What distressed him was that this rule had now completely disappeared, with the exception of the words, "they must show obedience to the law and loyalty to their Sovereign." Therefore they did not now need to be persons of Christian sentiment, calm temper, or discretion, for all that had gone, and he did not wonder at it. No doubt the Chief Secretary said to himself, "It cannot be done at the price." He hoped that the Chief Secretary, who could bring to bear upon this question real practical experience as to what was being done for the English, Scotch, and Welsh child, would contrast that experience with what was being done for the Irish child.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.) congratulated the hon. Member for North Camberwell upon his speech. Of the eight speakers who had addressed the House upon this question not one of them had said a good word for the system under which the school teachers of Ireland were maintained by the Government, and they all united in one common chorus of condemnation of the system. The present system was making the life of the Irish school teacher intolerable. He really believed that the Government were afraid to intellectually equip the Irish people. The teaching of the Irish language was discouraged in order to lessen the enthusiasm of the people for it. The whole system of education embodied in the rules was calculated to depress and degrade the teaching class, destroy individuality, disturb independence, and to work detrimentally to the education and culture of the children. There were many illiterates in his constituency, but they had been rendered illiterate by the English Government, who were afraid of cultivating their intellects, and he would sooner represent them than the selfishness of Trinity College. Did the Chief Secretary realise his position? Three months ago he knew nothing about Irish education, and what he knew now was only in consequence of the "coaching" he had received from Irish officials. The right hon. Gentleman was simply the mouthpiece of a system which kept Irish education depressed and which degraded Irish teachers. The Chief Secretary appeared before them as the most discredited member of a discredited Government. [MINISTERIAL cries of "No, no!"] It was against him upon an Irish subject that the Government were defeated. The policy pursued by the Government was a fraud upon all Parliamentary institutions.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.) said the hon. Member for North Camberwell had shown how the Irish teacher had been treated in regard to his salary. The National Board did not appear alive to the danger the teachers of Ireland would undergo if these new rules were brought into effect. Did the Treasury intend to effect some economy by this new rule? At the present time he was more concerned with the question of the teachers' salaries, and he thought it due to the House and the country that the action of the Treasury should be made clear. Only that day a Paper had been circulated by the Treasury asking the House of Commons to vote £100,000 more for higher education in England. With regard to the teaching of the Irish language it had already been pointed out that the training colleges of Ireland offered no facilities for the training of teachers in one of the most important educational movements now going on in Ireland, namely, the teaching of the Irish language. The Irish people, out of their own funds, had elected to provide what ought to be provided by the national training colleges. Two voluntary training colleges had been started which were attended by sixty or seventy teachers from the national schools, so that under the present system Irish teachers were obliged to go to voluntary institutions to obtain facilities for learning the language of their own country. He asked the Chief Secretary to secure for the national teachers attending those schools the right to stay for the whole six weeks course without having to provide a substitute at their own expense.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.) sympathised with a great deal that had been said by Nationalist Members as to the deplorable state of education in Ireland. The most valuable asset of any nation was the brains of its people, and he believed that in intelligence the Irish nation came short of no nation in the world. All they wanted, in order to keep their place in the race that all the nations were engaged in, was fair play, and the national system of education as it now existed did not give fair play to the Irish people. The teachers ought to be given the independence which they asked for and better pay, and it would be the cheapest money ever spent in the country.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.) said it was quite unnecessary for one or two hon. Gentlemen opposite to suggest as they did, that he had taken no interest in the work of Irish education. He desired to say in his own defence that there was no subject in which he took a deeper interest and no work which would be more congenial to him and in which he should be so glad to labour successfully than that of the improvement of the general system of education in Ireland. But the question was extremely difficult and complicated—one of the most difficult they could be called upon to consider. It was, therefore, unnecessary to make it worse by personal charges and statements about the Minister who happened at the moment to be responsible.

He thought the first conviction forced on the mind of anybody who had listened to the debate had been that, whilst everybody had been prepared to criticise the National Board and to find fault with the system of national education in Ireland, there had been very few practical suggestions of remedy. The suggestions that had been made had invariably encountered very vigorous opposition in other parts of the House. In the earlier stages of the debate he heard that there was a feeling in support of some system of local control; and the right hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh had dealt with the question of absolute power of managers over their teachers. He thought anybody who had looked even superficially at the question would realise that an attempt to alter that part of the national education in Ireland would be to provoke very wide and deep-seated controversy and would be very unlikely to be successful. Changes which involved such controversy as to be at present impossible, could hardly be regarded as practicable, or, if adopted, as likely to effect the desired reform. As far as he was concerned, the greater part of the indictment delivered that day was concerned with that period of the educational year during which he had no direct knowledge of what was going on; but he was bound to say that he had found no indication in the numerous conversations he had had with the Resident Commissioner and other members of the National Board to support the charge that the Board had proceeded with disregard for Irish education, and with a desire to scamp and to starve it. On the contrary, though their methods might not have met with the results they all desired, it was owing very largely, he thought, to the difficulties with which they had to deal rather than with weakness or bad policy on their part.

There had been a variety of charges made against the National Board, but they had chiefly centred round four great questions, viz., the teachers and their salaries, the building and improvement of schools, Rule 127 (b), and the development grant. With regard to the question of the salaries of teachers, the figures he had been supplied with practically agreed with those of the hon. Member for Camberwell, who, however, ought to have remembered that the salaries had to some extent to be measured by the numbers the teachers had to teach. The average salary of a headmaster in Ireland was about £100, in Scotland £178, and in England £159, but in Ireland these teachers were only called upon to teach fifty-five children, whereas in Scotland they were called upon to teach, on the average, 200, and in England, on the average, 250. He was not saying that the salaries were sufficient, because he was one of those who had always believed that the labourer was worthy of his hire, and if they wanted to get good men they must pay them sufficient salaries. But, in this branch of their work the National Board was justified, when a comparison was made in favour of Scotland and England, in taking into account the numbers that the teachers were called upon to teach. This difference in the comparison must be an element in considering what the salaries should be.

As to the position of the teachers and the effect of the change on their pensions, he stated that the effect of the change brought into force in 1900, by which payment by results was abolished and a fixed scale of salaries substituted, had been confused with the ultimate effects of the application of Rule 127 (b) and the consequent alteration in teaching.

MR. DILLON: No, no!

MR. WALTER LONG said that there had been some confusion, and so far as he was informed, he believed that in all probability no teacher now in the service of the Board would suffer under the existing regulations.

MR. DILLON: You are speaking now of the change from payment by results to graded salaries. I challenge that; and I gave cases in which they do suffer.

MR. WALTER LONG said that there might be some cases where it was impossible to prevent some hardship, but he believed that as a general rule there would be no such hardship. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman was confusing the issue with promotion. That was a different question.

MR. DILLON: Will no teacher suffer in regard to pension rights?

MR. WALTER LONG said that the National Board were now in communication with the Treasury, making suggestions towards the preservation of the pension rights of the teachers. Many of the allegations made against the Treasury by the hon. Member for Louth were unfounded. The hon. Member had said that because the Department was in negotiation with the Treasury on the pension question it was bound to be swindled.

*MR. T. M. HEALY: Hear, hear!

MR. WALTER LONG: That was not a correct phrase to apply to the Treasury in the exercise of its rights as guardian of the public purse. At all events, he could show that in one material respect the Treasury had not behaved as the hon. Member suggested, but that it had met claims fairly and squarely.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.): Do I understand that no existing teacher will suffer from the operation of Rule 127 (b).

MR. WALTER LONG said that he was speaking of salaries. But reference had been made to the Departmental Committee which sat in 1902 on the question of school buildings. The grants from the Imperial Exchequer for building purposes in England had long ago ceased, and the Treasury proposed, several years back, to give £100,000 towards school buildings in Ireland. The Department had approached the Treasury on that subject and, so far from desiring to swindle the Irish Government, it had made an increased grant of £140,000, while the Irish Government had met that proposal by a supplemental grant out of the development grant to the extent of £70,000.

MR. DILLON: Is that to take the place of the annual grant?

MR. WALTER LONG said that the Treasury had given the grant to run for a certain period of years.

MR. DILLON: Is it additional to the annual grants given for many years?

COLONEL NOLAN: Is it to be a free gift or is it money advanced by way of loan?

MR. WALTER LONG said that the contribution was made by the Treasury in aid of school buildings in Ireland to run during a period of years, and the money would be available for the purpose of building new schools and rebuilding and improving existing buildings.

MR. DILLON said they ought to be clear on the subject. This Committee on the building question sat three years ago. In the Report of the Commissioners complaint was made that they could get no information as to what the result of the inquiry had been. The Irish Members wanted to know what the proposal of the Chief Secretary was. Were they to understand that this grant was a final grant or a grant to take the place of the regular annual grant which used to be given towards the building of Irish schools? Were the Government now going to offer this grant as a substitute for the old grant and to throw over a large portion of the charge on the development grant? If that was true then a more grotesque and outrageous swindle had never been perpetrated.

MR. WALTER LONG said that if the Exchequer made a contribution to the Irish schools in respect of buildings which it did not give to the schools in the United Kingdom, surely hon. Members were not justified in preferring a charge of swindling when in reality an effort was being made to help. He appealed to the Committee to say what chance anyone had to give satisfaction when money was applied to Irish educational purposes and hon. Members turned round and denounced the Government. It was hopelessly unreasonable.

MR. DILLON: The right hon. Gentleman has not yet answered my Question. Is this an additional new grant or is it by way of substitution for the old annual grant?

MR. WALTER LONG: It is a substituted grant, certainly, for this particular purpose of buildings

MR. DILLON: It is a gross and outrageous statement.

MR. WALTER LONG: The position is this: there has heretofore been an annual grant of varying amount. That grant will be continued until the expenditure of £140,000 plus £70,000 has been reached.

MR. DILLON: But is the £30,000 annual grant to be continued and the £110,000 to be added to it?

MR. WALTER LONG: To the extent I have stated. He was glad to find that this was only a misunderstanding. He might at this stage deal with another point of finance raised by the hon. Member for South Belfast. He had asked the other day whether the grant of £28,000 was included in the £50,000. That was not so.

Passing from this point he declared that no representations had been made to him that the teachers in Ireland had suffered in the way described by hon. Gentlemen opposite—that they were being driven out of the profession and that they were not getting the right class of applicant. But there was no doubt that there had been distinct discouragement felt amongst them. He thought, however, that that was not due so much to the amount of salary paid as to the slowness of promotion. The National Board were in communication with the Treasury trying to evolve a system under which that difficulty of promotion would be lessened. He had dealt with the question of buildings, and he did not hesitate to say that no money could be better spent or was more seriously needed than that which it was proposed to spend upon the improvement of school buildings. Several other suggestions had been made in regard to buildings. The hon. and gallant Member for Galway suggested that the State should deal with the question fairly, and another suggestion was that some system should be devised by which children in widely scattered districts should be brought to school in conveyances so that they could arrive at school dry instead of in the unfortunate condition in which they now sometimes came. These were all practical suggestions of a minor character which would be considered by the National Board of Education for Ireland and by the Irish Government.

With regard to the adoption of Rule 127 (b) they had been told that that rule would never work but would have to be withdrawn for the reason that it would be impossible to work it. He could not help doubting that. He believed that when the reasons which led the National Board of Education to adopt the rule and the grounds on which it was based were known to hon. Gentlemen opposite they would be fully accepted by them. It was said that this rule was introduced in the interests of the Treasury and was prompted by motives of economy and not for the betterment of education.

MR. DILLON: The Treasury said so.

MR. WALTER LONG said he did not think the hon. Gentleman could prove that by anything which had been said by the Treasury or by the National Board of Education. It was historically impossible also, because the Treasury letter upon which so much reliance was placed for the contention that this rule had its origin in the Treasury did not come until several months after the National Board had adopted the rule. So there was no justification whatever for the charge that this rule had its origin in motives of economy. As hon. Gentlemen opposite would see from Mr. Dale's Report, one of the greatest difficulties in connection with Irish education was the number of small schools. The Report pointed out that the proportion of small schools to the whole number was much larger in Ireland than elsewhere, and, whether the question was looked at from the point of view of the efficiency of the teaching class or the teaching of the children, the multiplication of these small schools must be detrimental to the best interests of education. Rule 127 (b) might be unpopular, but whatever its merits or demerits might be, it was not founded on economic grounds, but on the ground that it would tend to the general improvement of education. After all, what did it do? He would take the case of two schools where there were thirty or forty children. If those two schools were amalgamated they would get instead of a single teacher in each school a principal teacher and an assistant, and they would be able to divide the teaching between the two. Surely such an arrangement would appeal to common sense. By dividing the children in that way they were more likely to give them a permanently beneficial education than in adhering to a system which entailed the multiplication of schools under the single teacher *régime*. He did not venture to lay down whether this new rule would be wise or unwise, but he thought it would be agreed that the Irish National Board had behind them a great mass of evidence in justification for the course which they were taking. It was almost universally acknowledged that the multiplication of small schools must tend to deteriorate the character of education. All experience showed that where a teacher had to deal with a school of all ages the work was more laborious; it dissipated the energy of the teacher, and in all probability the result was far less satisfactory. Having that experience, and having the Report of Mr. Dale before them, the National Board had no possible course open to them but to adopt some rule of this kind.

MR. CLANCY: Does the right hon. Gentleman say that no existing teacher will suffer from the operation of Rule 127 (b)?

MR. WALTER LONG replied that certainly in the great majority of cases there would be no injury to existing teachers, because where they had at present two teachers in two small schools one would become a principal and the other an assistant. But while the new principal had opened to him a higher grade and became the recipient of a better salary with a much higher maximum, the assistant would retain her existing salary and therefore would suffer no loss.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR (Kildare, N.) recalled the Chief Secretary's attention to a promise which the right hon. Gentleman made before Whitsuntide that he would consult the managers and even the

Bishops upon the effect of the rule, and that he would take care that no teacher suffered by the operation of this rule. Had he modified that position or not?

Mr. WALTER LONG did not think the hon. Gentleman had correctly reported him.

Mr. JOHN O'CONNOR: I am absolutely correct according to my memory.

Mr. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): I heard the statement made.

Mr. WALTER LONG said that what he did say was that all he could do in the matter was to communicate with the National Board of Education and take care that the matter was fully considered. In addition to that he had discussed the matter certainly with one Bishop and with other representative men who were good enough to come and see him on the subject. He had represented to the National Board—and he believed they fully accepted the view he had put forward—that while in their judgment the adoption of the rule was essential for the improvement of the general system of national education, they should do their utmost so to apply it that no injustice should be done to any teacher either now or in the future. That, he thought, was all that could reasonably be asked of the National Board or of the Irish Government, since it was obviously very difficult to introduce a system abolishing that now in existence without running the risk of injuring in some way a person here or there. He could only repeat that he would take advantage of any opportunity of discussing the questions with the representative gentlemen to whom the hon. Member had referred, and he had no doubt the National Board would do the same.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL asked whether a principal teacher who under this rule was made an assistant would get the pension of a principal or of an assistant.

Mr. WALTER LONG said he would have to look into that point as it raised the whole question of pensions, which was not yet finally settled.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL asked whether, before a final decision was come to, the House would have an opportunity of discussing the matter.

Mr. WALTER LONG said he could not promise that. Then he had been asked why the development grant should not be applied to educational purposes. The purposes to which it was now applied were approved by all the parties concerned. It was an agreed policy at the time [Cries of "No, no!"], and if it was to be altered now it would involve much consideration, and to ask that it should be devoted solely to educational purposes was making a very large demand.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: It was nothing of the kind. It was not agreed.

Mr. WALTER LONG said there was a general agreement between the two sides of the House at the time [Cries of "No, no!"].

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: There was no decision between the two sides at all. The Liberal Party took absolutely no part in the discussion.

Mr. WALTER LONG said he was afraid that the information of the hon. and learned Member was not strictly accurate in respect to the two great Parties in the House, though it was no doubt true that the Irish Party did not agree. Many demands were now being made upon the development grant by Irish Members, who expected that the money would be spent upon local works in their own districts. [Nationalist cries of "No, no!" and "Name."] They certainly did come to him and ask for this money and they expected to get it. He was not, therefore, describing them unfairly when he said that many of the Irish Members looked upon this money as a fund to be used for the development of local industries, and if the change was to be made it would involve a reconsideration of the whole financial system.

Mr. DILLON: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Irish Party have passed a resolution calling upon the Government to devote all the balance of the development grant to Irish education?

MR. WALTER LONG: Yes, but I am aware that a great many Members of the Irish Party have come to me and assured me the development grant ought to be spent on industries in their districts.

MR. DILLON: Of course if the Government refuses to spend it on education, Members will ask you to spend it in their districts rather than that it should be hung up.

MR. WALTER LONG: I will not wrangle about it. The development grant has been used largely for purposes of development, and it is impossible to change the system at this moment, unless the educational finances can be so re-arranged as to fill up the gap by providing money for the development of industries from other sources.

MR. DILLON: What about the teaching of Irish?

MR. WALTER LONG said the National Board had decided, not merely with regard to Irish but all extra subjects, that they were prepared to abolish these fees, provided the money was given to other educational purposes, such as manual instruction. The money was not withdrawn by the Treasury, but it was a suggestion of the National Board that if this money, amounting to £14,000, could be made applicable to other purposes the extra fees should be abolished.

MR. DILLON claimed the right to reply to the extraordinary and unsatisfactory speech of the Chief Secretary. He understood that it was the intention of the National Board to reverse the policy which they had adopted with the approval of the Resident Commissioner and with the consent of the great majority of the Irish people of making a grant of 10s. for the teaching of Irish. The extra grant was to be withdrawn and the teaching of Irish practically abolished in the national schools. He had never heard a more absurd or idiotic proposal. He was commissioned by the Gaelic League, which had exercised a most beneficent influence upon Irish education, to protest against the insufficiency of the encouragement given to the teaching of the Irish language, and the answer to that protest was an announcement that the small amount of encouragement which they had succeeded in wringing from the National Board was to be swept away. He told the Government they could not do it. If they attempted to do it they would bring the whole Board about the ears of the Government in a very short time. He defied the Chief Secretary. By Rule 127 (b) and by other steps taken by this misguided and unrepresentative and irresponsible Board they had produced confusion in Irish education, and if this further retrograde step was taken the whole system would fall into ruin, because the whole population would rise in rebellion against the Board and the stupid English Minister who did not understand the wishes and wants of the Irish people. [NATIONALIST cheers.] He warned the House that they little knew what they were doing in supporting a Minister who had been defeated and discredited in the course of a very brief administration. [MINISTERIAL cries of "No" and "Divide."] They would not divide. The Chief Secretary had practically admitted the whole indictment brought against the regulations of 1900 in so far as they affected the salaries and prospects of the teachers, but he had not said anything as to the intentions of the Government to deal with the matter. If nothing were done they would be left in the position indicated by Cardinal Logue. Nobody would become a national teacher except the man who was intellectually unfitted for any other occupation.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

SUPPLY [16TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. GRANT LAWSON (Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1905-6.

CLASS III.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum not exceeding £32,416, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland."

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.) said that he recognised to the full the limitations under which he laboured in rising to move a reduction of this Vote, because it was merely a continuation of the farce to which his hon. and learned friend referred yesterday. It was a farce to move a reduction of an Estimate and find when the Motion was carried that either the Minister who represented the distinctive Office or the Government itself persisted in deriding the decision of that House. However, he supposed that so long as Irish representatives were in that House and compelled to take part in its deliberations they would have to obey its ordinary rules. This was the first time that a discussion had been taken upon this Vote for three years. No doubt there were good reasons for not discussing the charges for the Irish Law Officers, but whatever those reasons might be the Irish Parliamentary Party had nothing but the most complete and profound contempt for the legal administration of the hon. and learned Gentlemen opposite. No matter how irresistible might be the case which Irishmen put against that administration or how powerful might be their exposition of it, the Ministers opposite, who seemed to have lost all sense of decency, much less dignity, would, if defeated upon it, come to the House and say that its vote counted for nothing in the Constitution of the Empire, and that the Minister, who sat on the Treasury Bench, and who by so doing had been guilty of an outrage against all the canons of decency would continue in office. The Chief Secretary had not yet declared what his intention was with regard to the office he held; he had not stated whether he was prepared to resign his office and give up his seals. Members of the Opposition were naturally irritated and indignant when they found that the Government did not resign when beaten in a division by a majority of the House, and by continuing in office were violating a great constitutional principle. But what was to be said of the individual Minister, the mouthpiece of the Irish Government, whose policy was the one condemned, who still sat on the Treasury Bench and was determined to remain there? The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had justified his retention of power by saying that it was necessary that he should continue in the interests of the Empire, but the Chief Secretary surely would never say that his retention of office was necessary for the government of Ireland.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Gentleman must come a little nearer to the Vote.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN said he was coming perfectly near to the point, not that he felt that he ought to obey the rules of the House, because he was of an entirely opposite opinion if he were to follow the lead of the Prime Minister, but because of his respect for the Chairman he would endeavour to follow the advice tendered. He thought this was the time when the Committee should have some explanation from the Chief Secretary as to why he clung like a leech to office and declined to submit to the decision of the Committee, which denounced his policy, and resign. They did not expect honour or dignity or anything beyond an ignoble clinging to office by right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench; least of all did they expect it from the hungry gang of lawyers who had fattened and battened on the impoverishment of the people of Ireland, and who were at the end of their wretched existence prepared to pile scandal upon scandal upon their administration of justice, a word which had only to be mentioned in Ireland to be despised.

The Attorney-General for Ireland received a salary of £5,000 a year and the Solicitor-General £2,000, in addition to which each of those Gentlemen last year received £500. What had been their administrative legal functions during that period? The Attorney-General had been guilty of the treason of denouncing his colleague in the Administration. There was honour among thieves, but there was no honour among the Gentlemen who guided the fortunes and destinies of Ireland. Sir Antony MacDonnell was brought over to Ireland at the request of the late Chief Secretary, the principles upon which he consented to accept office being stated in documents in the possession of the Chief Secretary, and that legal luminary the Attorney-General for Ireland proceeded to denounce Sir Antony MacDonnell, the permanent Government official in Ireland, the honourable Gentleman's own colleague, a man called in specially to administer the law as well as the affairs of Dublin Castle, until loyalty had become a by-word in the Administration as it had been derided in the Cabinet from which had been driven the most honourable and loyal colleague the Administration of Ireland possessed. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney-General went down to his own constituency in North Tyrone and denounced Sir Antony MacDonnell, the man who was responsible for the Land Act which the hon. and learned Gentleman had now to administer. He was not there to defend Sir Antony MacDonnell or to denounce the hon. and learned Gentleman for his disloyalty to his colleagues, because they could not apply the ordinary moral code to this Government. The spirit of comradeship and honour did not exist among Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench. There could be nothing worse than a mean Government except the Irish members of that mean Government.

His main purpose in rising was to bring before the House the recent instances in Galway, in which the right hon. Gentleman had called into operation once more the operation of the Coercion Act, the suspension of which was to be the forerunner of the great policy of conciliation, the Land Act, which they accepted in that House and which the Irish people accepted in the hope that it would end for ever this seemingly insoluble coercion problem in that country. They believed that the policy of coercion would terminate. Honeyed words and soft phrases were used for the purpose of coaxing them. They believed that until the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dover was driven out of office. Then the Chief Secretary was brought into the position he now occupied and he went to Belfast and endeavoured to show that he was no mere weakling like the right hon. Member for Dover. He went to the city of Belfast under the ægis of Lord Londonderry, and preached impartial, fearless, and honest administration of the law. That meant the crushing of the weak in the interests of the strong. It meant the application of special powers to deride the Constitution of Ireland as it had been derided in the House of Commons. It meant placing as criminals in the dock people who had committed no crime. It meant, in other words, that for Ireland there was to be no law but the law of the policeman's baton and the prostitution of justice. He credited the right hon. Member for Dover with having retired like a man, although he was not defeated. But these Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench had been defeated in the House and still they clung to office, and at the very moment when they were carrying out infamous prosecutions of people who were longing to remain on the soil of their native land, so that their children might grow up to be respectable citizens.

What had been the policy pursued in Galway? Certain respectable men had been indicted and impeached. They were brought before a perjured and packed jury, and sentenced by a Judge, about whom the rules of order in the House prevented him speaking freely. When the rules and regulations were before the House the other night, the hon. and learned Member for Waterford asked how intimidation was to be proved. The Chief Secretary did not answer, but he (the hon. Member), had answered the Question. It was to be proved by getting up prosecutions at any price, and making it appear there was intimidation when there was none. That was exactly and precisely what had been done in the case he had mentioned. No doubt there were public meetings, but public meetings were not a crime in Ireland unless they were made a crime for the purposes of the Government policy. The whole thing was a gross and outrageous scandal. They might as well bring cattle before a jury of butchers as bring these honest respectable people of Galway who were contending for the true operation of the Land Act before the jury of graziers who tried them. These men were simply fighting for the proper operation of the Land Act, and simply asking the Government to do that which they had laid down as one of the principles of the Act, namely, that the untenanted grazing lands should be taken over and divided amongst the uneconomic holdings. He himself had never believed that the mere transference of the land from the landlord to the tenant was the crux of the land question. It was no doubt primarily important, but what was wanted in Ireland was not so much cheaper land as more land, that the people living in these wretched cabins and five-acre bog farms should be able to take advantage of the Act of 1903, for the purpose of enlarging their holdings. He was not a Member at the time, but he remembered reading with tears in his eyes of the manner in which the hon. Member for Dover and the Prime Minister pictured the misery of these people, great in virtue and strong in physical power, who could not live unless more land was given to them. Yet in Ireland they saw cattle grazing on vast tracts of untenanted land which were designed by God for the use of the people. These people had by the ordinary methods of agitation tried to get the Land Act properly administered and the old and hateful policy of coercion had once more been resurrected. The reinstatement of the evicted tenants to the holdings from which they had been evicted was part and parcel of the arrangement which had been entered into a few years ago.

Referring to the case of the ten men who had just been prosecuted at Galway Assizes for unlawful assembly, the hon. Member said it might have been expected that even the discredited instruments of a discredited Administration would have proceeded on the indictment placed before the Court. But they did not proceed on the question of unlawful assembly. What did the minions of the law do in that Coercion Court in the West of Ireland, where the land policy had impoverished the people and rendered them desolate? The prosecution proceeded to bring forward a threatening letter which the Judge allowed to be read in Court, although he stated that it would not be accepted as evidence. That threatening letter was not written by any member of the United Irish League. All this was in regard to an alleged attempt to intimidate a man called Richard Power Eyrecourt. That man was the occupier of grazing land on the eleven months system, and the people asked him to give up the land so that it might be divided among the persons on the estate. He stated that there was no intimidation, and in the whole course of the evidence there was nothing to show that he had been intimidated in any way. Notwithstanding that, the jury found a number of the accused guilty, and they received sentences ranging from nine months imprisonment with hard labour down to one month's imprisonment. That case had created a memory of wrong of which that House would hear, and of which the people of Ireland and America would hear, so long as the Irish representatives were able to protest against the system of packing juries and convicting men of crimes of which they had not been guilty. Why did not the Government move in the matter of obtaining the grazing lands for distribution among the people as was intended by the Land Act? The Government were not in favour of that policy. What they were in favour of was the bonus of £12,000,000, and if their friends could collar that money from rich estates in Ireland, the Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench did not care a snap of one's fingers for the poor people who had uneconomic holdings in the West of Ireland. He was told that the law must be upheld if the heavens should fall.

While all this maladministration of the Land Act had been going on, and while the peasants of Galway were being prosecuted for what were called breaches of the law by the Attorney-General, his colleague, the Solicitor-General, was preaching boycotting and intimidation in the Courts of Justice in the North of Ireland. He would recite to the House the circumstances of the case of Rose Sweeney, a school teacher in the county of Tyrone. In March last year she was appointed instructress in a school in that county. The appointment was made by the Rev. William Baillie, the Presbyterian manager of the school, and it created great hostility in the district—the kind of hostility for which he would be imprisoned if he were to practice it in Galway. The school had been closed up on account of the terrorism of three men, one of whom was William Coote, justice of the peace. The salary of Rose Sweeney was the munificent sum of £14 a year. She was not appointed to teach the catechism or theology; she was appointed to teach sewing and knitting. Not a word could be said against her character. After the appointment was made, Mr. Coote started a propaganda against this young girl which, he thought, was unparalleled in the history of personal persecution. On the following day four crosses were painted—two on the church and two on the school. He wanted to know what had been done to find out the perpetrators of that outrage. He knew that the Attorney-General knew nothing about it because, this being an Orange outrage, it was not to his interest to inquire into it, but the Solicitor-General would be able to tell the Committee all about it, and what had been his own part in the transaction. When the Rev. Mr. Baillie asked Mr. Coote what was meant by the crosses, the answer was, "You will soon know all about it. All Ulster is up in arms."

He did not propose to trouble the House with the threatening letters written by Mr. Coote. He wrote letters in which he called upon fathers and mothers not to send their children to the school. Twenty-three children were withdrawn from the school, and finally the girl lost her position altogether. The hon. Member reminded the House of the action taken in connection with the case of Miss Cass, who was the victim of wrongful arrest in London some years ago. On that occasion, he believed the policeman who arrested her for something or other had something to say for himself. But here was a case of an organised conspiracy against a young girl headed by a justice of the peace in the North of Ireland, and when this humble woman took action against him for this outrage he was defended by the Solicitor-General—the eminent upholder of law and order whose salary they were discussing that night. He could not in the time at his disposal get a file of the paper containing a report of the Solicitor-General's speech, but if he remembered aright the hon. and learned Gentleman distinctly declared that the people were perfectly justified in what they had done. He was not a lawyer. [A NATIONALIST MEMBER: Thank God for that.] He did not know what was the moral code that guided lawyers, but he was not aware that the etiquette of the Bar enabled a lawyer to preach intimidation in one Court and to denounce it in another. It might be all right to say that the hon. and learned Gentleman spoke according to his brief, but what were they to think in that House, and what were the people of Ireland to think, of the conduct of the Solicitor-General? He was not a hungry lawyer. He was not a lawyer accepting briefs in order to get a livelihood. He was comfortably squatted on the Treasury Bench with £2,500 a year. A grosser outrage could not be committed before the people of Ireland to whom the Government wished to teach lessons in law. They found that the Solicitor-General was engaged preaching boycotting and intimidation in Tyrone, while the Attorney-General was prosecuting peasants in Galway. The Solicitor-General had no right to take advantage of his great position and to go into a Court in the North of Ireland to defend a ruffian and then come to England and stand on platforms as the representative of law and order. The sooner this farce was ended the better. Thank God the time was coming when, after fifteen years of "resolute government" in Ireland, a brighter era would open for the people, and when it would be recognised that all men were equal before the law.

The House of Commons and the people of Ireland were waiting for an explanation of the legal scandal to which he had called attention. He wished to know why Mr. Coote was retained as a justice of the peace. This man was the legal adviser of Mr. Coote. Let the Chief Secretary tell them why it was stated in this House that the matter was to be taken to the Court of Appeal. This was not a matter for the Attorney-General, but for the Chief Secretary, and now that the right hon. Gentleman intended to cling to office they would cling to him until he gave an honest and straightforward Answer to the Question—What was to be done to this man? He did not believe in the application of coercion laws, but he wanted to know whether this man was still on the Bench, and whether the right hon. Gentleman intended to retain him there. If there was to be equal administration of the law in Ireland this man should be prosecuted, in the same way as Mr. Ball had been at Belfast, when that gentleman went up to preach and the windows of the Catholic church were broken. He begged to move the reduction of the Vote by £1,000.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £31,416, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Joseph Devlin.*)

Mr. FLYNN (Cork, N.) said he thought that the House would readily recognise that something more than a mere stereotyped reply was demanded from the Law Officers of the Crown in answer to the impeachment of his hon. friend the Member for Kilkenny. He trusted that that reply would not be clogged with figures as to jury-packing as in former years, and that the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General would defend their conduct in regard to the Galway prosecutions. His hon. friend had referred to the fact that it was three years since this Vote had been discussed on Irish Supply. That had never been from want of material, for time after time, and session after session, they had brought forward the sad tale of jury-packing, and always the same Answer had been given—that someone else did it years ago, and that the end justified the means. The rule in Ireland was the converse of an old legal phrase expressed by a great Judge: "Acquit if you can, convict if you must." The motto of the right hon. Gentleman was, "Convict if you can, acquit the prisoner only if you must." That had been going on all over the country. It had always been said that it was better that a guilty man should escape rather than an innocent man should be punished, but the opposite was the case in most parts of Ireland. There were fifty odd Connaught peasants imprisoned with hard labour for from one to nine months, who would never have been convicted but for the artifices of the Crown Law Officers in selecting the juries. That would not be done in any county in England, or in any shire in Scotland. In Ireland the Government had loaded the dice and revived the Coercion Act in order to pack the juries.

In Galway six men were charged with unlawful assembly, that was, with attending a political meeting at which speeches were made which the Attorney-General did not like. Twenty-two jurors were asked to stand by and ordered to attend the Court again on Monday. When a protest was made, the Judge said they must all come back on the Monday, and that if any remained away it would be on their own responsibility, and they would be liable to a fine. It followed, as night followed the day, that under such a system conviction followed prosecution. At the Cork Summer Assizes, at which Judge Kenny sat, the cases were not very important, but when a man named Calvert was charged with a slight offence, thirty-nine jurors were asked to stand aside, and of these thirty-six were Roman Catholics. The Attorney-General said he knew nothing about the men's religion, but everyone acquainted with the facts knew that the Crown Solicitor was informed by a Government agent that all these men were Roman Catholics. At the same assizes on another charge thirty-three jurors were ordered to stand aside. When a protest was made the Attorney-General ordered a report from the Crown Solicitor and afterwards declared that he entirely agreed with that report, and took the responsibility on himself. The Crown Solicitor said that he was unable to give any information as to the religion of the jurors, and that he had made no inquiry in that regard. If it were within the rules of order he would characterise the statement of the Crown Solicitor as a lie. Every man in the Court knew that the Crown Solicitor received information from his underlings as to the religion of the jurors. What were the grounds on which the Crown Solicitor said he acted? They were that in his belief, and in the belief of the other representatives of the Crown, these jurors would not abide by their oaths, and that they would not give a fair verdict. That was to brand in advance the greater part of the population of Ireland as perjurers. If the dice were loaded against the people in this manner, how could they expect law and order to be maintained?

He would connect this jury-packing with the abominable crime committed by Sergeant Sheridan. Dan McGowan was charged with the mutilating of cattle. Sixty Catholic jurors were ordered to stand aside. He was tried by a packed jury, and sentenced on the perjured evidence of Sergeant Sheridan to two years penal servitude. As the Attorney-General knew, McGowan was an absolutely guiltless man. When other things came out about Sergeant Sheridan the Crown compensated McGowan with £100, but Sheridan was allowed to escape, just as a policeman was kindly allowed to get away the other day by his district inspector. There was another case of a man who was tried for setting fire to hay, and was tried by a packed jury and sentenced to three years penal servitude. That man was also innocent, and died in prison, and his mother had since been compensated with 10s. per week. He had in his locker sheets and sheets of cases, but he would not delay the Committee by reciting them. He contended that it would be far more decent for the Attorney-General to get up at that Table and propose to abolish jury trial altogether, than to try the Irish people accused of offences having the slightest tinge of politics or agrarianism by this abominable system of jury-packing, which was a prostitution of justice and a disgrace to the country.

*MR. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S,) said that at the late Galway Assizes there were several cases of unlawful assembly, none of which were tried by the Crown by an ordinary jury. For the purpose of securing convictions the Crown put into operation certain sections of the Coercion Act by which they could summon for the trial of these poor Galway peasants a special jury. On this particular occasion a panel of 293 special jurors was summoned, mainly consisting of men differing in politics and religion from the accused, and most of whom were in occupation of lands which the right hon. Member for Dover had said it was the intention of the Land Act to divide up. In the first case, fourteen men were accused of interfering with a process-server in the discharge of his duty. Eight special jurors were ordered to stand by, the accused were found guilty, two were let out on their own recognisances, while the others were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment with hard labour. There was one law for the unlettered peasant of the West, and another for the well-do-do, fat grand master of an Orange lodge in county Tyrone. [Laughter.] The right hon. Gentleman opposite laughed, but he could not deny the fact that every statement made in connection with Mr. Coote's case was strictly accurate.

There was another case at the Galway Assizes when ten men were accused of unlawful assembly. Thirty-eight special jurors were ordered to stand by, these men were known to be either Nationalists or Liberals in politics, not one was a supporter of the Government; and it was because they were known to be out of sympathy with His Majesty's Government that they were ordered to stand by. The ten accused men were found guilty and sentenced to three months hard labour. A third case was where ten men were accused of unlawful and tumultuous assembly, and they were found guilty and sentenced to three months hard labour. That took him back to something which had occurred in this country four or five years ago when the hon. Member for Carnarvon went to Birmingham. On that occasion the hon. Member, in the exercise of his rights, made a speech on the Boer War, when the Birmingham mob created a riot, and not only were the police attacked but many were injured. If ever there was a case of unlawful assembly it was on that occasion. One man lost his life, and ninety policemen were injured. Was there any prosecution, or was any special Act of Parliament or special law put into operation to try the rioters? Did the right hon. Gentleman opposite move to have the rioters tried by special jury? Nothing of the kind; and the reason was that the mob was acting in the supposed interest of the Government. Coming back to Galway, it was because these poor peasants were acting in their own interests that they were tried and condemned. It was because there was one law for the opponents of the Government, and another law for those who were acting in the interest of the Prime Minister and his Government.

There was a fourth case at the Galway Assizes, where four men were accused of conspiracy and twenty-eight jurors were ordered to stand aside, but the jury disagreed. He wished to direct attention to what was said by a juror when he was ordered to stand aside. This juror was a particular friend of his own, was known to every hon. Member for Connaught, was vice-chairman of the Galway County Council, and a member of several public boards in his own county and different parts of his province. His name was John C. McDonnell. When he was ordered to stand by he protested that it was not only ridiculous and absurd, but an outrage to himself to have him summoned to attend for eight days during the continuance of the assizes when he knew, and everybody knew, that he would be ordered to stand by. The learned Judge said he had no power to relieve him. Why did the Crown order him to stand by? He was vice-chairman of the Galway County Council, a member of almost every public board in the province of Connaught. Was there any man in the House, in Connaught, or in any part of Ireland who knew John C. McDonnell by character, who would get up and allege that he was a man who would refuse on the evidence to bring in an honest and true verdict against the accused? Not a man would attempt to do so. He was ordered to stand by because of the well-known fact that he was a Nationalist and opposed in politics to His Majesty's Government.

There were six cases of unlawful assembly, and forty-six jurors were ordered to stand by. Apparently as the Crown got on, reliable men became fewer, and, as the panel of 293 became exhausted, they were obliged to order a larger number to stand by. There was another reason why the number was increased. The evidence was not strong, and the Crown was doubtful of their case. Therefore, they required a jury of more than an ordinary tint. Curious to relate, the jury disagreed. The charge was intimidation. They had often said in that House that the road to the Bench was not merit; it depended whether one was a Crown Prosecutor or not. He hoped the Attorney-General would tell them how many Judges were never Party or political hacks, how many were never politicians, and how many got on the Bench from sheer merit and ability. Of course, they all knew he could not mention a single man who had not got on the Bench for other than political service. There was the notorious case of the late Mr. McDermott, the acknowledged leader of the Irish Bar. No man got the same sum endorsed on his brief as he did, and yet he died, as he lived, a loyal member of the Bar. He had no more chance of getting on the Bench than any man who knew no law at all. Leahy and his wife both swore that they were not intimidated. His grass land had been bought by the Estates Commissioners for distribution among the smaller tenants in the neighbourhood. That was a notorious fact, well known to the local branch of the United Irish League. It would, therefore, have been ridiculous for that League to have tried to intimidate Leahy to do what he had already done. When Leahy and his wife were giving evidence, they were cross-examined by the Judge more severely than by the Crown Prosecutor. That showed how the Judge stood impartially between the Crown and the accused, and how the law was impartially carried out.

In the sixth case, Costello, secretary of a local branch of the league, was charged with inditing a letter to a person who had land on the eleven months system urging him to give it up. There were twenty-two ordered to stand by. He was found guilty and sentenced to one month's hard labour. Every man, no matter whether he was the chairman or a member of the county council, whether he was the chairman or member of a district council, got hard labour, because, under a special provision of the Local Government Act, he was thus disqualified from acting in any public body in the county for, he thought, five years. It was because Michael Hobbs, one of the accused, was the chairman of a district council that the Judge gave him hard labour. He would not say he was prompted to do that by the two right hon. Gentlemen opposite; but there were ways of intimating to learned Judges what the opinion of His Majesty's Government was. In the case of Michael Keane, the local secretary of the United Irish League, the accused was indicted for writing a letter requesting a person to give up land. About thirty-four were ordered to stand by, and he was found guilty and sentenced to one month's imprisonment. He wished to draw attention to the Banbridge stabbing case. A body of Orangemen, having got into some row with a number of Catholics, stabbed a Catholic. The man was very nearly losing his life. His hon. friend the Member for South Down asked a Question in connection with the matter. He asked if, when the Orangemen were brought before the assizes, any of the jurors would be ordered to stand by. The answer of the Chief Secretary was "Certainly not."

MR. WALTER LONG said he did not recognise a word of what was attributed to him. If the hon. Gentleman were giving the Answer he made to a Question, he should be glad if he would quote his words.

*MR. KILBRIDE said his hon. friend informed him that the Answer he received was "Certainly not."

MR. WALTER LONG said that he had not got the Question and Answer by him, but he recollected being asked a Question with reference to this particular case, and he imagined, speaking from memory, his Answer would be in the negative. It was ridiculous to suppose that he would say no jurors would be challenged because he had no control in the matter. Therefore, to the best of his recollection no such Question was asked, and no such Answer given.

*MR. KILBRIDE said he did not want to put an Answer into the mouth of the right hon. Gentleman which he did not give. He was asked whether the same procedure would be adopted as in other parts of Ireland.

MR. WALTER LONG said he could not possibly have answered what the hon. Gentlemen said. As far as he remembered, the Question had absolutely no regard to special jurors. The hon. Gentleman himself knew it would have been quite impossible for him to have said that the jurors would not be challenged.

*MR. KILBRIDE said he accepted the Answer of the right hon. Gentleman, but would the House believe that the man was tried by an exclusively Protestant jury?

MR. GORDON (Londonderry, S.) rose to a point of order, but the hon. Member was inaudible.

*MR. KILBRIDE said he could have understood the hon. Member intervening on any date previous to the appointment of Mr. T. O'Shaughnessy as Recorder of the city of Dublin, and whose shoes he got, but now that he had got all that he was likely to get, he did not see what object he had in intervening If any of the right hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Treasury Bench would deny that that Orangeman was not tried by an exclusively Protestant jury, he would not only apologise to him but to the House for having made a false statement. Until they did so, he was not going to give way to the Crown Prosecutor of Belfast or to an inquisitive Englishman who knew nothing of Irish affairs.

What did the three right hon. Gentlemen hope to accomplish by these proceedings in Galway? How did they arise, and who was responsible for all the trouble in the West of Ireland? "Hope deferred makes the heart grow sick." The statements made by the Member for Dover two years ago were responsible for it. Over and over again he stated that the Land Act would get rid of the wretched and rotten condition of affairs in Connaught and that the people would be raised out of their slough of despond, and the peasants believed him. They believed they had a right to the grass lands and that legislation had conferred that right upon them. They believed they were acting within their rights and in conformity with the Land Act of 1903 in trying to bring pressure to bear upon land speculators who were in no sense farmers, but who were often either successful publicans or pawnbrokers. It had become a speculation, and amongst the graziers of the West of Ireland there was not one genuine resident farmer in any sense of the word. He had never believed that the residential farmer should be interfered with; God knew that there was enough land in the West of Ireland where there was no residential occupier, and if it were thought that by putting the Coercion Act into force the peasants of the West and those who believed in their moral right would be prevented from insisting upon the speculators being made to stand aside to allow the peasants to live on the land, the Government was mistaken.

Mr. DUFFY (Galway, S.) said it was impossible to imagine that the grave and serious scandals recently committed in the name of British law in the city of Galway, would be allowed to pass over without strong and bitter comment. The Chief Secretary might, and he had no doubt would, say that the Irish Government was administering the existing laws according to the usual practice. Even so, it was a proceeding so base and discreditable as to render it almost impossible to conceive that a scandal of such magnitude was possible at this time of the day in any part of the King's realms. Fair and impartial administration of the laws in Ireland won respect and even confidence amongst those who most distrusted it, but the mean, contemptible, and degrading spectacle of jury-packing which Thomas A. Loeky and the paid hirelings of Dublin Castle practised in Galway, excited no feeling other than that of contempt and derision and a desire to make ribbons of the law. In view of what took place in Galway last week, how could they expect anyone to have the slightest respect for the law? They saw that most respectable and honourable men from all parts of the county, district and urban councillors, county councillors, and even magistrates of the county, who had been summoned from all parts to serve on the long panel, told to "stand aside"—that they were unfit to take the oath and deliver a true verdict according to the evidence submitted to them. The Crown exercised the arbitrary and unlimited right of challenge, in some cases humiliating from thirty to forty jurors by directing them to "stand aside," and it only ceased this almost incredible and disgraceful practice when twelve bigoted, prejudiced, and hostile jurors had been placed in the box to try the prisoners. What cant and hypocrisy it was for some hon. Gentlemen in that House, and well-paid hirelings out of it, to accuse them of having no respect for the law. Such law and the way it was administered stank in their nostrils, and anything and everything they could do, both in that House, as well as at home in Ireland, to bring it into contempt and loathing would be done.

As to the "crimes" or offences with which those young men were charged, let the House just listen for a moment to the henious criminal offences which some of them were alleged to have committed. All the cases were practically the same, the object aimed at was identical, namely, to bring into possession of the Irish Government blocks of grazing or untenanted lands for the purpose of dividing them among people anxious to stay at home and devote their undoubted physical and intellectual energies to building up the shattered and torn fortunes of their country. Surely an object so laudable and praiseworthy was not going to be stigmatised in that House as a criminal offence! And yet it was for that purpose that the Crown at Galway exercised its unlimited power of challenge, and packed jury after jury into the box for the purpose, not of trying the issues fairly and justly or of holding the scales of justice evenly and impartially as between the traversers and the Crown, but for the deliberate purpose of finding the prisoners guilty and thereby consigning them to gaol for varying terms of imprisonment. The Crown by this disgraceful strategy, by playing the game with loaded dice, had succeeded in sending large numbers of young men to break stones, to pick oakum, to stitch sacks, and live upon the frugal and appetising "skilly" and "shadow soup" of prison fare for comparatively long terms of imprisonment. He did not complain. The poor prisoners would be the first to resent his interference if he uttered one word which implied that they were sorry, or regretted, or would withdraw by one hair's-breadth from the position which they had taken up. He spoke from practical experience when he said that they felt far happier and more at home in prison than the officials, the graziers, and the landowners who were instrumental in sending them there.

What was the crime with which these men were charged? The Leitrim prisoners were charged with trying to bring about the sale of some farms belonging to Sir Henry Burke to the Estates Commissioners. A number of people living in the district had very small holdings, and the people pressed on the landlord and the Government the advisability of purchasing these lands in the interests of the smaller tenants around. For doing this the prisoners were charged with having committed a crime. The strangest part of the business was that whilst the Crown sought to establish a case against the prisoners for trying to bring this land into the market, another Government Department—the Estates Commissioners—should have been placed in the dock also. If it was criminal for these young men to make certain representations to the landlord and the Government to buy up these untenanted lands for the people, under what head would they place the offence committed by the Estates Commissioners, who, yielding to the wishes of the people, actually purchased those lands, and now had them in their possession to carry out later on the beneficent intentions of the Act of 1903. Yet such was the law, and the administration of the law, in Ireland, that these young Leitrim peasants were sought to be branded as criminals for daring to ask for that which the Government subsequently were obliged to give effect to? If the whole thing was not so serious for the prisoners it might be considered fit matter for a comic opera. The action of the Government in acquiring the lands and then prosecuting the men who helped to make the deal possible was ludicrous and absurd in the extreme. What the Government expected to get out of the proceedings he failed to see. Were they foolish enough to think that the imprisonment of fifty or sixty men in Galway would frighten and terrify the rest of the population into an acquiescence in the existing order of things? That would certainly not be the result. He would tell the right hon. Gentleman what would take place. Every man in Galway outside of some graziers, and storeen shopkeepers, and creatures who liked to hang on to the coat-tails of officialdom, would stand up manfully beside the prisoners, would take up the struggle for the land where they had left it, and, in spite of everything the Government could do to the contrary, with coercion, jury-packing, and imprisonment, would carry it on till success crowned their efforts.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.) said that the greater part of the speech of the hon. Gentleman who moved the Motion was an offensive and scurrilous tirade. [NATIONALIST cries of "Withdraw."]

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL called the attention of the Chairman to the fact that it had been ruled on previous occasions that the word "scurrilous" was not a Parliamentary expression.

THE CHAIRMAN said that if that were so the expression was not in order.

MR. ATKINSON: If it is against the rules of the House I withdraw.

MR. CHURCHILL (Oldham): What does the right hon. Gentleman mean by saying that he withdraws if it is against the rules of the House? Is that a proper withdrawal?

THE CHAIRMAN: The right hon. Gentleman withdraws it because it is against the rules of the House, as I pointed out.

MR. CHURCHILL: Do I understand that the Attorney-General explicitly and specifically withdraws?

MR. ATKINSON said he had withdrawn the expression. He did not know what was the proper adjective by which to describe the language used. The hon. Gentleman called the Judge a perjured Judge and the jury a perjured jury.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN said he did not call the jury perjured; he said they were packed.

MR. CHURCHILL submitted as a point of order that, inasmuch as all reflections on a Judge were out of order in that House, if the hon. Gentleman had made reflections of an improper or un-Parliamentary character on a Judge he would have been called to order by the Chair. Therefore the Attorney-General had no right to cite such expressions as an excuse for grossly offensive and un-Parliamentary language.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member did use such an expression, but I did not know he was referring to a Judge of the High Court. It was my mistake. I am perfectly certain that if I had then stopped him the hon. Member would have withdrawn the expression.

MR. CHURCHILL: But I do not understand that you rule the expression "scurrilous" as used by the Attorney-General to be a Parliamentary expression?

THE CHAIRMAN: No; and the right hon. Gentleman has withdrawn it.

MR. ATKINSON said that such charges when made without proof and repeated without proof were less discreditable to the men against whom they were made than to the men who made them. He would therefore pass by language of that character, as further reference would only dignify it.

The hon. Member had referred to two matters of a personal character with which perhaps he ought to deal. The first was as to his fees. It was true the Estimate was for £500, but they did not amount to that.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN said he had not mentioned £500, nor did he know what it was for.

MR. ATKINSON said that the other matter was with reference to a speech which he delivered to his constituents. At that time he did not know that Sir Antony MacDonnell had had anything whatever to do with the Dunraven scheme. He criticised that scheme as severely as he was able, as he considered it was futile and absurd in itself, and a base betrayal of the Unionist cause. To that view he adhered, and he was glad to have had the opportunity of so describing the scheme.

Passing to the other questions which had been raised, he understood the accusations to be that they had had prosecutions in Galway that ought not to have been held, and that the methods adopted were improper and unjust. He would not refer to the Sheridan case further than to say that he thought the hon. Member who opened the discussion had really taken some of the wardrobe of the hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool, who, he thought, had a special property in that incident and had already trotted it out before the House three or four times.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): It is not my special incident; it is the special guilt of the right hon. Gentleman, and he will hear of it again.

MR. ATKINSON said that he had dealt with the matter before, and that would be his reason for not dealing with it again. The hon. Member for Kildare and the hon. Member who had last spoken each let drop a significant remark. They said that the people of the country thought this land belonged to them, and that they ought to get it. He did not know who had put that idea into the minds of the people. It was the policy of the Government to give facilities for acquiring untenanted land and dividing it among the people to enlarge uneconomic holdings, but no Government could permit the acquisition of this land even for a good purpose by criminal methods. They could no more justify the exercise of intimidation to procure that land for laudable objects than the murder of a miser to divide his property for the relief of distress. Those who had urged the people to that action had much to answer for. Everybody knew there was the most anxious desire on the part of the Government to work the Land Act. [NATIONALIST cries of "Not at all."]

MR. DILLON: It is absolutely untrue.

MR. ATKINSON said he would not stop to argue whether crimes had been committed, though he thought he could prove that many of the cases came within the criminal law. But the cases had been tried by a Judge and a jury, and that House was not a suitable tribunal for retrying those cases. Two of the cases were still pending, and it would be unbecoming in him to discuss the merits or demerits of those cases. The Government were accused in the first place of getting a special jury. Why should it be iniquitous to get a special jury?

MR. DILLON: Under the Crimes Act.

MR. ATKINSON said a litigant in a civil action could get a special jury if he desired it, and even in a case of misdemeanour the defendant could get a special jury under the old practice. Did the fact that it was asked for under the Crimes Act make it iniquitous?

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Certainly, because you get it as a right under the Crimes Act.

MR. ATKINSON said a litigant could get it as a right in a civil case.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: We are speaking of criminal cases.

THE CHAIRMAN: I hope the right hon. Gentleman will be allowed to proceed without interruption.

MR. ATKINSON said it was open to either party, and not merely to the Attorney-General, to come in under Section 3 of the Crimes Act and get a special jury. He understood, however, that the process of trying by special jury was vitiated and contaminated by the fact that it was asked for under the Crimes Act. He did not think that was a rational argument.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: The Judge cannot refuse to give it to you.

MR. ATKINSON: And the getting of a special jury did not seem to be a very tyrannical or unjust thing.

MR. DILLON: It is both.

MR. ATKINSON said he did not agree; and the reason why he did not agree was that it was precisely the same procedure that might obtain in any civil action. The hon. Gentlemen who cried out most about the iniquity of asking twenty-three or thirty-three jurors to stand aside were the very people, or the representatives of the very people, who, right and left, at meeting after meeting, denounced this procedure and made strictures upon the jurors who were about to serve, and the endeavour to counteract that procedure and to get out of the way the jurors who were intimidated and terrorised by these methods in order to prejudice the tribunal before which the accused were about to be tried, was described as an iniquity. This was what the hon. Member for East Galway said at a meeting called for the purpose of arranging for the defence of these men—

> "He would read over the list of special jurors who had been selected to try them, and he hoped the men of each parish would take note of how these men acted in the coming assizes, so that they might know them in the future."

That was a fine preparation and discipline for the impartial and honest discharge of their duty in the jury-box!

MR. ROCHE (Galway, E.): I stand by every word I said on that occasion.

MR. ATKINSON said it was because these methods were resorted to that it was necessary to resort to the setting aside of jurors in order to counteract them. He had often been asked in that House—Why were jurors not ordered to stand aside in this country? The power to set jurors aside existed in this country, but, happily, it was not necessary to exercise it. It would be difficult to find in this country an hon. Member going down to his constituency and making an address of the kind he had quoted in reference to jurors who were about to be called to serve on a trial, and then coming to this House and glorying in it afterwards. But that was an illustration of the kind of discipline to which these jurors were subjected by league meeting after league meeting, reported in the public Press all over the county, and the Government were denounced because they endeavoured to take out of the jury-box the men who were intimidated by such a method as that. When a man who had openly taken part in the agitation in favour of the very men who were going to be tried was asked to stand aside Members opposite considered that that was an insult to the Catholic Church and to the Catholic religion. He could multiply instances, because he had a bundle of reports before him showing the existence all over Galway of a system of intimidation and terrorism. The very moment that the order was obtained that these men should be tried by a special jury intimidation commenced and resolutions of the kind he had quoted were passed at meetings of the United Irish League. He submitted that it would be perfectly ludicrous if the Crown Solicitor did not endeavour to the best of his ability to order to stand aside men who had been taking part in this system of intimidation in order that other jurors might be obtained to try an issue upon which those who were asked to stand aside had pronounced an opinion beforehand. As a well-known canon said in the year 1902, coercion was the weapon of the United Irish League, and unsparingly and ruthlessly did the branches use it in defiance and violation of all the laws of charity, of justice, and of truth.

The real cause of the quarrel between the Crown and hon. Gentlemen was that their methods of intimidation had not succeeded and that they had been checked and defeated. [A NATIONALIST MEMBER: We will try again.] It was said that the order to stand aside was an insult to the faith of the man so ordered to stand aside. He did not know why. The accusation was made against every Government. Every Government had been obliged to resort to this weapon, and every Government had been assailed for so doing and the vilest motives attributed to them. The right hon. Member for Montrose had been assailed as savagely as he or his right hon. friend had even been; but why should any Government have a desire for any such purpose? Almost every Crown Solicitor who was serving now served under the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose and his friends. The Crown Solicitor of Galway was a most worthy and excellent gentleman of long experience, and a Roman Catholic of the Roman Catholics. He had never given any command to that gentleman to set any man aside. On the contrary, he had never given any direction to any Crown Solicitor serving under him except loyally to carry out the rules laid down, which expressly directed the Crown Solicitor not to order to stand aside any man on the ground of his religion or politics or for any reason but that he had a reasonable belief that the man would not give an impartial verdict. Why should the Crown Solicitor make himself objectionable to the community when he would not serve his office by so doing? [A NATIONALIST MEMBER: To please Dublin Castle.] He was a permanent official; and no Crown Solicitor had been discharged for fifty years. He pledged himself that there was not a shadow of foundation for the accusations of hon. Members. Why should it be an insult to jurors to be set aside? The law in Ireland enabled six jurors to be challenged in a civil case, though there was no such right in England. Why? Not because the men were deliberate perjurers, but because, from fear or favour, they were not likely to give impartial consideration to the case. [Cries of "Tell us something of Coote."] That was a matter with which he was not personally concerned. [Cries of "Oh," and interruption.] It was a civil action brought in the Court of Chancery. There was no criminal action.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN: Why did you not take criminal action?

Mr. ATKINSON said that only in the course of the civil trial did it appear that there had been any intimidation. No complaint or communication had been made to the police.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said that what had actually happened in the case which had been so much referred to was that a number of peasants in the county of Galway combined together for the purpose of getting the Land Act to work and of endeavouring to realise the promises, hopes, and desires of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dover. Their sole object was that the uneconomic holdings should be made into economic holdings. Could any men have a worthier object in view? What was the Coote case? It was the case of a poor girl who was employed to teach sewing and embroidery in a school controlled by a Presbyterian clergyman in the county of Tyrone. She happened to be a Catholic, and Mr. Coote, who was a magistrate, got up an agitation of a violent character, held public meetings, organised processions with bands, boycotted the school, and caused twenty-three children to be removed, and all this in order to prevent a poor Catholic girl being employed to teach sewing and embroidery; and the man who came forward to defend this case of disgusting bigotry and persecution was the Attorney-General for Ireland, who put the law into operation against these poor peasants. That was what was called equal justice between Ireland and England. He had not been left time to go into the merits of the case of these poor men who had been sent to gaol, but could any comparison be made between the object of these poor peasants and the object of this religious bigot. The Government sent to gaol the peasants who wanted to make Ireland habitable by Irishmen, and allowed to go free the miserable bigot who wanted to make starvation the lot of every Catholic employed by Protestants, and who desired to starve this poor Catholic girl by persecution and boycotting? He maintained that it was quite proper to raise the Sheridan case. The question was one of methods. Sheridan was able to get men wrongly convicted; but how was it he was able to do so? Was it Sheridan who was able to do all this? Was it this miserable perjured villain? No! The villain sat on the Front bench opposite. That was why Sheridan was able to get these men convicted. One of these poor innocent men was actually advised by his counsel to plead guilty because the Attorney-General had packed the jury. And yet the right hon. and learned Gentleman with this crime upon his conscience had thought fit to attack them for venturing to denounce a system of government which made such things possible in Ireland.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 200; Noes, 260. (Division List No. 304.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt.Hn.HerbertHenry
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, George M.(Edinburgh)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, N.E(York,NR,Whitby
Buxton, SydneyCharles(Poplar
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin, CharlesRamsay(Galway

Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A (Inverness-sh.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, CaptEC(S.Andrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Evans, Samuel T.(Glamorgan)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alexander(Lanark,NE
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Griffith, Ellis J.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis
Hardie, J.Keir(MerthyrTydvil
Harrington, Timothy
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt, Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt, Hon.Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hutchinson, Dr.Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, DavidBrynmor (Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, VincentP.(Cavan,W.)
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir JosephF(Accrington)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mitchell, Edw.(Fermanagh,N.
Mooney, John J.
Moss, Samuel
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col.JohnP.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick, (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James(Wicklow,W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon,N
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Seely, Maj.J.E.B(Isle ofWight)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt.Hn.C.R(Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan,E.)
Thomas, DavidAlfred(Merthyr
Thomas,JA(Glamorgan Gower
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Wallace, Robert
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, JohnCathcart(Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George(York, W.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J.(York, W. R.
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wood, James
Woodhouse,Sir JT(Huddersf'd)
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Sir Thomas Esmonde and
Captain Donelan.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, AugustusHenryEden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.HughO.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hon.SirH
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hon.A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, RtHnGeraldW.(Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R.(Christch.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Beach, Rt.Hn.SirMichaelHicks
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shrophs.
Brymer, William Ernest
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J.H.M.(DublinUniv.
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother

Cavendish, V.C.W.(Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, RtHnJ.A.(Worc.
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton
Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thomas
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, SirHoratioD.(Chatham
Denny, Colonel
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt.Hon.SirJosephC.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland,SirFred.Dixon
Dorington, Rt.Hon.SirJohn E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt. Hon.SirWilliamHart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants., W.
Fellowes, RtHnAilwyn Edward
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.SirJ.(Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Rt HnSirRB.(Inv'rn'ss)
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, SirRobertPenrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. EdwardAlgernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S.(Warwick,S.W
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Godson, Sir AugustusFrederick
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj.Evans-(T'rH'mlts
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green, WalfordD.(Wednesbury
Greene, HenryD.(Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, RtHnLordG(Midd'x
Hamilton, Marq.of (L'nd'derry
Hardy, Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, ArthurHoward(Hanley
Heath, SirJames(StaffordsNW.
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Horner, FrederickWilliam
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, John(KentFaversham
Hozier, Hon.JamesHenryCecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T.(Denbigh
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Lambton, Hon.Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, Hn.H.L.W.(Mile End
Lee, ArthurH.(Hants.Fareham
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, FrederickN.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Long, Col.CharlesW.(Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft
Lucas, ReginaldJ.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, SirLewis(EdinburghW)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, Rt HnSirHE.(Wigt'n
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Middlemore, JohnThrogmorten
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hon.J.Scott(Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan,DavidJ.(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Batn)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie, Rt.Hon.Chas.Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Samuel, SirHarryS.(Limehouse
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton(Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford,East)
Smith, HC.(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith, RtHnJParker(Lanarks)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Shear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn.Arthur (Ormskirk)
Stanley, EdwardJas.(Somerset)
Stanley, Rt. Hon.Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J.M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.JG.(Oxf'dUniv)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Sir Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Turnour, Viscount
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt.Hn.SirWilliamH.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E.(Taunton
Whiteley, H.(Ashtonund.Lynn
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley(York,E.R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson,Todd- SirW.H.(Yorks.)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn.E.R.(Bath

Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm	Wrightson, Sir Thomas	TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson	Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.	Sir Alexander Acland-Hood
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-	Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong	and Viscount Valentia.

Original Question again proposed.

And, it being after Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again to-morrow.

NAVAL WORKS [CONSOLIDATED FUND].

Resolution reported, "That it is expedient to make further provision for the construction of works in the United Kingdom and elsewhere for the purposes of the Royal Navy, and to authorise the issue, out of the Consolidated Fund, of such sums not exceeding £5,835,000 as may be required for those purposes, and to make provision for raising in the manner provided by Section 5 of the Naval Works Act, 1895, the sums so issued by Terminable Annuities for a period not exceeding thirty years from the dates of the borrowing."

Resolution read a second time.

MR. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple) said that on a point of order he wished to know whether he could now move the Amendment of which he had given notice.

***MR. SPEAKER** said that if there was any Amendment to be moved, now was the time to move it.

MR. SOARES said he would move as an Amendment in the second line of the Motion after the word "works," to insert the words "already commenced." If his Amendment were adopted the Resolution would read that "it is expedient to make provision for the construction of works already commenced in the United Kingdom and elsewhere." He was quite aware that the Government had made a representation to the effect that there would be no more Naval Works Bills introduced in future, and that the expenditure on these works would henceforth be paid for out of revenue and dealt with on the Estimates. But it was possible that it might be convenient for a Government in time to come to introduce a Naval Works Bill, and, therefore, he thought the Amendment he now proposed was necessary, because he saw that according to the Resolution the Government proposed to spend part of the £5,835,000 on new works which had not yet been commenced. He did not intend to go into all the particulars in detail, but he should like to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the items, "for coaling facilities and fuel storage." In a note with regard to that, it was stated that considerable difficulty had been experienced in obtaining sites in connection with the coaling schemes, and that it was not anticipated that the work provided for in the estimate could be finished till 1907–8. If that meant anything, it meant that the Admiralty were actually proposing to purchase new sites. Surely that was beginning new work with a vengeance. There were many other items. For instance, there was "the Gibraltar dockyard extension," in which case they were told that the "reservoirs, provision for the dockyard employees, etc.," would not be completed till after 1905–6. All those works had yet to be begun, and he did not think they ought to be asked to vote money for them after the representations made to them by the Civil Lord of the Admiralty. There were minor matters, such as the finishing of roads, and paving at Chatham, but he did not object to that, for he thought it reasonable. He thought, however, that they ought to have new works in the Estimates as promised. In his opinion the present was a totally unsatisfactory way of dealing with the matter. It undoubtedly led to extravagance, and it deprived the House of control. He therefore begged to move.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) seconded. He said that everybody understood the pledge given in 1903 to mean that no new matter would be introduced into the

Works Bill, and that no new works, not already begun, were to have any money spent upon them under the Bill. The whole transactions with regard to the Works Bill, however, had been so obscure that the House had been led to look upon it as coming to an end year after year, but they still had it produced before them, and there was the same demand for money under it. It was only in a death-bed repentance—when the Government knew that they could not carry on much longer — that they said that next year they would not have a Bill. Such a promise was a perfect farce. The original promise also was a farce. It was a mere farce to tell them that the Works Bill would not be increased in any way and at the same time to increase it by adding new items instead of paying for them out of the revenue of the country. When the pledge was made there was a general feeling, even on the Treasury Bench, that the Works Bills were bad policy and that they were to be curtailed, but the Government had gone on increasing the expenditure under the Bill year by year. He considered the Amendment should be accepted, and that, as the pledge given had been evaded, they ought to have something definite inserted to show that the Government was in earnest and would do something to curtail this ridiculous expenditure, which confused accounts and the money market without providing anything which could not be provided out of income if the business of the country were properly carried on.

Amendment proposed—

"In line 2, after the word 'works' to insert the words 'already commenced.'" —(*Mr. Soares.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ARTHUR LEE, Hampshire, Fareham) said he did not think it was possible for the Government to accept the Amendment which was of a ambiguous character. There were no new items in the present Bill, and all the items in the schedule had already been commenced. It was impossible to distinguish between new items and individual portions of those items. The works under the headings of "coaling facilities," "electric lighting and power" and "coastguard buildings," were all necessary and were made up of a large number of separate items.

MR. SOARES: Is not buying sites new works?

*MR. ARTHUR LEE said there was a sum provided for new facilities for the coaling of the Fleet in different ports of the Empire, but it was impossible to take out one particular portion of a scheme in order to fall in with the hon. Member's view, It was a complete scheme for the coaling of the Fleet, and it was not possible, because one item might not have been commenced in a particular district, to drop it out. "Electric lighting and power" included a large number of small works in different ports and harbours, and it would be quite impossible to break a piece out of the middle or off the edges of schemes which had been thoroughly considered by the Admiralty and which had been in progress now for some years. If the Amendment were carried, it would have the effect of leaving gaps in complete schemes, and would in that way be detrimental to the best interests of the Navy.

MR. MCKENNA (Monmouthshire, N.) said he understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that there were no new works and that all the money asked for was in respect of works already begun. Could he reconcile that with the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on July 25th, 1904, when he said, speaking in reply to a debate in Committee on the Finance Bill, that he gathered that the hon. Gentlemen were rather anxious that the growth of small borrowings should be closely watched and not made a permanent part of their financial system. He was very much in accord with hon. Gentleman opposite, but he was bound to point out that works already sanctioned by Parliament and begun were coming to an end. They had overtaken arrears out of which they arose, and it would not be necessary to ask Parliament to make provision for them again. Of course it was true that in 1904 the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not think his Government would be in office a year later, and he was very well able to promise that he and his Party would not be responsible again for asking the House to make up arrears in respect of works already authorised. But in face of that statement they were now asked to authorise an expenditure of nearly £6,000,000 in respect of old works. Was it consistent with the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer? He understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that part of the works consisted of coaling facilities, but were they new or old? If they were old, he was met by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and if they were new he was met by the pledge given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he would not again ask the House to vote new works by this method. The right hon. Gentleman ought not to ask them to authorise these works by Bill; he ought frankly to ask them to vote them on the Estimates.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.) thought that even if the Amendment were not accepted something ought to be done to meet the view of his hon. friend. A pledge had been given that no new expenditure should be provided for by this system of loans, and what his hon. friend desired was a definite undertaking that that pledge would be carried out. The reply of the representative of the Admiralty was most unsatisfactory. £1,000,000 was to be taken for electric lighting, a work for which provision ought never to be made by way of loan, and its inclusion n the Bill would be a flagrant violation of the understanding which had been arrived at. The Amendment was extremely reasonable; it would allow works already commenced to be provided for, and it simply asked the Government to give effect to its promise that no new works should be undertaken under this system.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick), as an Irish representative, protested against this system of raising money. Ireland would get no share of this expenditure, although her people had to bear more than their fair share of taxation. Everyone who took an interest in financial affairs must be aware that the financial business of the country was conducted on very unbusinesslike lines. In addition to the ordinary Estimates, there were Supplementary Estimates and Bills for raising loans. The existing financial system was altogether against the commercial interests of the country, because the Chancellor of the Exchequer was obliged to go into the money market for loans, thereby raising the price of money, and withdrawing it from the use of the commercial community. The commercial aspect of the question ought to be considered altogether apart from Party politics. He protested against the whole financial system of the Government; they were spending money recklessly in all directions. He hoped the hon. Member would go to a division, as he thought it was time fresh financial management was instituted. No explanation whatever had been given of the purposes for which this money was required. One of the principle functions of that House was to exercise the power of the purse, but that power was largely passing out of their hands into the hands of the Treasury officials.

MR. CHURCHILL (Oldham) said it was extremely unsatisfactory that the House should be asked to take up the consideration of a matter of such great importance at one o'clock in the morning. The Resolution involved £6,000,000, and the Bill to be founded upon it would be brought in at the fag-end of the session by a sham Government and a sham Prime Minister who had fortified themselves by a sham vote of confidence. The hon. Member for Exeter had repeatedly drawn attention to the odious and improper practice of pretending to pay off the National Debt by the Sinking Fund and neutralising the effects of those payments by the passing of Naval Works and similar Acts. No practice more injuriously affected national finance or the public service than the bringing in of numerous Loans Bills in the course of a session. After ten years of this malpractice, during which the amount involved in these Acts had mounted up by millions, the Prime Minister and his friends in what might be their last year of office had developed good resolutions, and for the future, such works were to be charged on the annual Estimates. It was really a death-bed repentance. The hon. Member for Fareham had characterised the Amendment as ambiguous. It was nothing of the sort. When they were complaining of the great and growing expenditure under these Acts nothing could be more simple than that they should ask for a line to be drawn so that the works already commenced might be finished, and an undertaking given that there should be no further extensions of the system.

The Amendment was justified by the extraordinary changes in naval strength which had resulted from the war in the Far East. For years enormous Estimates had been voted on the basis of the two-Power standard, and now the navy of one of those Powers had been as completely wiped off the slate as though it had never existed. Was no modification to be introduced as a result of the war between Russia and Japan? Was there to be no modification on account of the Anglo-French Agreement? The time had come when these great questions of naval policy must be considered from a new point of view. The Amendment would at least enable the House to terminate the liabilities which were now being contracted with the life of the present Government.

He asked the House to consider some of the details of the Memorandum which had been supplied to them, and which dealt with all sorts of matters. When they remembered the wasteful expenditure which had taken place at Gibraltar they were not encouraged to commit themselves to new enterprises beyond those which they had already undertaken at Gibraltar. When the defences at Gibraltar were first undertaken they fell back upon the naval experts, who stated that Gibraltar was impregnable. When those great military and naval works were nearly completed the same experts said that Gibraltar was indefensible on account of improvements in modern guns. He had himself taken a very keen amateur interest in this question, and he had visited Gibraltar for the purpose of examining into the truth of all the statements which had been made, and which were the subject of an inquiry by a Commission. When mistakes of this kind were made by experts and by the Government it was not unnatural that hon. Members should be ready and willing to associate themselves with an Amendment such as that which was now before the House, in order to limit such undertakings which would commit them to the expenditure of a large sum of money in the future. Then there was the item for the dockyard extension at Hong-Kong, a matter which it did not appear to him had been properly thought out by the naval authorities in view of the alteration and changes in the naval power of the Far East. There were a good many other points to which he would like to refer, but, as they were aware, a vote in the House of Commons had apparently no meaning, and the Prime Minister had very little public respect—[MINISTERIAL cries of "Oh, oh!"]—and so he would reserve what he had to say until the main Question was put.

MR. AINSWORTH (Argyllshire) rose to continue the debate.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided:—Ayes, 230; Noes, 181. (Division List No. 305.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus H. Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn. Hugh O
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher,Rt.Hn.Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn.A.J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Fredk. George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Brymer, William Ernest
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell,J.H.M. (DublinUniv.
Carlile, Wliliam Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.

Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W.(Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain,Rt.Hn.J.A. (Wor.
Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Davies, Sir H. D. (Chatham)
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir J. C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke,Rt.Hn.SirWilliam Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fellowes, Rt. Hn. Ailwyn Edw.
Fergusson,Rt.Hn.SirJ. (Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Rt.Hn.SirRB (Inv'rn'ss
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon,MajEvans-(T'r H'ml'ts
Goschen, Hon. Geo. Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Green, W. D. (Wednesbury)
Greene, H. D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond- (Cambs.
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton,RtHnLord G.(Middx
Hamilton,Marq.of (L'nd'ndery
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur H. (Hanley)
Heath,SirJames (Staffords.NW
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, SirA.(Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hope,J.F.(Sheffield, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, J. (Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson,Hn.H.L.W. (Mile End)
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Fredk. N. S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reg. J. (Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, Sir L. (Edinburgh, W.)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian.
Manners, Lord Cecil
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell,Rt.Hn.SirHE (Wigt'n
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Middlemore, J. Throgmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hn. J.Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nicholson, William Graham
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Rankin, Sir James
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. T.
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson,Rt.Hn.Col.Edw. J.
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, A. H. (Hereford, East)
Smith,H.C.(North'mb. Tynes'e
Smith,RtHnJParker (Lanarks)
Smith, Hn. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Hn. Arthur(Ormskirk
Stanley, Edw. Jas. (Somerset)
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'd Univ
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Turnour, Viscount.
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir W. H.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E. (Taunt'n
Whiteley,H. (Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson,A.Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse,Rt.Hn.E.R. (Bath)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood, and Viscount Valentia.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herb. Henry
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John

Brown, G. M. (Edinburgh)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Buxton,NE(York,NR, Whitby
Buxton, Sydney Chas. (Poplar)
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Davies,M. Vaughan-(Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dillon, John
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,CaptEC(S Andrw's Bghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alex. (Lanark, N.E.)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Griffith, Ellis J.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis
Hardie, J. K. (Merthyr Tydvil)
Harrington, Timothy
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Hutchinson, Dr. Chas. Fredk.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonsh.
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, V. P. (Cavan, W.)
Kilbride, Denis
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir J. F. (Accrington)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N)
Mooney, John J.
Moss, Samuel
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow,W)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, J. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Peale, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Redmond,John E.(Waterford)
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herb. L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Seely,Maj.J.E.B.(Isle of Wight
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer,Rt.Hn.CR(Northants.)
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, David A. (Merthyr)
Thomas,JA(Glamorgan, Gower
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Wallace, Robert
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, J. Cathcart (Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, Geo (York, W.R.)
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wood, James
Woodhouse,SirJT (Huddersf'd

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

Question put accordingly, "That those words be there inserted."

The House divided:—Ayes, 178; Noes 229. (Division List No. 306.)

AYES.

Abraham, Wm. (Cork, N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Ambrose, Robert
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herb. Henry
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brown, GeorgeM.(Edinburgh)
Bryce, Rt. Hn. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Buxton, N.E(York,NRWhitby
Buxton, S. Charles (Poplar)
Caldwell, James

Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Davies, M.Vaughan-(Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay(Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dillon, John
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Chas. M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,CaptE.C(S.Andrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R.C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alexander(Lanark,NE
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt.Hn. Herb. John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Griffith, Ellis J.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis
Hardie, J.Keir(Merthyr Tydvil
Harrington, Timothy
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Hutchinson, Dr. Chas. Fredk.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David B. (Swansea)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonsh.
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex (Donegal, W.
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir J. F. (Accrington)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, Wm. (Cornwall)
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.
Mooney, John J.
Moss, Samuel
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary Mid)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Redmond, J. E. (Waterford)
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs)
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herb. L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Seely, Maj. J.E.B.(Isleof Wight
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Chas. Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spencer, RtHn.C.R.(Northants
Stanhope, Hn. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, David A. (Merthyr)
Thomas, JA(Glamorgan,Gower
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Wallace, Robert
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, J. Cathcart (Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North
Whiteley, George (York,W.R.
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wood, James
Woodhouse, SirJ.T.(Hudd'rsf'd

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Soares and Mr. Charles Allen.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen,Augustus HenryEden
Anson, Sir Wm. Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hn. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt Hn.A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Capt. C.B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, RtHn.GeraldW.(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hn. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.
Brymer, William Ernest
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J.H.M.(DublinUniv.
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt.Hn. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, RtHn.J.A.(Worc
Chapman, Edward

Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hn. Thos. H. A. E.
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, W. Bromley-
Davies, Sir H. D. (Chatham)
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt.Hn. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hn. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir Wm. Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt.Hn. Sir Wm. Hart
Egerton, Hn. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fellowes, RtHn. Ailwyn Edw.
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.SirJ.(Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hn. George H.
Finlay, Rt.Hn.SirRB(Inv'rn'ss
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robt. Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hn. A. G. H.
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj.Evans(T'rH'ml'ts
Goschen, Hn. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Green, W. D. (Wednesbury)
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Halsey, Rt. Hn. Thomas F.
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, RtHn.Lord G.(Midx
Hamilton,Marq.of(L'donderry
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris,F.Leverton(Tynemouth
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur H. (Hanley)
Heath, Sir Jas. (Staffords.N.W.
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford,W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside)
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, J. (Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hn. Jas. Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hn. Arthur Fred
Jessel, Captain HerbertMerton
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Lambton, Hon. Fredck. Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, Hn.H.L.W.(Mile End
Lee, Arthur H.(Hants,Fareham
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Long, Col, Chas. W. (Evesham
Long, Rt.Nn.Walter (Bristol,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, ReginaldJ.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hn. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Chas. (Liverpool)
M'Iver, Sir L. (Edinburgh, W.
M'Killop, Jas. (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W.F.
Maxwell,Rt.Hn.SirHE.(Wigt'n
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Middlemore, J. Throgmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Chas. J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nicholson, William Graham
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Rankin, Sir James
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie, Rt.Hn. Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney
Robinson, Brooke
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson,Rt.Hn.Col. Edw.J.
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.
Seely, Chas. Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, Wm. Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, A. H. (Hertford, East)
Smith,H.C(North'mb,Tyneside
Smith, RtHnJ.Parker(Lanarks
Smith, Hn. W.F.D. (Strand)
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Edward Jas (Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.
Stewart, Sir M. J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Strutt, Hn. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Turnour, Viscount
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, RtHn.Sir William H.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.Col.A.C.E.(Taunton
Whiteley,H. (Ashton und Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt Hn.E.R.(Bath)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

Tellers for the Noes—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

*Mr. REA (Gloucester) moved in line 4 to leave out "£5,835,000" and insert "£3,835,000." He said he moved that considerable reduction not because he disputed the necessity of any item in the schedule, and not because, as a layman, he ventured to assert that any single item was excessive; but because he strongly maintained that this was not the right way to pay for the expenditure. It was bad finance to distribute the expenditure for a great many of these items over thirty years. They ought to have been included in the Estimates. For instance, possibly some of the £500,000 for coaling facilities was for land, but the greater portion was for machinery. Then there was over £1,000,000 for electric lighting and power. It seemed to him an indefensible financial policy to put that item into a Naval Works Bill at all. He was perfectly aware it would be said that local authorities were permitted to borrow money for precisely the same period for the same purpose, but hon. Members on the other side never ceased to criticise them for it; and they were imitating the local authorities in the worst and most unsound particular of their finance. It was all very well for the Government to say they would borrow no more, but they were leaving as a legacy to their successors a permanent charge of £5,000,000 per annum in respect of a debt amounting to £40,000,000 sterling for expenditure, all of which ought to have been found year by year.

He wished to ask the Government one Question with regard to Dover Harbour. Was the expenditure in respect of that harbour altogether naval expenditure, or were they not providing out of the taxes for a commercial port at Dover? Was it not a fact that local pressure had been brought to bear upon the Department so that they were providing a commercial free port at Dover? Free ports conduced to the commercial prosperity of a country, but the port of Dover was of a peculiar character. It appeared to be too small to be of any use for any English shipping firm, but it was used now as a free port by the German steamers who called there and gathered up passengers for America without paying those ordinary dues which English firms had to pay at Southampton Liverpool, and elsewhere. That appeared to him to have been the peculiar result of their first experiment in establishing free commercial ports. He would like an Answer to that particular Question. He did not blame the Department because he believed it had brought its expenditure on the item down to the smallest point; but other interests had prevailed and made it imperative that the provision should be made.

Mr. AINSWORTH seconded. He said he would give one item to show how the columns were prepared, and, if the others were at all of the same character, he thought the House would come to the conclusion that before they voted £6,000,000 they had better know a little more as to how the estimates were made up. They were asked to authorise an expenditure of £49,320 in the next three years at Rosyth. The total cost of the preliminary works was £200,000, and up to March 31st, 1904, £147,000 odd had been expended. That expenditure was practically for the acquisition of a site, obtained with the idea of establishing a naval base; but they had always been told that the character of the base was still under consideration, and it was quite probable they were going on surveying to see what the resources of the site were with a view to deciding as to the future of the base. Why had the estimate for survey charges jumped from £3,000 to £50,000? He would give the reason. The original Estimate was for £200,000, and as only £150,000 had been spent the Department held the view that they must get rid of the balance of £50,000. There were several railway directors present. They knew that they could put into their half-yearly statements any estimated expenditure they liked, but the shareholders would soon have something to say if they were told that £100,000 had been spent simply because the expenditure was authorised. Some further explanation of these items was necessary, and he thought that when so large an expenditure was involved the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to be in his place.

Amendment proposed—

"In line 4, to leave out '£5,835,000,' and to insert '£3,835,000.'"—(*Mr. Rea.*)

Question proposed, "That '£5,835,000' stand part of the said Resolution."

*MR. ARTHUR LEE said that if the hon. Member for Argyllshire had been present when this matter was last discussed he would have heard certain facts which would have relieved him of the necessity of making the speech he had just delivered about the Rosyth expenditure. It was then stated that the total estimate for Rosyth was £2,500,000, the balance of which would be provided in the ordinary Navy Estimates, in accordance with the generally expressed wish of hon. Gentlemen opposite.

MR. AINSWORTH asked why the proposed expenditure under this Resolution was exactly the amount of the difference between the sum already spent and the £200,000 originally talked about.

*MR. ARTHUR LEE said it was obvious that the unexpended balance of the £200,000 remained available for carrying on the preliminary works, and it would be so used until it was exhausted. It was not provided altogether for surveying, but for preliminary works.

MR. CHURCHILL asked what were the preliminary works.

*MR. ARTHUR LEE said they included the purchase of land, the erection of offices, the surveying of the site, the expenses of the staff, the preparation of plans, arrangements for making a railway connection and for water supply, and other items of that character. The proposed reduction could not be accepted; it would practically destroy the Bill, and make it impossible to proceed with works already sanctioned for which contracts had been made, thus placing the Government in the uneviable position of defaulters in connection with their contracts. The hon. Member had not shown how he proposed to effect the reduction, but had based his case mainly upon objections to the general principle of borrowing, particularly referring to electric lighting, thereby disregarding the precedents set by almost every municipal authority in the Kingdom. When this particular item was introduced in the

Bill of 1903 it was received without a single word of dissent, and it was a little late in the day to come forward now with these fundamental objections. As to the legacy of debt which the hon. Member said the Government would leave to their successors, he did not know whence the hon. Member got his figures.

*MR. REA said he gave the amount of terminable annuities for works altogether, naval, military, and civil.

*MR. ARTHUR LEE said he understood the hon. Member to be referring to naval works alone. This system of borrowing was originated by a Liberal Government, it had been sanctioned on many occasions, and it would be quite impossible for the Government to agree to the proposed reduction.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) said the hon. Member really missed the point of their objections to the Bill. The Amendment afforded a real test of the sincerity of the Government in their declaration that there should be no more of these loans in the future.

*MR. ARTHUR LEE: I did not say that the Government would not borrow any further by Loans Bills. It is obvious that there are certain amounts still unprovided for.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said that while he and his friends did not say there should not be any loans under any conditions, they adhered generally to the view that these works should be paid for out of revenue and not by loan. The Government had included in the schedule certain items which ought never to have been met out of loan at all. If the Government were really desirous that these expenses should be met out of revenue in future they ought to show their sincerity by placing them in their annual expenditure for the current year instead of borrowing. Such matters as electric lighting ought clearly to come out of revenue and not loans. He did not quite understand the explanation which had been given in regard to Rosyth. His hon. friend said that £200,000 was the preliminary Estimate, and the additional expenditure of £2,300,000 would be borne out of revenue. At present the Government did not know what they were going to spend this money upon. With regard to the item for Chatham and Portsmouth he noticed certain items for additional works and supplementary buildings which he did not think ought to be placed in a Loans Bill. Why should those who might succeed the present Government be saddled with this heavy expenditure upon Rosyth? The Government should have met this expenditure out of revenue instead of reducing taxation, and they ought not to pass on liabilities amounting to £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 to their successors. He thought they were quite justified in raising the whole principle of these Loan Bills whenever they got an opportunity.

MR. McKENNA said the hon. Gentleman who spoke on behalf of the Government excused himself and the Government on the ground that the present Opposition introduced the system of Loans Bills, and he said that the last Liberal Government raised £800,000 in that way. Was the

House aware that the present Govern- had raised £68,000,000 in this way? The hon. Member for Argyllshire had asked why the representative of the Treasury was not present. He thought it was little less than a scandal that the Treasury was not represented whilst this question was under discussion. Speaking on the Second Reading of the Finance Bill the Secretary to the Treasury said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his Budget speech clearly and distinctly intimated that he would discourage the idea of adding to the National Debt by naval, military, or public works, and he stated that the House might rest assured that any assistance they could give in that direction would be welcomed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. That was a pledge which was given this year, and yet not one word was said about the intentions of the Government in regard to such a measure as this. At that time the Chancellor of the Exchequer distinctly stated that all the outstanding arrears had been paid off, and in face of that statement this Bill was brought forward and no representative of the Treasury was present to support the emphatic statements which had been made on the subject. The hon. Member for Fareham had now made a proposal to the House, in direct contradiction of the express statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and as a protest against the absence of any representative of the Treasury he begged to move the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. A. J. Balfour rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided:—Ayes, 218; Noes, 170. (Division List No. 307.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hn Gerald W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownagree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brymer, William Ernest
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn J. A. (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, W. Bromley-
Davies, Sir Horatio D. (Chatham
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fellowes, Rt Hn. Ailwyn Edward
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hn. George H.
Finlay, Rt. Hn. Sir R. B. (Inv'rn'ss
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S. W.
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, South
Gordon, Maj Evans-(T'rH'mlets
Goulding, Edward Alfred

Graham, Henry Robert
Green, WalfordD.(Wednesbury
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Marq.of(L'donderry
Hardy, Laurence (KentAshford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton(Tynem'th)
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath,SirJames(Staffords,N.W
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford,W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard,John(Kent,Faversham
Hozier, Hon.James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon.Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hon.Geo.T.(Denbigh)
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, Hn.H.L.W.(Mile End)
Lee, Arthur H.(Hants.Fareham
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Long, Col.Charles W.(Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie, Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis(Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth

Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, SirLewis(EdinburghW.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell,Rt.HnSirH.E.(Wigt'n
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Middlemore, JohnThrogmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan,DavidJ.(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nicholson, William Graham
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Rankin, Sir James
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James Greenock
Remnant, James Farquharson
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie, Rt.Hon.Chas.Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke

Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skews-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford,East)
Smith,HC(Northumb.Tyneside
Smith,Rt.HnJ.Parker(Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley,Hon.Arthur(Ormskirk)
Stanley, EdwardJas.(Somerset)
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord(Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir MarkJ.M Taggart)
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. W.
Tuff, Charles
Turnour, Viscount
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt.Hon.Sir WilliamH
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E.(Taunton
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby, de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn.E.R.(Bath)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork,N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Asquith, Rt.Hn.HerbertHenry
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Buxton,N.E.(York,NR,Whitby
Buxton, SydneyCharles(Poplar
Caldwell, James

Campbell, John (Armagh, S.
Campbell, Bannerman, Sir H.
Cawley, Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, CharlesRamsay(Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A.(Inverness-sh.)

Dillon, John
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,CaptE.C.S(Andrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alexander (Lanark,N)
Flavin, Michael Joseph

Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby, Co.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Griffith, Ellis J.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis
Hardie, J.Keir(MerthyrTydvil)
Harrington, Timothy
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Joicey, Sir James
Jones,DavidBrynmor(Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones,William(Carnarvonshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kennedy,VincentP.(Cavan,W.)
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex.(Donegal,W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick F.
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh,N.)
Mooney, John J.
Moss, Samuel
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman Henry
O'Brien,Kendal(TipperaryMid)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James(Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly,James(Roscommon,N.
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E.(Waterford)
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Seely,.MajJ.E.B.(Isle ofWight)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer,RtHnC.R.(Northants.
Stanhope, Hon, Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, SirA.(Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas,J.A(Glamorgan,Gower
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Wallace, Robert
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, JohnCathcart(Orkney)
Weir. James (Galloway)
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York, W. R)
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth.
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wood. James
Woodhouse, SirJ.T(Huddersf'd

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Mr. Herbert Gladstone and
Mr. Causton.

Question put accordingly, "That '£5,835,000' stand part of the said Resolution."

The House divided:—Ayes, 219; Noes, 168. (Division List No. 308.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen,AugustusHenry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.HughO.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher,Rt.Hn.Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour,Rt.Hn.A. J. (Manch'r.)
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour,Kenneth R. (Christch.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Brymer, William Ernest
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell,J.H.M.(DublinUniv.)
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish,V.C.W.(Derbyshire)
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain,Rt.Hn.J A.(Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, W. Bromley-
Davies,SirHoratioD.(Chatham)
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale,Rt.Hon.SirJoseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.

Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt.Hn.SirWilliam Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fellowes,Rt.Hn.Ailwyn Edw.
Fergusson,Rt.Hn.SirJ.(Manc'r.
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay,Rt.HnSirR.B.(Inv'rn'ss)
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald,SirRobert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster,PhilipS.(Warwick,S.W.)
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon,J.(Londonderry, South
Gordon,Maj.Evans-(T'rH'ml'ts
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Green, W. D. (Wednesbury)
Greene, W. Raymond- (Cambs.
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton,Marq.of (L'donderry
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris,F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, A. Howard (Hanley)
Heath, Sir J. (Staffords. N.W.)
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, SirA. (Stafford,W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hope,J.F.(Sheffield, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, J. (Kent, Faversham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hn. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hn. Geo.T. (Denbigh)
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson,Hn.H.L.W. (Mile End)
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Fredk. N. S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reg. J. (Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M‘Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M‘Iver, Sir L. (Edinburgh, W.)
M‘Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell,Rt.Hn.SirH.E(Wigt'n
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Middlemore,JohnThrogmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nicholson, William Graham
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Rankin, Sir James
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie,Rt. Hn.Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson,Rt.Hn.Col.Edw. J.
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Chas Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, A H (Hertford, East)
Smith,HC.(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith, Rt. Hon. J. P. (Lanark)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Edw. Jas. (Somerset)
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M‘Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'd Univ.
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Turnour, Viscount
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond,Rt.Hn.Sir William H.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby,Lt.-Col.A.C.E.(Taunton
Whiteley,H.(Ashtonund.Lyne)
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse,Rt.Hn.E.R. (Bath)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland - Hood and Viscount Valentia.

NOES.

Abraham, William(Cork, N.E.)
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herb. Henry
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Buxton,N.E.(YorkN.R.Whitby
Buxton, Sydney Chas. (Poplar)
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal

Cullinan, J.
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay(Galway)
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A.(Inverness-sh.)
Dillon, John
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas Charles M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,CaptE.C.(SAndrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alex. (Lanark, N.E.)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herb. John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Griffith, Ellis J.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis
Hardie,J.Keir(Merthyr Tydvil)
Harrington, Timothy
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones,William(Carnarvonshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kennedy,VincentP.(Cavan,W.)
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal,W.)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mitchell, Edw.(Fermanagh, N.)
Mooney, John J.
Moss, Samuel
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, J. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Reddy, M.
Redmond, J. E. (Waterford)
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herb. L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Seely,Maj.J.E.B.(Isle of Wight
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford)
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer,Rt.Hn.C.R (Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas,J.A(Glamorgan,Gower
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Tully, Jasper
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Wallace, Robert
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, J. Cathcart (Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wood, James
Woodhouse,Sir JT(Huddersf'd

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Russell Rea and Mr. Ainsworth.

Mr. SOARES asked whether, the Amendment having been disposed of, the main Question could be debated.

*Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise out of anything that occurred before or during the division.

Mr. A. J. **Balfour** claimed, "That the Main Question be now put."

Question put accordingly, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

The House divided:—Ayes, 219; Noes, 159. (Division List No. 309.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus HenryEden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.HughO.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher,Rt.Hn.Sir H

Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Bafour,Rt.Hn.A.J. (Manch'r.)
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Brymer, William Ernest
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J H.M(Dublin Univ.
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hn. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish,V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain,Rt.Hn.J.A(Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H A. E.
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Davies, SirHoratioD.(Chatham
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale,Rt.Hn.SirJoseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir WilliamTheodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke,Rt.Hn.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fellowes, Rt. Hn. Ailwyn Edw.
Fergusson,Rt.Hn.Sir J(Manc'r.
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay,RtHnSirR.B (Inv'rn'ss)
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald,Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj.Evans(T'rH'mlets
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Green, W. D. (Wednesbury)
Greene, W. Raymond- (Cambs.
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton,Marq.of (L'donderry
Hardy,Laurence(Kent,Ashfo'd
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F.Leverton (Tynem'th)
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur H. (Hanley)
Heath,SirJames(Staffords.N.W
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, J. (Kent, Faversham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hn. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hn. Geo.T. (Denbigh)
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Lambton, Hn. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, Hn.H.L.W.(Mile End)
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hn. W. (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reg. J. (Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver,Sir Lewis(Edinburgh,W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell,Rt.HnSirH.E(Wigt'n)
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Middlemore,John Throgmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, D. J. Walthamstow)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Chas. J. Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nicholson, William Graham
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Rankin, Sir James
Ratcliff, R.F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, Jas. Farquharson
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie, Rt.Hn.Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Chas. Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edw. T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford,East
Smith, H.C(North'mbTyneside
Smith, Rt.HnJParker(Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Hn.Arthur(Ormskirk)
Stanley, Edw. Jas. (Somerset)
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J.M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Strutt, Hn. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn.JG.(Oxf'dUniv.
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Turnour, Viscount
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir Wm. H.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.CE(Taunton)
Whiteley, H.(Ashton undLyne)
Whitmore, Chas. Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, John (Glasgow)

Wodehouse, Rt. Hn.E.R(Bath)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wrighton, Sir Thomas
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

Tellers for the Ayes.—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

NOES.

Abraham, Wm. (Cork, N. E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Asquith, Rt.Hn.HerbertHenry
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Bryce, Rt. Hn. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Buxton, Sydney Chas.(Poplar)
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas.Ramsay(Galway)
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dillon, John
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, John Edward (Notts)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alex. (Lanark, N.E.)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herb. John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Griffith, Ellis J.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis
Hardie, J.Keir(MerthyrTydvil)
Harrington, Timothy
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt.Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Joicey, Sir James
Jones,DavidBrynmor(Swansea
Jones, Wm. (Carnarvonshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kennedy, Vincent P(Cavan,W.
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M‘Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M‘Fadden, Edward
M‘Hugh, Patrick A.
M‘Kean, John
M‘Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.
Mooney, John J.
Moss, Samuel
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary Mid)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James(Wicklow,W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S).
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, James(Roscommon,N
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E.(Waterford)
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs)
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Rose, Charles Day
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herb. L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Seely, Maj. J.EB (Isle of Wight
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Spencer, Rt.Hn.C.R(Northants
Stanhope, Hn. Philip James
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan,E.
Thomas,J.A(Glamorgan,Gower
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Tully, Jasper
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Wallace, Robert
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York. E.R.)
White Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York,W.R.)
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J (York,W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wood, James
Woodhouse, Sir JT(Huddersf'd

Tellers for the Noes — Mr. Soares and Mr. Duncan.

Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Pretyman, and Mr. Lee.

NAVAL WORKS BILL.

“To make further provision for the construction of works in the

United Kingdom and elsewhere for the purposes of the Royal Navy," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Friday, and to be printed. [Bill 287.]

COMPANIES ACTS AMENDMENT (DENTISTS) BILL.

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn.

COMPANIES ACTS AMENDMENT (PHYSICIANS) ETC., BILL.

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn.

NEW BILLS.

FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS.

Bill to amend the law relating to Factories and Workshops, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Tennant, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Sir Charles Dilke, Sir John Stirling Maxwell, Mr. John Burns, Mr. Talbot, Mr. McKenna, and Mr. Haldane.

FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS BILL.

"To amend the law relating to Factories and Workshops," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 288.]

SUMMARY JURISDICTION (CHILDREN) (No. 2.)

Bill to amend the law relating to the Trial and Detention of Children, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Tennant, Sir Howard Vincent. Mr. Mildmay, Mr. Crooks, Mr. Melville, Sir John Gorst, and Mr. Toulmin.

SUMMARY JURISDICTION (CHILDREN) (No. 2) BILL.

"To amend the law relating to the Trial and Detention of Children," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 289.]

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (SUPPLY).

Motion made, and Question put, "That three additional days be allotted to the Business of Supply."—(*Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

The House divided:—Ayes, 169; Noes, 216. (Division List No. 310.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork,N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herb. Henry
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Buxton,NE (York,NR,Whitby
Buxton, Sydney Chas. (Poplar)
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Davies,M. Vaughan-(Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dillon, John
Doogan, P. C.

Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,CaptEC(S Andrw's Bghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T (Glamorgan)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alex. (Lanark, N.E.)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Griffith, Ellis J.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis
Hardie, J. K. (Merthyr Tydvil)
Harrington, Timothy
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kennedy, V. P. (Cavan, W.)
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
Mooney, John J.
Moss, Samuel
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James(Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly,James(Roscommon,N)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Seely,Maj.J.E.B (Isle of Wight)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer,Rt.Hn.C.R.(Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas,JA (Glamorgan,Gower
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Wallace, Robert
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, J. Cathcart (Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wood, James
Woodhouse,Sir JT.(Huddersf'd

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.Hugh O
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. SirH
Bagot, Capt. JoscelineFitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour,Rt.Hn.A. J. (Manch'r.)
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brymer, William Ernest
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell,J.H.M. (DublinUniv.
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hn. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish,V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain,Rt.Hn.J A(Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Davies, Sir H. D. (Chatham)
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir J. C.

Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fellowes, Rt. Hn. Ailwyn Edw.
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J (Manc'r.
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, RtHnSirR B. (Inv'rn'ss)
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robt. Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S. W.)
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj. Evans (T'rH'mlets)
Graham, Henry Robert
Green, W. D. (Wednesbury)
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'donderry
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashf'rd
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur H. (Hanley)
Heath, Sir James (Staffords. NW)
Helder, Sir Augustus
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside)
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, J. (Kent, Faversham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hn. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Lambton, Hn. Frederick W.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, Hn. H. L. W. (Mile End)
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hn. W. (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reg. J. (Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh, W)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, RtHnSirH E. (Wigt'n.
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Middlemore, John Throgmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nicholson, William Graham
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Rankin, Sir James
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Col. Edw. J.
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, A. H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, HC (North'mb. Tyneside)
Smith, RtHnJ. Parker (Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk)
Stanley, Edw. Jas. (Somerset)
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Turnour, Viscount
Walker, Col. Wm. Hall
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunt'n
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

CONGESTED DISTRICTS (SCOTLAND) (RATES).

Order [18th July] for a Return relative thereto, read, and discharged.—(*Mr. John Dewar.*)

And, it being after One of the clock, Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to the Standing Order.

Adjourned at Three O'clock

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 26th July, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

There were thirty private Bills and Provisional Orders set down for consideration, but their progress was again "blocked."

Mr. MACVEAGH (Down, S.) objected to all the Bills, with the exception of the Dublin United Tramways Bill. In this case, however, a Ministerialist retaliated by "blocking" the Bill, which, with all the others, was again postponed.

On the Order for the Second Reading of the Central London Railway Bill.

Mr. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid.) who was in charge of the business connected with private Bills, moved that the Order be read and discharged and the Bill withdrawn.

Mr. MACVEAGH objected.

*Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member cannot object to the withdrawal of a private Bill.

The Motion was agreed to

Mr. CALDWELL made a similar Motion with regard to the Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway (No. 2) Bill.

Mr. MACVEAGH renewed his objection.

*Mr. SPEAKER: I have already told the hon. Member he has no power to object.

Mr. MACVEAGH, on a point of order, asked the Speaker whether such a Motion could only be sanctioned with the leave of the House.

*Mr. SPEAKER: No objection can be taken to the withdrawal of a private Bill. An hon. Member may object to progress being made with a Bill, but not to its withdrawal.

The Motion was agreed to.

Mr. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe) asked the Chairman of Committees whether he had come to any conclusion as to the course he proposed to take in the circumstances which had arisen in regard to private Bills.

The CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES (Mr. Grant Lawson, Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) said this was a matter that rested with him as Chairman of Committees and did not concern the Government in any way. He regretted very much the course that had been taken, though hon. Members might take what course they pleased. It appeared to him extremely hard that private people and corporations, after they had spent perhaps tens of thousands of pounds in the promotion of Bills——

Mr. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): You have no right to deliver a lecture. Answer the Question.

Mr. GRANT LAWSON was understood to say that, if the opposition were persisted in, it was his intention to put down a Motion suspending all the Bills whose progress had been barred until next session.

Mr. JOHN ELLIS: Is that what is known as a hanging-up Motion?

Mr. GRANT LAWSON: Yes. As at present advised, that is what will be done.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Do I understand the hon. Gentleman to say that he proposes to move that the whole of these thirty odd Bills shall be deferred to next session?

Mr. GRANT LAWSON: Yes, Sir. It has been done on many occasions. I think there are seven or eight precedents for this course.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill (by Order); Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill (by Order); Edgware and Hampstead Railway Bill (by Order); London and North Western Railway Bill (by Order); Metropolitan Electric Tramways Bill (by Order); Dublin United Tramways Bill (by Order); Midland Railway Bill (by Order); Skegness Water Bill (by Order); Woolwich Borough Council Bill (by Order). Consideration of Lords Amendments deferred till To-morrow.

Formby Township Bill [Lords] (by Order); Workington Harbour and Dock Bill [Lords] (by Order); Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council Bill [Lords] (by Order); Matlock Bath Improvement Bill [Lords] (by Order); Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District) Bill [Lords] (by Order); Sheffield University Bill [Lords] (by Order); South Lancashire Tramways Bill [Lords] (by Order). Third Reading deferred till To-morrow.

Littlehampton Urban District Council Bill [Lords] (by Order); Shepton Mallet Gas Company (Electric Lighting) Bill [Lords] (by Order); Bristol Blind Asylum Bill [Lords] (by Order); Corbett Estate Bill [Lords] (by Order); County of London Electric Supply Company Bill [Lords] (by Order); Humber Conservancy Bill [Lords] (by Order); Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board Bill [Lords] (by Order); Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill [Lords] (by Order). Consideration, as amended, deferred till To-morrow.

Central London Railway Bill (by Order). Order for Second Reading read and discharged. Bill withdrawn.

Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway (No. 2) Bill (by Order). Order for Second Reading read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn.

Edinburgh Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Esk Valley Power Gas Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Stonehaven Harbour Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Consideration deferred till To-morrow.

Glasgow Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Second Reading deferred till To-morrow.

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords]. Second Reading deferred till Monday next (Evening Sitting).

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill [Lords] (by Order). Second Reading deferred till Monday next (Evening Sitting).

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London, No. 1) Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time To-morrow.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time To-morrow.

Central Electric Supply Bill [Lords]; Oldham and Saddleworth District Tramways Bill [Lords]; Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Rhymney and Aber Valleys Gas and Water Company Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS.

MR. MACVEAGH, on a point of order, asked if it was not the duty of any hon. Member who objected to a Return being granted to be in his place to raise the objection? Was there anything in the Standing Order entitling him to claim that the mere expression of an opinion outside the House was sufficient to prevent a Return being issued?

*MR. SPEAKER: The custom of the House has always been that, before a Member can move a Return he shall present a letter from the Department concerned declaring it unopposed. In the absence of such authority it is not granted. It can, of course, be moved after midnight, but then any hon. Member can object to it if he chooses.

PETITIONS.

CHURCHES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Montrose, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

CROFTERS' HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) ACT (1886) AMENDMENT (No. 2) BILL.

Petition from Montrose, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

LAND VALUES TAXATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Montrose, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

SINGH, MAHARAJAH MADHO.

Petition from Bellary and other places in India, for inquiry into his case; to lie upon the Table.

SUNDAY TRADING (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Montrose, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION BILL.

Petition from Barnsley, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

INLAND REVENUE.

Copy presented, of Forty-eighth Report of the Commissioners, for the year ended 31st March, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

POST OFFICE.

Copy presented, of Fifty-first Report of the Postmaster-General [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

COLONIAL REPORTS (ANNUAL).

Copy presented, of Colonial Report No. 451 (Hong-Kong, Annual Report for 1904) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BANKRUPTCY ACT, 1890 (RULE).

Copy presented, of General Rule made pursuant to Section 25 of The Bankruptcy Act, 1890 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3457 to 3459 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY (PENSIONS).

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 20th March; *Captain Norton*]; to lie upon the Table.

ORDNANCE SURVEY.

Copy presented, of Report of the Progress of the Ordnance Survey to the 31st March, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

1. Inquiry into Charities (County of Wilts). Further Return relative thereto [ordered 9th August, 1901; *Mr. Griffith Boscawen*]; to be printed. [No. 266.]

2. Royal University of Ireland. Copy of Account of Receipts and Expenditure of the Royal University of Ireland for the year ended 31st March, 1905, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 267.]

INQUIRY INTO CHARITIES (ADMINISTRATIVE COUNTY OF DEVON).

Return ordered, "comprising (1) the Reports made to the Charity Commissioners in the result of an Inquiry held in every parish wholly or partly within the administrative county of Devon into Endowments, subject to the provisions of the Charitable Trusts Acts, 1853 to 1894, and appropriated in whole or in part for the benefit of that county, or of any part thereof, together with the Reports on those Endowments of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities, 1818 to 1837; (2) a Digest showing, in the case of each such parish, whether any, and, if any, what such Endowments are recorded in the books of the Charity Commissioners in the parish; and (3) an Index, alphabetically arranged, of names and places mentioned in the Reports."—(*Mr. Griffith Boscawen.*)

INQUIRY INTO CHARITIES (COUNTY BOROUGH OF SAINT HELENS).

Return ordered, "comprising (1) the Reports made to the Charity Commissioners in the result of an Inquiry held in the county borough of St. Helens into Endowments, subject to the provisions of the Charitable Trusts Acts, 1853 to 1894, and appropriated in whole or in part for the benefit of that county borough, or of any part thereof, together with the Reports on those Endowments of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities, 1818 to 1837; (2) a Digest showing whether any, and, if any, what such Endowments are recorded in the books of the Charity Commissioners in the county borough; and 3) an Index, alphabetically arranged of names and places mentioned in the Reports."—(*Mr. Griffith Boscawen.*)

INQUIRY INTO CHARITIES (COUNTY BOROUGH OF PRESTON).

Return ordered, "comprising (1) the Reports made to the Charity Commissioners in the result of an Inquiry held in the county borough of Preston into Endowments, subject to the provisions of the Charitable Trusts Acts, 1853 to 1894, and appropriated in whole or in part for the benefit of that county borough, or of any part thereof, together with the Reports on those Endowments of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities, 1818 to 1837; (2) a Digest showing whether any, and, if any, what such Endowments are recorded in the books of the Charity Commissioners in the county borough; and (3) an Index, alphabetically arranged, of names and places mentioned in the Reports."—(*Mr. Griffith Boscawen.*)

LOCAL RATES IN CONGESTED DISTRICTS (SCOTLAND).

Return ordered, "giving the amount of Local Rates per pound levied during the years 1892–3 to 1903–4, inclusive, in each parish within the Congested Districts in Scotland, as specified in the Sixth Annual Report of the Congested Districts Board (Scotland):—

County and Parish.	Year.	Parish Rates.		County Rates.		Total.		Notes as to Rates levied in Special Districts.
		Owners.	Occupiers.	Owners.	Occupiers.	Owners.	Occupiers.	
Argyll: A......	1892–3 ... 1893-4 ... &c. 1903–4 ...							
	Increase or Decrease between 1892–3 & 1903–4 ...							
B......	1892–3 ... &c.							

—(*Mr. John Dewar.*)

CRIMINAL AND JUDICIAL STATISTICS (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Criminal and Judicial Statistics of Ireland for the year 1904. Part I. Criminal Statistics [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRINITY COLLEGE (INTERMEDIATE SCHOLARSHIPS).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 25th July; *Mr. Walter Long*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 264.]

NAVY (STATEMENT OF EXCESS), 1903-4.

Copy presented, of Statement of the Sum required to be voted in order to make good Excesses of Navy Expenditure beyond the Grants, for the year ended 31st March, 1904 [by Command]; referred to the Committee of Supply, and to be printed. [No. 265.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Southampton Post Office—Dangerous Approach.

MR. TANKERVILLE CHAMBERLAYNE (Southampton): To ask the hon. Member for Chorley, as representing the First Commissioner of Works, whether he is aware that, at a meeting recently held in Southampton at which a representative of the Office of Works was present, it was decided that the approach to the new post office in that town was a source of danger to those using it; that the attention of the then Postmaster-General was drawn to this matter before the post office was built, and that he replied that there would be no danger and that the site was in every way suitable; and whether the Office of Works will now make what alterations may be necessary free of all expense to the town of Southampton.

(*Answered by Lord Balcarres.*) In answer to the first paragraph, I have to say that a meeting was recently held at Southampton at which representatives of the Office of Works were present and at which a discussion upon the approach to the new post office took place; no decision such as my hon. friend mentions was arrived at. The First Commissioner is awaiting a communication from the town council and other public bodies at Southampton; and, pending the arrival of this communication, he is not prepared to make any statement on the subject.

Crown Land Farms Vacant.

Sir WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he can state the number of Crown land farms mentioned as vacant in last year's Report which are still unlet, giving the size of each farm, the county in which it is situated, and the length of time it has been vacant; and whether any steps have been taken to divide the larger farms into smaller holdings, or to let any portion of them in small holdings and allotments.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) The following is the list of farms asked for by the hon. Member:—

County.	Farms, etc.	Areas.			Dates when farms, etc., came into hand.	Observations.
		a.	r.	p.		
Cambridge	A farm and lands at Burwell.	916	1	29	Michaelmas, 1904	
Hants (Isle of Wight).	A farm at Osborne.	768	3	8	1st January, 1903	Transferred to management of Commissioners of Woods under Osborne Estate Act, 1902
Kent (Isle of Sheppey).	A farm and lands at Neats Court.	1,157	3	5	Part at Michaelmas, 1897, part at Michaelmas, 1899, part at Michaelmas, 1892, and part at Michaelmas, 1903.	
Norfolk	Grassland, Wingland.	357	0	0	Michaelmas, 1883	
Oxford	A farm at Whichwood.	490	2	19	Michaelmas, 1887	
Suffolk	A farm at Shimpling.	572	0	31	Michaelmas, 1892	
Surrey	Land at Esher	16	2	7	Michaelmas, 1902	Available for building.
	Total area	4,279	1	19		

Steps are taken with the view of letting the farms, and any application for a part of one as a smaller holding would be considered, but it must be borne in mind that a division of the farms into smaller holdings except for allotments would involve substantial outlay in the provision of additional farmhouses and buildings.

Mails from North of Ireland to London.

Mr. LIDDELL (Down, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General if his attention has been called to the acceleration in service between Derry and London *via* Larne and Stranraer; if he is aware that the time allocated from the departure of the train from Derry is actually twenty minutes longer than it was fourteen years ago; if he will arrange for a departure from Derry of not earlier than 5.25 p.m., and from Belfast at 7.35 p.m,, to connect with the Highland express leaving Carlisle at 1.50 a.m., securing the same London delivery as at present.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The hon. Member is mistaken in supposing that the time allowed for the service from Londonderry to London, by way of Larne, is now twenty minutes longer than it was fourteen years ago. In 1891 the service was accelerated, and the despatch from Londonderry was made at 2.50 p.m., while the arrival in London was at 7.20 a.m. Now the despatch from Londonderry is at 4 p.m., and the arrival in London 7.10 a.m. The journey, therefore, occupies one hour twenty minutes less than in 1891. I regret that I cannot see my way to arrange for the further improvement suggested by the hon. Member.

Sorting Clerks and Telegraphists in the Savings Bank Department.

Mr. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): To ask the Postmaster-General if he can say what number of sorting clerks and telegraphists are employed in the Savings Bank Department; can he say if the hours and pay in that department are the same as obtain in other offices where sorting clerks and telegraphists are solely employed.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I am afraid I do not quite understand the hon. Member's Question. There are no sorting clerks and telegraphists on the staff of the Savings Bank Department. At bank holiday seasons, when there have been large numbers of withdrawals by telegraph, telegraphists have been sent to perform the telegraph work; and in the post office adjoining the Savings Bank Department, counter clerks and telegraphists are employed. These officers work the usual eight hours a day.

Post Office—Reclassification of Offices Scheme.

Mr. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he can now state the date upon which he intends to publish his scheme dealing with reclassification of offices; and whether he will consider the cases of these officers who have been waiting from five to fifteen years for promotion.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The question of reclassifying offices at towns where the cost of living is shown to be abnormally high is at present under consideration. It necessitates careful, and, I fear, somewhat prolonged inquiries. These inquiries are in progress, but I am not in a position to promise an early decision. No time shall, however, be lost, and I will do my best to expedite matters. The case of officers who have been at the maximum point of their scale for some time past, and whom it has not been possible to promote, does not affect the inquiry; nor can I admit that the fact of any officers being in such a position, of itself, constitutes a grievance.

Privy Council and List of Poisons.

Sir JOHN LENG (Dundee): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, in view of the fact that the Council of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain recently resolved that each of ten different articles should be declared a poison within the meaning of the Pharmacy Act, 1868, and that, in conformity with the Report of the Departmental Committee on Poisons, and the views of coroners and medical men, those ten articles included acetanalide, soluble salts of oxalic acid, and sulphonal, he will explain why these three articles were excluded from the list of poisons approved by the Lords of the Privy Council and advertised accordingly in the *London Gazette* of July 18th.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I have communicated on this matter with the Lord President of the Council, who informs me that the Lords of the Privy Council, after consideration of the substances covered by the terms of the resolution of the Pharmaceutical Society, and after taking expert advice upon the subject, decided, in the exercise of the discretion with which they are vested by Section 2 of The Pharmacy Act, 1868, to exclude from their approved list the three substances named in the Question.

Wrongful Imprisonment of Frederick Cooper at Salford.

MR. GROVES (Salford, S.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if his attention has been called to the case of Frederick Cooper, of Gloucester Street, Salford, who was wrongfully convicted of an indecent assault, at the Salford Sessions, on May 22nd last, and sentenced to three months hard labour, and who was released, after serving seven weeks of this sentence, upon his innocence being established; and whether, under the circumstances of the case, and in view of this man's present condition, it is proposed to offer some recompense and reparation to him.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) The offence of which Frederick Cooper was actually convicted was a common assault. Information which came to light after the trial, though it did not establish the prisoner's innocence of this charge, modified materially the view which the chairman of quarter sessions took of the case; and, on his recommendation, I advised the remission of the remainder of the sentence; but I am sorry I cannot take the view that the case is one in which I could suggest to the Treasury that a grant should be made from public funds.

Hall-Marking of Foreign Watches.

MR. ARTHUR STANLEY (Lancashire, Ormskirk): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to a decision of Mr. Justice Channell with regard to the hall-marking of foreign watches; and whether he proposes to take any action, by legislation or otherwise, to remove the disabilities under which British watch manufacturers are now labouring.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) My attention has been called to the decision in question, and I am informed by the Goldsmiths' Company that they have decided to appeal.

New Drill of Royal Irish Constabulary.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a new Army drill is being practised at the Royal Irish Constabulary depôt; and, if so, whether such drill has been issued to the force at large; and, if not, by what authority and in what counties is the same being practised; and whether the only book as present published on the subject of such new drill is one compiled by a constable of the force (so far unauthorised by the Inspector-General) which constables have to buy at their own expense; and whether a newer drill has been or is about to be introduced into the Army; and, if so, will he consider the desirability of withdrawing the drill in question and substituting the newer Army drill.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) A new drill became necessary in consequence of the issue to the force of Lee-Metford in substitution for Martini-Henry carbines. This drill has been practised at the constabulary depot, and, tentatively, in two counties, but it has not yet been issued to the force at large. The issue of the new arms has only now been completed, and a new drill-book, which will follow the latest Army drill with suitable modifications, is about to be prepared and issued to the force. There is no obligation on members of the force to purchase the unauthorised drill-book referred to.

Imprisonment of Indentured Indian Labourers in Trinidad.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies how many Indian labourers were serving under indentures in Trinidad, and how many of these were sentenced to imprisonment, and for what offences, in the latest year for which the figures are available.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The number of Indian immigrants under indenture in 1903 was 8,877. The number of natives of India sentenced to imprisonment in Trinidad in the same year was 2,306; this includes Indians not under indenture, who number about 85,000. Details as to the number of indentured immigrants imprisoned, and of the offences for which they were sentenced, are not available without reference to the colony.

Cost of Land Settlement in Transvaal and Orange River Colony.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what has been the cost of the land settlement to date in the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The issues from loan to 29th April last were £2,185,413 4s. 11d., viz., Transvaal £1,070,124 10s. 4d., and Orange River Colony £1,115,288 14s. 7d. (see p. 67 of Cd. 2563), but I am not able to give the total cost, as some part of the cost of the Department of Commissioner of Lands is no doubt due to land settlement, and, on the other hand, there must be certain small receipts and repayments.

Supposed Purchase of Foreign Motor-Cars for the War Office.

SIR F. DIXON-HARTLAND (Middlesex, Uxbridge): To ask the Secretary of State for War if his Department have entered into a contract with a Mr. Leinkhauf, or anyone else, to purchase 350, or any less number, of motor-cars abroad for War Office use; and, if so, whether any opportunity was given to English houses to compete for the order.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) No contract has been made for the purchase of motor-cars abroad for War Office use.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Royal Marine Barracks—Sales of Tickets to Recruits.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he will consider the desirability of stopping the practice of soliciting young recruits within the barracks to purchase tickets for theatrical performances in theatres specially provided and maintained by His Majesty's Government for the use of the Royal Marines, and to which the public are freely admitted on payment at the doors.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): The alleged practice is not known to exist.

MR. WEIR: Will the hon. Gentleman make inquiries? It is within my knowledge that the practice does exist

MR. PRETYMAN: I have made inquiries and given the hon. Member the information I have received.

MR. WEIR: It is false information.

The Whitworth Coalfields.

MR. MARKHAM (Nottinghamshire Mansfield): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he is aware that a South African financier is shortly floating a company to work the Whitworth Coal Estate in South Wales; whether it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to acquire an interest in this company; and whether he has received any reports from His Majesty's inspectors of mines relating to the value of this coal for naval purposes.

MR. PRETYMAN: The Admiralty have no information as to the alleged operations of the South African financier, and have no intention of acquiring any interest in the property. The Admiralty have taken care to inform themselves as to the probable character of the coal underlying the Whitworth Estate, but I am not at liberty to state the source from which this information has been derived.

Mr. MARKHAM: Is it not the fact that three years ago this property was offered to the Government and declined on the report received from His Majesty's inspectors of mines that it was valueless, and, with a view to the protection of the investing public, will the hon. Gentleman publish this report?

Mr. PRETYMAN: I should not like to say anything either to appreciate or depreciate the value of the property. The Admiralty have to deal with the matter from the purely national standpoint.

The Volunteers.

Major SEELY (Isle of Wight): I beg to ask the Secretary for War a Question of which I have given private notice, viz., whether his attention has been called to a statement made to-day in the Press that certain Volunteer units have refused to be medically examined as to their fitness for foreign service in compliance with the terms of the recent circular on the grounds of its illegality; and what steps, if any, the right hon. Gentleman proposes to take in the matter.

The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.): I have only this moment received the hon. Gentleman's Question. I have had no report of the incident referred to. So far as I am aware no question of the legality of the order can arise; but if it is illegal it cannot be enforced. I would remind the hon. Gentleman that the date for making the report is October 31st, and I have no doubt that the commanding officers will do their best to conform to the order, and will supply the Army Council with information which is necessary in the interest of national defence.

Major SEELY: Will the right hon. Gentleman say what he proposes to do in the event of certain Volunteer units refusing to comply with the order?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! That is clearly a hypothetical Question.

Major SEELY: No, Sir, it is not hypothetical.

*Mr. SPEAKER: That remark was hardly courteous to the Chair.

Major SEELY: I rise to a point of order. I desire to explain that I intended no discourtesy to the Chair, and to apologise. What I wanted to point out to the Secretary of State for War was that this incident was reported in to-day's *Standard* and has in fact occurred.

*Mr. SPEAKER: I accept the hon. Gentleman's explanation, but I would point out that his Question was as to what the right hon. Gentleman intended to do in the event of certain things occurring, and that, I ruled, was a purely hypothetical Question.

Alexandria Harbour—Wreckage Obstructions.

Mr. WEIR: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, with a view to preventing obstruction to British trade entering the port of Alexandria, he will instruct Lord Cromer to represent to the Egyptian Government the desirability of removing wrecks from the Boghas Pass and the entrance to Alexandria Harbour; and will he state how long the wreck of the steamship "Cairo," which went aground some months ago, was allowed to remain before any attempt was made to remove it.

The UNDER-SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.): His Majesty's Government have received no information from the Egyptian Government on the subject of the hon. Member's Question.

The Unemployed Workmen Bill.

Mr. DAVID MACIVER (Liverpool, Kirkdale): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether, having regard to the experimental character of the Unemployed Workmen Bill, and with a view to lessening the probabilities of objections being raised to its further progress, he will agree to introduce words which would limit its operation to a period of three years in order that, at the end of that time, the whole subject may be reconsidered; and whether he will agree to the insertion of words intended to secure that no additional burden shall be put upon the rates, and that all expenditure under the Bill shall be recouped from the National Exchequer out of a special grant in aid of local taxation, to be derived, as is already the case in the Channel Islands, from a landing charge of one penny per hundredweight levied upon all importations which compete with our industries, and upon importations generally other than raw materials.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): As regards the first part of the Question, I think that three years would be too short a period for the duration of the Bill; but I have given notice of an Amendment which would limit its operation to ten years. As regards the second part of the Question, the reply must be in the negative.

Payment of Education Grants.

MR. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether he is aware that the grants payable to education authorities in respect of elementary schools maintained by them, and due on 1st May last, are again in arrear; and whether he is also aware that the non-receipt of these grants is causing the local education authorities trouble and the ratepayers expense in having to provide nearly double the amount of money than estimated as sufficient at the commencement of the half year; and what steps he proposes to take in this matter.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University): The aid grant and fee grant appear to have been paid this year at the same times as last year. I presume, therefore, that the grants referred to by the hon. Member are the annual grants. The payment of the annual grants accruing for payment on May 1st has proceeded at least as fast this year as last. The difference in the sums received is, I think, explained by the fact that the partial system of payment of the annual grant by quarterly instalments, which has been in force during the past two financial years, was discontinued during the early part of the present financial year. The Board have now made arrangements for the continued payment of these instalments during this year but no longer. Local authorities are, therefore, now receiving these instalments.

MR. SOARES: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that the dilatoriness in this matter is causing great inconvenience to the town of Barnstaple?

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: No, Sir, I am not aware of anything of the sort.

Island of Lewis Fishing Industry.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate whether, with a view to assist the fishing industry in the Island of Lewis, he will consider the expediency of establishing a weight-carrying motor-car service between Carloway and Stornoway, Island of Lewis.

THE LORD-ADVOCATE (Mr. SCOTT DICKSON, Glasgow, Bridgton): If the service referred to by the hon. Member is regarded in the island as tending to practical and efficient development to the fishing industry on the western seaboard of the Lews, and application is made for assistance in establishing such service, the Secretary for Scotland will give the matter his favourable consideration.

The Beaufort Castle Shooting Case.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate if he will state whether Scheffer Phipps and Henry Carnegie Phipps, of Beaufort Castle, Inverness-shire, who were recently committed at Inverness on a charge of shooting at four men engaged at work on the Beauly River, and released on their own recognisances, are still in the United Kingdom; and can he take any steps to prevent their fleeing from justice.

MR. SCOTT DICKSON: Messrs. Phipps were not liberated on their own recognisances but on bail bonds in common form. Mr. John S. Phipps is at present out of the country, but arranged before leaving that he would return at any time within forty-eight hours. I have every reason to believe that they intend to meet any charge that may be brought against them. I have nothing further to add to the Answers I have already given to the hon. Member.

Mr. WEIR: What part of the world has he gone to?

Mr. SCOTT DICKSON: I believe he has gone to Paris.

Girls' Schools in Ireland—Rule 127 (b).

Mr. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is now in a position to state the number of schools for girls in Ireland that have only one room.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.): For the reasons stated in my reply to the hon. Member's similar Question on 6th instant,† the Commissioners do not propose to make inquiry with the object of ascertaining the number of these schools.

Mr. BOLAND: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the whole country is upset by this Rule 127(b).

Mr. WALTER LONG: I am not sure that that is so, but under any circumstances I see no reason to differ from the conclusion arrived at by the Commissioners that an inquiry as suggested would take a very long time and the results would not be such as to justify the labour and expense.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Then how are the Commissioners going to ascertain if the schools are suitable to send young boys into?

Mr. WALTER LONG: Obviously they must make inquiries of their own.

Mr. DILLON: But they will not give us the information they obtain!

The Irish Development Grant.

Sir THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland where the £111,355 5s. 3d., the unexpended balance of the Irish Development Grant for 1904, is deposited, and at what rate of interest; and, if it is not drawing interest, if he will arrange for the inviting of tenders from the Irish banks for deposit interest on this unexpended balance; and if he will further arrange to have tenders invited from the Irish banks on every 31st of March for the use on deposit of whatever may be the current balance of the Irish Development Grant each year.

Mr. WALTER LONG: The unexpended balance is at present in the Paymaster-General's supply account, and not in any interest-bearing account. The question whether this balance should be temporarily invested is at present engaging attention.

Mr. DILLON asked whether the right hon. Gentleman had ever heard of a large sum of money like this on which no interest was payable.

Mr. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): The Irish landlords will give 5 per cent.

Sir THOMAS ESMONDE: As this matter is of great importance to Ireland, will the right hon. Gentleman pursue his inquiries in other directions and ascertain whether there are any other branches of Irish administration in which large sums of money are not bearing any interest.

Mr. WALTER LONG: I am doing so.

Mr. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.): Does the right hon. Gentleman's Answer mean that this Irish money is being used for English purposes when no money is available for certain Irish purposes?

Mr. WALTER LONG: The money is available for use as the Irish Government may think desirable.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxlviii., 1344.

Mr. MACVEAGH (Down, S): Where is this money deposited?

Mr. WALTER LONG: I have said it rests with the Paymaster-General.

Mr. MACVEAGH: That is not an Answer to the Question. The Question I ask is where is this money deposited, and it is no Answer to say that the matter rests with the Paymaster-General.

*Mr. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman answered that.

Mr. MACVEAGH; No, Sir, he has not answered it.

*Mr. SPEAKER: The Answer may not be satisfactory to the hon. Gentleman, but an Answer has been given.

The Trans-Atlantic Marine Post Office.

Mr. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he has received two petitions from the staff on the Dublin and Queenstown T. P. O., relative to appointments on the marine post office between England and the United States; and whether, in view of monetary loss imposed on these officers by the new arrangements for dealing with American mails, and their experience and service, he will say whether it is his intention to appoint them positions on the sea post office.

The POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton): I have had before me the petitions to which the hon. Member refers. They appear to be based on a misapprehension of the facts. No officer employed on a travelling post office has a claim to be permanently retained on such work, and may be removed at any time when the requirements of the Department render such removal desirable. The allowance which is paid to officers engaged in travelling post office work is paid for subsistence and in view of the inconvenience to which the duty is liable, and would, of course, cease when the duty was no longer to be performed. As I explained in Answer to Questions asked, by the hon. Member among others, on the 9th[†] and 15th May[‡], the selection of officers for the sea post office on board the mail packets carrying the mails between this country and the United States will be governed by convenience in working the duty and the competence of the officers available; and, in the existing circumstances, it is most convenient to work it with staff drawn from the Liverpool Office.

Mr. NANNETTI: May I ask if it be not the fact that on every occasion on which letters by the marine post office have arrived in Ireland, the correspondence has been delayed and the officials there kept on duty extra time so that they have lost the nine hours at home to which they are entitled?

Lord STANLEY: I should think not.

Mr. NANNETTI: Will you inquire?

Lord STANLEY; No.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): Poor bloodsuckers.

Crown Prosecution at Galway Assizes.

Mr. CHARLES DEVLIN (Galway) asked the Attorney-General for Ireland if his attention had been called to the report of a speech delivered on behalf of the Crown by Mr. Powell, K.C., in a prosecution at the Galway Assizes, and particularly to a statement by the learned counsel that "there would be no harm if some fellows were whipped in that county"? Was Mr. Powell instructed by the right hon. Gentleman to make that statement, or in so doing did he represent the right hon. Gentleman's views, and if not, what steps would be taken to repudiate it?

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.): I have only just received the notice. The report is evidently a condensed one.

Mr. CHARLES DEVLIN: But the statement is clearly made.

Mr. ATKINSON: There appears to have been some discussion as to the power to inflict the punishment of whipping under the Act of Will. IV., and according to this report the learned counsel said the prisoner could not be whipped, volunteering the additional statement referred to in the Question. I need not say I was not aware the learned counsel was going to say that, and not having seen the full report I cannot, of course, say whether I approve or disapprove his speech.

[†] See (4) *Debates*, cxlv., 1339.

[‡] See (4) *Debates*, cxlvi., 277.

Mr. CHARLES DEVLIN: The matter is a very serious one. Men for attending a meeting were sent to prison for nine months. May I ask the Chief Secretary if flogging is to be part and parcel of his coercion policy in the West of Ireland?

Mr. ATKINSON: The point of the speech was that flogging could not be inflicted, and the Judge in his charge to the jury said he had no power to order it. Therefore it is no part of the Government policy.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): Was this speech made before a packed jury? Was it delivered for the purpose of inciting the Judge to pass a heavier sentence?

Mr. CHARLES DEVLIN: And is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Judge told the jury it was not a case calling for a special jury or a State trial?

Mr. ATKINSON: I am aware the Judge made some such remark in answer to an appeal by the accused, who said he was directed by the President of the Land League to write the letter.

Mr. CHARLES DEVLIN: That is not the point Did not the Judge say it was not a case which should be made a State trial before a specially packed jury?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member must give notice of that Question.

Mr. CHARLES DEVLIN: I will do so.

Royal Hibernian Academy.

Mr. BOLAND asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury whether he was now in a position to state the terms of reference to the Committee appointed to inquire into the work of the Royal Hibernian Academy.

The FINANCIAL SECRETARY of the TREASURY (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.) said the terms of reference to the Committee appointed by the Treasury was to inquire into the work carried on by the Royal Hibernian Academy and the Metropolitan School of Art in Dublin, and to report whether any measures, and if so what measures, should be taken to enable these institutions to serve the purposes for which they were maintained.

Mr. BOLAND asked why the National Gallery was excluded from the inquiry.

Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH said he did not think there was any particular demand for an inquiry into the working of the National Gallery, but if it should appear in the course of the investigation of the Committee that that institution should be included he should be glad to extend the scope of the inquiry.

Mr. MOONEY (Dublin County, S.), as the Member whose Resolution led to the promise to appoint the Committee, was understood to say that he only withdrew his Motion on the distinct understanding that the inquiry should embrace the National Gallery as well.

Minister of Industry and Commerce.

Mr. D. A. THOMAS (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he can now say when it is proposed to introduce the Bill to create a Minister of Industry and Commerce.

The PRIME MINISTER and FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.): Within the next two or three days.

The Unemployed Workmen Bill.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask the Prime Minister a Question of which I have given him private notice, namely, why the Committee stage of the Unemployed Bill has not been set down for this day, as the right hon. Gentleman stated last week would probably be the case.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not remember the anticipation of business to which the hon. Gentleman refers, but I think it is very likely that he is quite accurate in his memory. But it seems to me that the Bill which is down first on the Paper is one which has a prior claim to any other, and that is the reason why I placed it first on the Paper.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE: Is it because of a statement to the effect that the Labour Members were opposed to the Unemployed Bill that it was not set down for to-day?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir. My right hon. friend the President of the Local Government Board was carrying on negotiations last week with various sections of the House interested in this Bill; but, as far as I am aware, the reason I have given was the only reason, certainly it was the principal reason, why the Scottish Churches Bill was put down first.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE: Can the right hon. Gentleman say when the Committee stage will be taken?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir. But I cannot take it any day this week.

Mr. CROOKS (Woolwich) asked on what date the Committee stage would be reached. Since it was alleged that the Labour Members were responsible for the delay, he would ask whether it was not a new order of things for four or five Labour Members in that House to dictate the policy of the Government, and to say what Bills should be introduced?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member has fallen into an error, not uncommon in this House, in attributing to me statements which I have never made, but which appear to have been made on my behalf by other people. I have never made a single statement as to the so-called obstruction of the Labour Members.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): Could not the Unemployed Bill be put down as the second order on Friday, in case the Naval Works Bill does not occupy the whole sitting.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am bound, of course, to consider any arrangement about business which may conduce to the rapid and peaceful termination of the session; but I have been assailed by so many threats and suggestions of difficulty with regard to legislation that the House will recognise that my primary duty is to get through the Bills which must be passed, in the hope that there will still be time left for Bills which, however desirable, are not in the same administrative category as those to which I refer.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE: May I ask whether this Bill, which deals with the life of the poor, does not come within the category of those that must pass.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I think the hon. Member is under a mistake. There are a certain number of Bills which must absolutely be passed, whoever is in power.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE: Is the Churches (Scotland) Bill one of these?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: There are particular crises, like that which has made the Scottish Bill necessary, which also bring Bills into the category of absolutely necessary Bills. The question of the unemployed, and the suffering which want of employment gives to certain classes of the population, is one which must exercise the anxiety of every man in this House, and of those responsible for the government of the country. But it is not a phenomenon which began in 1905; the difficulties connected with employment are of very old standing, they have been considered by this House for many generations; and, though I am the last man to underrate the importance either of the Government proposals or any other proposals which may be submitted dealing with this question, it is really a travesty of facts to say that this is a new phenomenon suddenly sprung on the world which absolutely requires in this session to be dealt with. There are much less important matters—relatively insignificant matters—which everybody knows must be passed.

MR. KEIR HARDIE: If a crisis is necessary, I can promise the right hon. Gentleman that there will be one on this question in the winter.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): Can the Prime Minister say what Supply is to be taken on the remaining allotted days? I understand the suggestion is to take the Education Estimate on Monday, the Home Office Vote on Tuesday, and the Foreign Office Vote on Wednesday.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): And when is it proposed to bring in the Irish Land Act Amendment Bill?

MR. GEORGE WHITE (Norfolk, N.W.): Will the Education Vote be taken before August 1st, when the new Education Code comes into force, seeing that that will be the only opportunity the House will have of discussing the matter.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I propose to take Estimates on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of next week. To-morrow is already allocated to the Colonial Vote, and I shall be glad to take the Education Vote on Tuesday if that will meet the views of hon. Gentlemen opposite. I shall probably suggest to the House on Monday that the time has arrived when we ought to suspend the twelve o'clock rule. The amending Irish Land Bill will be introduced on or before Monday.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN: Will it be introduced by the present Chief Secretary?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not know who else it is to be introduced by.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I suppose the right hon. Gentleman is aware that the Bill is opposed by both landlords and tenants.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Then I am afraid it cannot pass.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: What is the use of wasting time on it then?

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) urged that an opportunity should be given for the discussion of the Home Office Vote.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is down for to-morrow night.

MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe): It was clearly understood we were to have a morning sitting for the Home Office Vote. Knowing what is going on we could not accept an evening sitting for this Vote. It is a matter which affects many thousands of people in this country. Why not take it on Wednesday?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR suggested that the best course would be that his right hon. friend the Patronage Secretary to the Treasury should consult with those who had the confidence of hon. Gentlemen opposite as to the allocation of the remaining days of Supply. To the Government it was, of course, a matter of relative indifference on what subject hon. Gentlemen desired to criticise their administration; he had always declared, almost *ad nauseam*, that the Government were prepared to accept the version of hon. Gentlemen opposite as to what they thought the most desirable matters to criticise.

SIR HENRY FOWLER: We think it the most desirable arrangement to take the Home Office Vote on Wednesday.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I venture to suggest a consultation, as time is limited.

THE COLONIAL CONFERENCE.

MR. SOARES: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government is bound by, and intends to act upon, the solemn declaration of this House, made on 4th April this year, to the effect that "any Colonial Conference which was entered upon, except on the understanding that this country would not agree to the taxation of corn, meat, and dairy produce, would result in failure."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The solemn declaration of which the hon. Gentleman speaks appears to be in the nature of a prophecy. I do not think the Government can be bound by any prophecy in which this House chooses to indulge.

MR. SOARES: My Question arises out of a declaration which appears on the books of the House. It is a Resolution passed by the House on April 4th.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes; but that is a prophecy; it is a statement that a certain course will result in failure. I do not see how the Government can be bound by a prophecy.

MR. SOARES: Do I understand that the Prime Minister is not bound by the deliberate opinion of this House?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Certainly, I do not think that I, or any sane man, can be bound, least of all the House itself, by any forecast of the future in which it may indulge.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs): Are we to understand that if the House of Commons expresses its opinion that a certain course of action if taken by the Government would result in failure, the Government is not bound by an expression of opinion of that kind before it takes action?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think the Government is in the least bound beyond the length I have stated.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Is the opinion of this House worth anything at all?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Sometimes, not always.

SHIPOWNERS' NEGLIGENCE (REMEDIES) BILL.

Lords Amendment to be considered upon Friday, and to be printed. [Bill 293.]

NEW BILLS.

ISLE OF MAN (CUSTOMS) BILL.

"To amend the Law with respect to Customs Duties in the Isle of Man," presented by Mr. Victor Cavendish; to be read a second time To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 292.]

HIGHWAYS (No. 2) BILL.

"To provide for the establishment of a Highway Commission for England and Wales and for the Amendment of the Laws relating to Highways and Bridges in England and Wales, and for other purposes," presented by Mr. Arthur Stanley; supported by Sir Alfred Hickman, Mr. Lough, Mr. Griffith Boscawen, Mr. Perks, Mr. Bull, Mr. Scott-Montagu, and Mr. Tennant; to be read a second time To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 294.]

EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL.

"To continue various Expiring Laws," presented by Mr. Victor Cavendish; to be read a second time To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 296.]

LONDON (EQUALISATION OF RATES) BILL.

"To make provision for the taking of a Census in 1906 for the purposes of The London (Equalisation of Rates) Act, 1894," presented by Mr. Gerald Balfour; supported by Mr. Jeffreys; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 295.]

MARINE WORKS (IRELAND) BILL.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.) asked leave to bring in a Bill under the ten minutes rule to extend the Marine Works (Ireland) Act to districts outside of the congested districts. He said the subject had been debated in the House several times, and it was unnecessary for him to dilate upon the merits of his case. The House was well aware of the condition of a very large section of the Irish population and of the state of the fishing industry on some parts of the Irish coast.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.), rising to a point of order, called attention to the absence of the Chief Secretary. This was not right, seeing that the Bill affected the interests of Irish fishermen.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not a point of order. The right hon. Gentleman is entitled to go out.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: He is paid £5,000 a year and ought to be here.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): May I ask if the right hon. Gentleman is writing his resignation?

Mr. WALTER LONG here returned.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE, proceeding, said the Bill was introduced on behalf of a large section of the Irish fishing population. The question had been brought to the notice of various Chief Secretaries, but, so far, nothing had been done. He made no doubt, however, that the House would be glad to assist them to obtain this small and modest measure of relief, especially as it was not very likely that any measure of legislative importance would be forthcoming for Ireland as the result of the session. It was a matter of very urgent and pressing necessity. Year by year the fishing population was diminishing, and year by year the tide of emigration was flowing quietly on. There was already a Bill, the Marine Works Act, referring to certain parts of Ireland, and he asked that that measure should be extended to the entire coast of Ireland. The question was non-controversial. The Bill had been very carefully considered by everybody in Ireland who understood the question, and it had the support of Irish bodies, county councils and harbour boards, and everybody interested in the fishing industry. In fact, it was a measure which would have the support of an Irish Parliament. The existing Act was not quite as good as it might be, and in the new Bill they desired to improve it. For instance, the Irish Board of Works, which was a very unsatisfactory body, had large powers, and they proposed to place their responsibilities upon the shoulders of Irish elected bodies to whom the Act would be entrusted. Similarly, they proposed to give the county councils and harbour boards such powers of supervision and protection as would to some extent protect the Irish ratepayers against possible mistakes by the Board of Works. They further desired to improve the financial position of the Irish local bodies by consolidating their debts and taking other steps to assist the Irish ratepayers. He trusted the House would agree to the First Reading of the Bill and that it would assist them in its subsequent stages.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to extend the Marine Works (Ireland) Act, 1902, to districts out of the Congested Districts."—(*Sir Thomas Esmonde.*)

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.) sought to speak, but the Speaker ruled that unless he opposed he had no *locus standi.* The hon. Member said he did not oppose the principle, but he could not agree with all the hon. Member for North Wexford had said.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) said that without speaking in opposition he had frequently commented on speeches of Ministers in introducing a Bill under the ten minutes rule, and he submitted that it provided that the Speaker might call upon a Member to oppose, or might restrict the debate or allow it to go on.

*THE SPEAKER said he thought that reading a little too wide. The Standing Order only applied to opposed Bills.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill to extend the Marine Works (Ireland) Act, 1902, to districts outside of the Congested Districts, ordered to be brought in by Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. Cogan, and Mr. Power.

MARINE WORKS (IRELAND) BILL.

"To extend The Marine Works (Ireland) Act, 1902, to districts outside the

Congested Districts," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 297.]

DURATION OF PARLIAMENTS.

*MR. CHURCHILL (Oldham) asked for leave to introduce even at that late period of the session a Bill to limit the duration of Parliaments to five years. He submitted that the present condition of things was peculiarly suitable for the favourable consideration of any plan for shortening the duration of Parliaments. Under the Septennial Act we enjoyed a longer tenure of Government without appeal to the constituencies than almost every other European country. Some of our greatest and most illustrious statesmen, among them Lord Chatham and Lord Broughham, had strongly urged the curtailment of the period now prescribed. In practice the duration had been a great deal less than the maximum allowed. The Parliaments of the last century had lasted on an average less than five years—the limit he proposed. His proposal was, therefore, not one to alter the general practice of the country, but to provide and guard against certain special and peculiar circumstances which might arise from time to time.

In former years the two vital functions of the House—its representative character and the controlling influence which it exercised upon the Government—had been preserved by a number of practical and effective checks. There was a check afforded by the possible intervention of the Crown, either by dismissing Ministers from office or by dissolving Parliament, There was also the check provided by a great number of Members who represented family, or pocket, boroughs, and who, however unsatisfactory from one point of view, undoubtedly gave an element of absolute independence to the House. Lastly, there was the check of public opinion, which at some periods of our history had proved very powerful, and had exercised a kind of moral restraint upon the Government of the day. All these checks which the wisdom of our ancestors had devised, and the practice of former times assured, had gradually fallen into weakness or desuetude. The Crown acted only upon advice, and when it was a question of the dismissal of Ministers or the dissolution of Parliament that advice was not always forthcoming. Independent Members were gradually, irresistibly absorbed in the great political organisations, which grew in strength every succeeding year, and public opinion was concealed and often distorted by the ever-spreading ramifications of a vast and combined syndicated newspaper Press. There remained of all these checks only one which was now effective —the check established by the House of Lords, which, if it operated at all, operated only when one political Party was in power. Now that the checks had been removed, it might easily happen that a Government might continue in power long after confidence had been withdrawn from it by the country. The Ministers themselves might earnestly and honestly desire to be relieved from duties which they were no longer discharging to their own satisfaction nor to the satisfaction of the public, and yet, so strong might be the pressure of the instinct of self-preservation upon them, that, by a strange inversion, the very circumstances which ought to procure a dissolution might prevent it.

The House must remember the increasing power of the Executive and the decline of Parliamentary authority. Our Parliamentary procedure had been adapted to the rigid precision of foreign models. Our constitution still preserved the generous vagueness for which it was famous. We had borrowed from foreign nations almost every device which could weaken a representative institution; we had rejected almost every safeguard which could control the Executive Government. Contrary to the practice of early days, every vote which was taken was regarded as a vote of confidence in the Government, except, apparently, a vote upon which the Government was defeated. The prolongation of Parliament in such circumstances might very easily produce very grave dangers to the State. Ministers, however able and industrious they might be when they came into office, could not fail to be exhausted by many years of the ever-increasing severity of official business under modern conditions. There was at the fag-end of Parliament a growth, an accumulation, of bitterness and personal feud which, under his proposal, would be swept away by one appeal to the nation, when an entirely new House would be brought together. There was in long Parliaments increased exacerbation of Party spirit both in and out of the House, and most of all there was danger of some tremendous explosion of popular feeling, the result of passions long suppressed and pent up, and which, when it came, not infrequently created evils almost as many as it cured. The ever-increasing facilities of locomotion would render general elections much more easy than in former times. He earnestly hoped that the House would allow him to introduce this measure even at this late period of the session, in order to bring the question of shorter Parliaments a little nearer to the arena of practical political discussion.

Motion made, and Question put, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to limit the duration of Parliaments to five years."—(*Mr. Churchill.*)

The House divided:—Ayes, 176; Noes, 239. (Division List No. 311.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Brown, George M.(Edinburgh)
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, N E.(York,NR,Whitby
Buxton, SydneyCharles(Poplar
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Calley, Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, M.Vaughan-(Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, CharlesRamsay(G'lway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Elibank, Master of
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Farrell, James Patrick
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alexander (Lanark, N
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Gurdon Sir W. Brampton
Hammond John
Harcourt, Lewis
Hardie, J.Keir(Merthyr Tydvil
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harrington, Timothy
Hayden, John Patrick
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Holland, Sir William Henry
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jones,DavidBrynmor(Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kennedy, VincentP.(Cavan,W.
Kilbride, Denis
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, SirJosephF.(Accrington
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lloyd-George, David
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh,N.
Mooney, John J.
Morley,Rt.Hon.John(Montrose
Moss, Samuel
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col. John P.(Galway,N.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Perks, Robert William
Philipps, John Wynford
Power, Patrick Joseph
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Reid, Sir R. Threshie(Dumfries
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Roche, Augustine (Cork)
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Rose, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Russell, T. W.

Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Soares,. Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt.Hn.CR.(Northants
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
Thomas, JA(Glamorgan,Gower
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Wallace, Robert
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitely, J. H. (Halifax)
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wood, James
Woodhouse, Sir J T.(Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Churchill and Mr. Trevelyan.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhohe
Arnold-Forster, Rt.Hn.Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hon.Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt.Hon.A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, RtHnGeraldW.(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, Rt.Hn.J.A.(Glasgow
Campbell, J.H.M.(Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W.(Derbyshire
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, RtHn.JA.(Worc.
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton
Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thomas H. A.E
Coddington, Sir William
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim,S.
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir Horatio D.(Chatham
Denny, Colonel
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred. Dixon
Dorington, Rt.Hon.Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fellowes, RtHnAilwyn Edward
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.Sir J.(Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, RtHn Sir RB.(Inv'rn'ss
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzgerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernset
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S.(Warwick,S.W
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj Evans-(Tr'Hmlets
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Henry D.(Shrewsbury)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, Rt Hn. Lord G.(Mid
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'derry
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, L. Leverton (Tynem'th
Haslam, Sir Alfred
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, Sir James (Staffords. N W
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, Sir A.(Stafford,W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, John (Kent, Favresham
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kennaway, Rt.Hon.Sir John H.
Kenyon, Hon.Geo.T.(Denbigh)
Kimber, Sir Henry
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Anderw Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, Hn.H.L.W.(Mile End)
Lee, Arthur H.(Hants, Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliot (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Lindell, Henry
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Long, Col. Charles W.(Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter (Bristol,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdonna, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Cecil
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, RtHn Sir HE.(Wigt'n
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Middlemore, John Throgmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hon. J.Scott (Hants.
Morgan, David J.(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens

Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, HerbertPike(Darlington
Peel, Hn.Wm. Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Rankin, Sir Sames
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ritchie, Rt.Hon.Chas.Thomson
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Samuel, Sir HarryS.(Limehouse
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, Sir H.(Renfrew
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith,H.C.(North'mbTyneside
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Hon.Arthur(Ormskirk
Stanley, Rt.Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy W.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Turnour, Viscount
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt.Hn.SirWilliam H.
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E.(Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G.E.(Notts.)
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby (Lord
Wills, SirFrederick(Bristol, N.)
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W.H.(Yorks.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

CHURCHES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

As amended, considered.

MR. THOMAS SHAW (Hawick Burghs) said he begged to move the Amendment standing in his name, "In Clause 1, page 2, line 14, after the word 'shall,' to insert the words 'having regard to congregational contributions and other income of the Free Church.'" He might say that this Amendment was substantially a part of the bargain which they had been able to effect with the representatives of the Government. He believed that it contained all that they, on his side, wished to see in regard to the actual terms of the agreement. He expressed the hope that when all the circumstances and various matters were set forth, and considered by the Commissioners, it would never enter into the mind of the Free Church itself, far less into the minds of the Commissioners, as he was sure it did not enter into the mind of either Party in that House, that there was to be a system of permanent endowment of congregations, apart altogether from their self-supporting position.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 14, after the word 'shall,' to insert the words 'having regard to congregational contributions and other income of the Free Church.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw*).

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE LORD-ADVOCATE (Mr. SCOTT DICKSON, Glasgow, Bridgton) said he agreed with the statement which his hon. and learned friend had made, viz., that they had endeavoured, as far as possible, to meet the views of the hon. Gentleman opposite. He did not intend in the slightest degree to profess to be able to enter into the minds either of the Free Church or of the Commissioners. He desired that both bodies should have the fullest liberty given to them by the terms of the Amendment, when the Bill was passed into law.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax) expressed his approbation that the Government had accepted some small step in the direction in which many on that side of the House desired to go; though he was not quite sure whether the words they had agreed to insert now did carry out what was in his mind when he made the suggestion to the Prime Minister, that it was not a kindness but a cruelty to a Church, which called itself a Free Church, to endow it so that the need for congregational contributions should no longer exist. While he understood that this form of words in the Amendment had been agreed to on both sides of the House, although not entirely meeting the views of his hon. and learned friend the Member for the Border Burghs, he suggested to the Lord-Advocate whether he could not agree to the insertion of three words in the Amendment to make it read "having regard to the proper maintenance of the congregational contributions and other income of the Free Church." What he desired to do was this, to provide that in this redistribution of the funds of the Churches, the Free Church, as it called itself, should be left with the same proportion of voluntary effort required from its supporters as had been required previous to 1900. That was not the result of the Bill. He, therefore, took it that all the money that came beyond that amount to the Free Church would be a harm to it, and not a benefit; and this Bill would be one which would kill and not kindle the interests of religion, which both Churches were endeavouring to promote. He would suggest to the Lord-Advocate whether he might not be able to accept a slight strengthening of the words of the Amendment; but for his part, having got the principle acknowledged in the words of the Amendment, he did not intend to enforce his own particular words on the House.

Question put, and agreed to.

Mr. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) said that the Amendment which he had put on the Paper did seem to him needed. Of course, he recognised that a very considerable improvement had been effected in the Bill in the manner indicated by his hon. and learned friend the Member for the Border Burghs. He agreed that the improvements which had been effected in the Bill, and which were to be effected by other Amendments which the Government had accepted, would diminish the danger against which he desired to guard by leaving out the word "adequate." Notwithstanding these improvements it seemed to him that a danger did exist from that word and the sense that might be put upon it by the Commissioners. He felt that the word was vague and that it might lead to harm; but if he attached so much importance to his opinion as to divide upon it, and was not successful in the division, he might find his last state worse than the first. Although he wished that the Lord-Advocate could have found another word to take the venom out of the word "adequate," he did not want to see the discretion of the Commissioners fettered, and therefore he would not move the Amendment standing in his name.

Mr. SCOTT DICKSON confessed that to his mind, the word "adequate" had not the fault attributed to it by his right hon. friend; but he was quite certain that all of them had complete confidence in the Commissioners, and though the word differed from the word in the Elgin Commission Report, which was "liberal," he thought "adequate" more clearly carried out the wishes of all of them. He was sure that they wished to give the Commissioners a free hand.

Mr. THOMAS SHAW said that the picture he had in his mind was a picture of the state of things that might be produced, particularly in the North and West of Scotland, where they had divided forces, by the granting of anything in the nature of a permanent endowment. What was wanted was to allow Church development to go on on its normal and natural lines, and not to give perpetuity to a system which would become a common mockery and a byword. They had had far too much of that in times past. He agreed with his right hon. and learned friend that the Commissioners should view such a situation by way of making the adequate provision to which he had referred. He would remind his right hon. friend the Member for Aberdeen that the word "adequate" must now stand in the Bill unless they were to go back on the arrangement which had been made, with perfect freedom, on both sides.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 15, after the word 'support,' to insert the words 'subject to payment of the usual annual contributions (if any).'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, lines 17 and 18, to leave out the words 'supplementing congregational contributions towards.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 20, after the word 'Act,' to insert the words 'for itinerant preachers.'"—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 21, to leave out the words 'and for itinerant preachers.'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, lines 31 and 32, to leave out the words 'and any orders so made,' and insert the words 'Any such orders.'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 32, after the word 'Act,' to insert the words 'may be recorded in the usual manner in the Register of Sasines or other appropriate register.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 41, to leave out the first word 'or.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 41, after the word 'burdens,' to insert the words 'or debts.'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 2, after the word 'of,' to insert the word 'that.'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 3, after the word 'of,' to insert the word 'that.'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, lines 15 and 16, to leave out the words 'executions on any judgments,' and insert the word 'execution.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 16, after the word 'be,' to insert the word 'permanently.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 21, after the first word 'the,' to insert the words 'orders or other.'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 21, after the word 'such,' to insert the words 'orders or.'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 4, line 16, after the first word 'was,' to insert the words 'vested in or.'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 4, line 23, after the word 'shall' to insert the words 'notwithstanding anything that has taken place since said date.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

MR. BLACK (Banffshire) moved to leave out of Clause 4, page 4, line 25, the words "properly made," and to insert "made in good faith." He said he had no doubt that his suggestion was in accordance with the intention of the Committee, and he hoped the Amendment would be accepted.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 4, line 25, to leave out the words 'properly made' and insert the words 'made in good faith,'—(*Mr. Black*)—instead thereof."

Question proposed, "That the words 'properly made' stand part of the Bill."

MR. SCOTT DICKSON said he would like to have time to consider the question.

For the present he thought the Bill should stand as it was.

MR. THOMAS SHAW said that "payments properly made" must be "made in good faith," but payments "made in good faith" might be improperly made.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 4, line 35, after the word 'legacies' to insert the words 'bequests or conveyances of property.'"—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 5, line 4, after the word 'be,' to insert the word 'permanently.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

MR. THOMAS SHAW asked if he might suggest that the same procedure should be followed as in the Committee stage, and that they should postpone Clause 5, so that they might be able to complete the remainder of the Bill. It would be a great convenience.

*THE SPEAKER: I am afraid that course cannot be taken on Report. We must deal with the Bill as a whole.

MR. GEORGE WHITE (Norfolk, N.W.) moved to omit Clause 5 from the Bill. He said he felt justified in once more giving the House an opportunity of expressing its opinion upon the clause, because it seemed to him that the position was somewhat altered from that when the Bill appeared before the House on previous occasions. It now appeared that, so far as the other clauses were concerned, they were practically settled between the parties most immediately concerned, and he thought he might say, speaking for those who took the same view as himself, that they desired to take no step whatever that would interfere with those portions of the Bill. In this Bill they had an important factor which did not often exist, and that was that an important clause might be omitted without in any sense destroying the object for which the Bill was brought in or the value of the Bill itself. He thought that must be admitted to be the case. If Clause 5 were omitted, it would not affect in the least degree the objects of the Bill. That, he thought, was itself a justification for the action he proposed to ask the House to take.

Mr. Scott Dickson.

Might he remind the House what the object of the Bill really was? Difficulties in respect to a large amount of property existed between two Free Churches in Scotland, and an appeal was made to another place to have those difficulties settled, and a decision, which was admitted, he believed, on all hands, to be more or less a technical decision, made the position an intolerable one. Consequently, an appeal was made to that House to redress by an Act of Parliament the difficulties to which those two Churches had been brought by the decision of the House of Lords. The question at once arose why those two Churches were not alone dealt with in the Bill. That appeared to him to be a very natural question to ask. The matters affecting those two Churches were all that needed to be dealt with, and why should another quite outside matter have been introduced? If it had not been introduced, the question would have been a purely Scotch one, and he was sure none of the English Members would have desired to interfere in any degree. It appeared, however, that certain clerical minds looked upon this Government as an ever present Providence to dispense gifts to them whenever a favourable opportunity occurred, and they appealed to the Prime Minister, who, with a ready response that requited that confidence, inserted Clause 5. That clause was very far-reaching in its character. It dealt with the State Church; the other clauses of the Bill dealt with the Free Churches. If he understood rightly, it was held on a previous occasion that the object of Clause 5 was to do justice to another Church, and to place it in a position of equality with the Churches most immediately concerned by the Bill. But he would ask to be allowed to point out to the House that the property in question certainly belonged to one or other or to both of those Churches, whereas the property of the Established Church belonged to the State. That altered the position altogether.

Why was the Established Church put into the position of a State Church? As he understood it, it was because it was desired that the State should acknowledge some special form of religion which had been embodied in the formulas of that Church, and had been made the religion of the State. The question now arose, after this clause, how far a Church so established would be able to alter its creed or its formula of subscription independent of the State. The Prime Minister, he believed, said on a previous occasion that he desired to remove a handicap from that Church.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I never used that expression.

MR. GEORGE WHITE said the expression was used, but, if it was used by the Lord-Advocate, he begged the Prime Minister's pardon. What he desired to point out was that to give the Established Church independence, as was now desired, would be really to increase the inequality which already existed between the State Church and the Free Churches. If that Church desired freedom of belief and of subscription, which they were told the consciences of many of its ministers required, then it could have it on the same terms as the Free Churches, but he contended that it was unjust to put a clause into a Bill like this by which it would be allowed to retain property attached to it as a State Church and yet gain freedom in those matters which belonged to the Free Churches themselves. If real justice were to be done, it appeared to him that it could only be done by placing all the property in one common fund and allowing Parliament to dispose of that property as fairness and justice demanded. Otherwise, if a minority objected to the alteration of the formula of subscription, where would it be placed in regard to the property? He contended that under Clause 5 the privileged Church would have its privileges increased, and that the Bill was therefore one of a retrograde character.

South of the Tweed they could not, of course, regard such a Clause without apprehending certain effects which might ensue if it were to be taken in any sense as a precedent. If the Established Church could change its formulas by vote of the Ecclesiastical Assembly, they knew what the constitution of the ecclesiastical assemblies were in connection with the State Church of England. Though no doubt in Scotland they were more largely composed of laymen than in England, and that was a safeguard, still they could not see a clause like Clause 5 without some forebodings as to what might follow in regard to another Church. It seemed to him that the very foundation of the claims of a State Church were gone if such a clause were permitted to be used by that Church. A State Church was established with a certain belief, with a certain formula of religion considered advisable for the country, and if that form of belief was liable to be altered absolutely independently of Parliament, then the very foundation of the claims of a State Church were gone altogether. It was contended that the clause only referred to alterations of formula of subscription, and that the creed was retained. He felt that this was treading on dangerous ground. He should be sorry to make any uncharitable remark, but was it contended that it was a right thing that the formula of subscription might contradict the doctrine of the creed, or might evade that doctrine? Why should they alter the formula if it were not to enable those who could not conscientiously teach the doctrine of the creed to subscribe to the formula with certain reservations. It seemed to him that that would be extending what was already admitted to be a great evil. He rejoiced in a tender conscience, but in matters of belief he felt it must be outside the State Church, and, if that Church desired to have free play, it must get rid of those bonds by which it had been made a State Church. He was bound to say he had heard no evidence given that the Church of Scotland as a Church had made any great and pressing demand for the change, and he felt that the least they could demand was that, when the State Church desired to change its formula of belief, it should have to apply to Parliament for its sanction. He did not in any way wish to imperil the passing of the Bill, which he knew was desired on both sides of the House, but Clause 5 could be omitted without in any way imperilling the objects for which the Bill was brought in, and without in any sense making it unable to deliver the Churches from the difficulties in which they were placed by the judgment of the House of Lords. It brought up by a side issue the most important ecclesiastical question that could possibly be discussed in that House.

*MR. COMPTON RICKETT (Scarborough) seconded. He said that it seemed to him that in the interests of the members of the Established Church of Scotland there was very much to be said in favour of the omission of Clause 5 at the present moment. It was left open to a bare majority to make the Confession of Faith merely a pious expression of opinion which should not be obligatory upon teaching and preaching. The idea that the inclusion of laymen in the government of the Church of Scotland makes for greater liberality was doubtful, for they found that in most Churches where there was a demand for liberality in religious expression, that the demand came from the clergy and ministers and not from the laymen, who were, as a rule, less informed and more fearful of any change. Moreover, he had heard no reply to the suggestion that the interests of the minority were not protected from a simple majority making a change vast and far-reaching in a matter of conscience. Surely a clause of that kind should have contained some security for a revision of the first decision and for some time to elapse before that decision was made permanent. At least two-thirds or three-fourths of the presbyteries should be called upon to approve of a grave alteration. There was no certainty that change would always work in the desired direction, and there might be a drift of reaction which would result, instead of striking off fetters, in making them more severe. Then the clause extended to the Universities. He imagined that theology in the Universities of Scotland might be supposed to interest other Churches beside the Established, that the Universities belonged to the nation, and in that case it was rather a serious matter to bring these seats of learning within the scope of the clause.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 5, line 8, to leave out Clause 5."—(*Mr. George White.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out to the word 'and,' in page 5, line 10, stand part of the Bill."

*SIR J. FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.) said there was no desire in the Church of Scotland to change, alter, or withdraw from the creeds common to all Churches and held by all bodies of Presbyterians in Scotland. The hon. Member who moved the Amendment said there was no evidence of desire in the Church of Scotland for this relaxation, but if he had followed the proceedings, he would have been aware that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, by unanimous vote, had desired that relaxation. The seconder said that no time would be allowed for consideration and revision, and that it might, after all, be an actual minority or a small majority of the Church which expressed itself in favour of any change. That showed how very loosely the hon. Gentleman had dealt with the subject and how very little informed he was upon it, because the Barrier Act provided that such questions should be sent down for the opinion of the presbyteries, and that they must be approved by the majority before being accepted. Then they had again to be confirmed by the General Assembly. When an unanimous vote of the General Assembly had been confirmed by a majority of the presbyteries and confirmed by another General Asssembly, it could not be said that there had been no time for consideration, and so complete a confirmation of the vote was an adequate proof of the actual desires of the Church. This was a matter which he would have thought gentlemen with free ideas about Churchmanship would welcome and encourage, but he supposed the *odium theologicum* or dislike of an Established Church induced them to attempt to prevent such a Church from obtaining a relaxation of the subscriptions which were a hindrance and stumbling-block to many consciences, and a release from which would in no sense be used to obtain exemption from the creed which the Church had always held, but would tend to increased sincerity and true religion in the Church.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs) said that, while he admitted Members had a right to oppose this clause inasmuch as the Bill dealt with the result of the Elgin Commission and the matter referred to in the clause formed no part of that inquiry, personally, he thought there were strong reasons for its retention, with the exception of that portion which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Aberdeen had mentioned. He was strongly in favour of the retention of the portion which dealt with the formula of subscription, though he freely admitted there was no logical reason for the inclusion of the clause in the Bill, and, as a member of the Church of Scotland, he had always disliked the feeling that support of the clause might be interpreted as an indication that the Church of Scotland was using the difficulties of the Free Church in order to get the freedom which, he held, they rightly claimed. In Scotland they had always claimed freedom for their Church Courts, and if they had not had it it was largely due to the influence of this House and of English Members who had not thoroughly understood the system, and did not understand how the Church, though an endowed Church, could hardly be said to be attached by very tight bonds to the State. It would be difficult to call it an Established Church. It was certainly an endowed Church, but when this clause had been added to the Bill the plea for continuing it as a State Church would be a very slender one. He believed in disestablishment as the basis of complete Presbyterian reunion, and he thought this Bill would take them a considerable way towards that basis. But without freedom for the Church Courts the way to complete Presbyterian reunion was barred. Under the unfortunate judgment of the House of Lords no Church could safely enter into union with another unless, as Lord Young put it, it went landless and penniless, which was not the way of Established Churches.

The House of Lords judgment had undoubtedly affected the Church of Scotland. In the great centres of population it was mainly a voluntary Church; there were four and a half millions of subscribed money which, under the recent decision, any enterprising solicitor could attack. As to the creed, he doubted whether many a heritor would not have a perfectly good case against paying the stipends of Established ministers, as there were few ministers who could sign the whole Confession of Faith, believing every word, and unless they so signed it they were not entitled to their stipends. What was true of ministers was also true of elders. Many an elder who had to sign this document was in the position of a hypocrite. Anyone who signed the Confession of Faith in its entirety was a hypocrite, unless he believed in the six days creation of the world, the babes of a span long being condemned to everlasting fire, the infernal regions, and so forth. The best that could be said of those who signed it was that for the greater part they did not believe in it. The Scotch people were being invited to remain hypocrites, as they could not serve as elders or ministers unless they signed a Confession of Faith in which, as reasonable men, they could not wholly believe, and they were being asked to do this for the convenience of England. That was a very wide extension of the Unionist principle to which he for one had no intention of subscribing. On these grounds he supported the inclusion of the clause, with the exception of the portion most properly attacked by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Aberdeen. Scotch Members might well appeal to the House to be allowed to settle this matter for themselves. They had never interfered with others in matters of faith or religion ——

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs): What about the Prime Minister?

Mr. MUNRO FERGUSON thought his hon. friend would admit that the great body of Scotch Presbyterians had not tried to judge of the claims of any other portion of the kingdom by Scotch standards; they had not distinguished themselves by attempting to force others to adhere to their standards, and he thought they were entitled to ask that the tolerance which they had always endeavoured to show to others should be extended to themselves.

Mr. ELLIOT (Durham) said that while he agreed with much of the speech of the hon. Member for the Leith Burghs, he did not think the disestablishment of the Scotch Church was involved in the question under discussion, nor did he recognise the great distinction that the hon. Member had tried to draw in the matter of independence between the Church Courts belonging to the Establishment and those of the voluntary Churches. In both cases they were limited by the law of the land, and the same authority would be supreme in the case of difference between the two institutions—the Church and the State. The clause in question dealt with the subscription to the Confession of Faith by ministers, and with the subscription by professors appointed to chairs of theology in the Scotch Universities. To his mind those two sets of persons stood on somewhat different ground. In introducing the Bill the Lord-Advocate reflected somewhat severely on the Act of Parliament which made subscription for ministers of the Church necessary. But all professors in the Universities, all teachers, and all parish ministers in Scotland were required to conform to the test of their belief in the Confession of Faith, and that was not merely the enactment of this Parliament; it was due to the Act of Security, which was embodied in, and made part of, the Act of Union between the two kingdoms. It was impossible to touch on this subject without noticing the difference between the way in which matters of this kind were regarded now, and the way in which our ancestors regarded them. The whole foundation of the present mode of looking at these questions was to consider it as natural that in succeeding generations there should be modifications or changes in belief. That was distinctly opposed to the old idea under which it was supposed that rules were laid down for all time. They had to deal with a reasonable desire for laxity on the part of those who wished to become ministers and teachers. Surely it would be right to assist tender consciences. Wherever they found a number of honourably minded, intelligent men, who wanted to do their work well, they were hampered; and, after all, they were in sympathy with the great majority of the people. It was a scandal to keep out, by statute, persons who were willing to give their best service to the Church.

With regard to University chairs, he agreed with the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Aberdeen. He was quite prepared to trust the responsibility of those appointments without any test at all to the Crown. Surely it was unnecessary to go beyond that; and let them exercise their responsibility as they did over the Universities and the people of Scotland generally. He rejoiced to think that one of the most distinguished historians of the country was appointed Professor of History at the University of Cambridge, although he was a Roman Catholic. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman who advised the Crown in regard to these appointments would do so with a due sense of his responsibility. Having got responsible persons to make these appointments they ought not to hamper them and tie them down by means of tests. The people of Scotland were entitled to judge Scotch affairs according to their own lights. When the hon. Member for Leith said that Scotch Members did not interfere with the religious questions of other parts of the kingdom he would remind him that they took a prominent part in disestablishing the Church of Ireland. In the case of Ireland the Church was reconstituted, and a governing body was set up consisting not only of priests but also of laymen, and they had equal power with the clergy not only to arrange the formula but actually to revise the creeds and catechisms. Was the Church of Scotland to have nothing at all until it was ripe for disestablishment? He should give the most cordial support to this clause, although he should prefer it improved in the way he had suggested. He did not think it was quite satisfactory that national institutions like the Scottish Universities should have their formula drawn up for them by the Established Church General Assembly. Still he recognised that this clause constituted a very great improvement, and he hoped the House would very soon pass it into law.

*MR. BRIGG (Yorkshire, W.R., Keighley) said he wished to say a word or two in favour of leaving out this clause entirely. England, after all, was very near to Scotland, and the principle involved in this clause was one which they had been taught to look upon with grave suspicion, namely, disestablishment without disendowment. There were sections of the English Church which would be glad if they could be disestablished and not be disendowed at the same time. If the endowment of the Scotch Church was continued it should remain subject to some public directing control. He did not advocate the formation of creeds, but this Clause 5 was doing for the Established Church in Scotland what the High Church Party wanted in England. The position of the three bodies in Scotland was illogical, because one was endowed and two were not endowed, and yet all had equal freedom as to creed. With regard to what the hon. Member for Leith had said, if the Church of Scotland wanted to be free it should give up its endowments and be honest.

MR. PARKER SMITH (Lanarkshire, Partick) said he thought it was rather significant that all the serious opposition to the clause that day came from English Members who spoke as disestablishers, bearing in mind the effect this clause might have both in regard to Scotland and England. There were many men in Scotland who supported disestablishment, but he did not think that either the Members of that House or of the great religious bodies of Scotland, who in principle were in favour of disestablishment, in the least degree desired to make capital against the Church of Scotland by forcing upon it the continuance of this injustice. The objection had been taken to this part of the clause that it might endanger the passing of the measure, but it was now quite clear that the insertion and passing of this clause would not endanger the Bill. They all felt that in order to settle the differences which had arisen between the United Free Church and the legal Free Church this Bill was necessary and inevitable. But there was a much closer connection between this clause and the rest of the Bill than had up to the present been pointed out.

The proposer of this Amendment spoke as if the whole question dealt with in the Bill was a matter of the redistribution of property between the two Churches, and as if the only bearing of the Bill was as to the tenure of the property. But the Bill had a far wider effect, because it would entirely alter the constitution of the Church. The United Free Church had a certain constitution under which it considered that it had power to make alterations in its formula, in regard to its ideas of Church government, and in regard to the relations of Church and State. The decision of the House of Lords had shown that the United Free Church was mistaken in considering that it had that power. By this Bill all the property was handed over to a Commission with power to reallocate it to the United Free Church upon totally new terms. The United Free Church was at liberty to draw its own model trust deeds, and to make for itself the conditions upon which it intended to live as a community in the future. It was also relaxing the restrictions which had held it back in past years. No such questions could ever arise again under the terms upon which the United Free Church would receive back its property. It would be free to make what changes it liked in its formula. That made an enormous difference in the position of the United Free Church, apart from the mere question of how a certain amount of property was to be distributed. That change was bound to react on the whole condition and position of the Established Church. The Established Church, in its last General Assembly, had demanded greater freedom than it had had in the past in its formulas in order to meet the change in the United Free Church. He did not think any man could deny the reality of that claim. That was the reason for Clause 5 being included in this measure, and for the whole being treated as one subject.

His hon. friend the Member for the Leith Burghs spoke as if everyone, minister and elder, was bound to the terms of subcription, which it was the object of this clause to set free. The hon. Member did not seem to be aware that the lay office bearers never had been constrained to this statutory subscription—to exact formula. In regard to them there had been just that latitude in the General Assembly, subject to the provisions of the Barrier Act, which was now claimed in the case of ministers also. The term of subscription remained for a long time rigid, but public opinion changed and relaxed the terms of subscription for lay members. There had not been, and there never would be, any possibility of abuse in regard to the terms of subscription. What was now asked for ministers was a freedom corresponding to that which was granted forty years ago to the Church of England, though not in identical form. English Members did not seem to understand that the Presbyterian principles in Scotland in regard to Establishment were entirely different from the Episcopal principles and the system of fixed formularies which obtained in the Church of England. He did not consider that any precedent they might create in accordance with the principles of the Church of Scotland for their own guidance would really have the slightest effect on any question that might arise in the Church of England. He thought the fears of English Members in regard to the possibility of evil consequences resulting from this liberty were absolutely imaginary. He believed that this form of repealing the Act of 1693 and returning to the great principle of the Act of 1690 was a method for giving to the Church of Scotland the freedom which public opinion in that country demanded and which was most consonant with the history and traditions of that Church.

Mr. HALDANE (Haddingtonshire) said he should be sorry to admit that the views which the right hon Gentleman had expressed were a correct or adequate exposition of the attitude of the Scottish Members generally towards this question. In the first place, he took exception to what the right hon. Gentleman had told the House when he said that this Bill in some way changed the constitution of the United Free Church. The constitution of the United Free Church was never questioned before the House of Lords at all except on the question of property. The jurisdiction of the Courts had to do with nothing but the property, and where the House of Lords differed from the contention put forward on behalf of the United Free Church was entirely with reference to its power of dealing with such property. The United Free Church had reaffirmed its own contention with regard to its constitution and it had never departed from that.

Mr. PARKER SMITH: It will receive back its property from the Commission on fresh and different trusts.

Mr. HALDANE said the Commission was dealing with property and not touching the constitution of the Church in any shape or form. The right hon. Gentleman had suggested that those who supported this clause were in a different attitude of mind on the question of disestablishment in Scotland from those who were opposed to it. He did not think that was so. He had always been of opinion that the principle of establishment in Scotland was one that lent no strength to any Church and he had always been in favour of its removal. The truth was that the question in Scotland was totally different from the question in England. In Scotland the question of the retention of Church and State was a question of very attenuated relationship indeed. There was very little substance in it, but in England there was great substance in it. The men who went into the Scottish Churches were men of the same training, coming almost from the same houses, and men who looked at things in very much the same fashion. To-day that was peculiarly so. After the great movement known as the Disruption in 1843 there was no doubt that a majority of the most eminent men in Scotland went out and joined the Free Church. They took with them a great deal of the life of the establishment principle, and the result was that for many years there was a real difference of disposition and doctrine between the two Churches. Time had gradually removed that difference, and to-day he had no hesitation in saying that the young Free Churchman and the young Established Churchman were nearing each other very much. That was one reason why he looked upon the proposal of this clause as a step not away from disestablishment but towards disestablishment. In Scotland they were dealing with the question from within and not attacking it from outside. The young United Free Churchman was free, by reason of the struggle through which his Church had gone, in a manner in which the young Established Churchman was not. The difference separating them on the question of establishment was getting to be more and more a theological difference. He looked forward to the time when the last shred of that difference would disappear. It was the duty of that House, as interpreting public opinion, to remove obstacles which might prevent those Churches drawing closer and closer together. If they took the generation of young men under thirty-five, containing some of the most distinguished people in the United Free Church, they would find very little opposition to this clause, while among the younger men there was a very strong body of opinion in favour of it. That was why he found himself unable to approach the consideration of the clause in any spirit of hostility, and why, he said frankly, he was in favour of it.

*MR. MIDDLEMORE (Birmingham, N.) said that this Bill was in the first place to settle a dispute in regard to property, but its secondary object was to reform the Scottish Established Church on a thoroughly new basis. The main principle of all the Established Churches was the establishment of a creed, but it appeared to him that the principle of Clause 5 was to establish not a creed but a set of men—the General Assembly—who had power to make and unmake creeds. What this clause really proposed was to convert the General Assembly into a mild form of Scottish Curia. He did not blame the Government for introducing this Bill and in particular this clause. They had acted according to their principles. The right hon. and learned Member for Dumfries had made a very earnest speech in favour of this very clause, and the right hon. Member for East Fife, who had introduced a Bill to disestablish the Welsh Church, had not a single word to say against the development of this very fair form of establishment in the country which he represented. Even the hon. Member for Carnarvon, who spoke with affected passion on the establishment question, almost whispered approval of this clause. He had had some connection with hon. Gentlemen opposite on the education question, and he was bound to say that their speeches and their silence and their votes in regard to this Bill boded ill for the reform of the Education Act, should they be returned again to Office.

*MR. PERKS (Lincolnshire, Louth) said that those who did not agree with this clause, yet most heartily agreed with the declaration made by some Scotch Members that such freedom as was conferred by this clause on the Church of Scotland would never be conferred on the Anglican Church of this country. That was a declaration which was gratefully accepted by him and his friends and would be gratefully remembered. But what had puzzled some of them was, what on earth this clause had got to do with the present Bill? They looked upon this Bill rather as a benevolent and necessary effort to distribute between the two conflicting Churches in Scotland a certain amount of funds and property, one of which Churches had been declared to be legally entitled and the other not to be entitled to the revenues and the property in dispute. He had looked very diligently into this Bill to discover whether there was any attempt to define the doctrines upon the holding of which these two religious communities should be entitled to the large funds or properties involved in the case. He found no such power contained in the Bill. That seemed to justify the opinion which he, and those who agreed with him, held that the Bill was simply a property Bill for the distribution of the funds and properties between the two conflicting Churches. That might command the sympathy of everybody, but his right hon. friend below him had stated that there was an approximation in ecclesiastical opinion between the clergy of the Established Church of Scotland and the other Presbyterian Churches. Nobody would welcome that tendency more than the Free Churches in this country; but it was impossible for them to stand aside when this very important question was raised and treat it merely as a local question affecting Scotland alone. Supposing that in the next Parliament the question was raised as to the position of the Welsh Church. Would the new doctrine then be accepted that Scotland and England were not to interfere at all with the ecclesiastical position raised by their friends in Wales? There were several Gentlemen opposite, who had been loud in their denunciation of the Nonconformists of England who would be the very first to say that the relation of the Church in Wales with that of the Church of England was a question which vitally affected the English, Scotch, and even Irish Members.

But there was another part of the Bill with which some of them were not satisfied. It seemed to him to denude the parishioners in Scotland from some of the rights which they had hitherto enjoyed, and to confer these rights on an exclusive section of the parishioners. Let him apply that to an English parish. In England the Established Church was at present as much a Department of the State as the Post Office, or the Army or Navy; and the clergymen of that Church had certain duties to perform to the parishioners. They were bound to bury them, to marry them, to preach to them, and there was a place provided nominally for every parishioner in the parish church. But what was proposed by this specific clause was to vary this position of the parish minister, so far as his doctrinal tenets were concerned, in Scotland at the instance of one particular section of the parishioners. He was told that in Scotland the parishioners had a right, totally separate from the particular section to which the Church of Scotland was appropriated, to demand those services; and he thought, in view of the fact that this clause might be quoted as a precedent for any important alteration of the relations of the Church of England with the State, and, particularly in view of the fact that there was a growing section of the Church of England which had been asking for that spiritual freedom without the surrender of the emoluments of the State—he thought it was the duty of those who were opposed to a State Establishment to vote against this clause.

*Sir MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbrightshire) said that this was a question in which he himself and his constituents had taken a great deal of interest. He thought that it would have a very great effect in uniting the different Presbyterian denominations in Scotland. These were already almost united in form of doctrine and Church government. This was not a question for the General Assembly itself. From a constitutional point of view the General Assembly had access to the lay mind of Scotland in a very remarkable degree, and he maintained that the lay elders were not likely to be silenced in regard to Biblical criticism or in regard to the interpretation of the standards of the Church. But during the last forty or fifty years all the Presbyterian Churches had made great progress. All had got their sphere of usefulness in Scotland; and he thought that to talk of disestablishment was only to use a political phrase to destroy that usefulness. He believed in the good which had been accomplished by the United Free Church, but the Church of Scotland had also made great progress during the last few years. He hoped that the effect of inserting this clause in the Bill would not be considered as a Parliamentary manœuvre, but intended, as a set purpose, to promote the union of all the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, which would promote the cause of religion in Scotland. He was sure that the predominant feeling in the minds of the younger generation in Scotland was in favour of such a union. He was aware that a few of those who were accustomed to the old ways might regard the insertion of this clause with disfavour; but he was quite satisfied that, from the opinions of those with whom he had talked, there was a strong opinion in the vast majority of the people of Scotland that this clause was the best for the Church of Scotland and the whole people of Scotland. Not one amongst the Scottish Members who had spoken wanted to see this Bill wrecked, and everybody knew the unanimous importance attached in Scotland to getting it through with as little delay as possible. He had no doubt that when the Third Reading of the Bill was passed—as he was sure it would be passed—that it would go forth to Scotland that the Scotch Members were, for once, determined to pass a measure which had in its origin the desire to do good to their country.

*MR. HELME (Lancashire, Lancaster) said that if this was a question that affected Scotland and Scotland alone, no English Liberal Member in the House would oppose the clause. But the principle struck at the root of the Established Churches of England and Wales as well as Scotland, and therefore they ought to be very careful, in adopting the policy now recommended, to take into account its influence upon the policy of Parliament if it should be demanded to be applied to the Church of England. This was not a question of establishment or disestablishment only, but whether the House should continue to control the trust committed to its charge. When in Committee, the hon. Member for Morley endeavoured to take away from this clause the wider issue, by moving that the formula desired should be subjected for the assent of Parliament. In supporting that he had endeavoured to express sympathy with the generous development of thought within the Church, and at the same time to retain the control of Parliament in this matter. But they must have regard to the deeper issues that arose out of the decision that would be taken on this clause, and whilst they sympathised with the growing feeling of friendship between the several Churches in Scotland, they should not support such development at the expense of justice and equity in dealing with the wider matters for which they were responsible in the other Churches.

MR. BRYCE said that this was a large question which raised a great many different issues which were regarded from different points of view by various hon. Members. It was too large a question to be discussed on one evening at the close of the session and should have been made the subject of a separate Bill. It had been said that the loss of this clause would wreck the Bill. On the contrary, he believed that dropping this clause would eliminate foreign matter and make its passage easy. The hon. Member for Durham had argued as if this were merely a question of relieving an Established Church from a subscription which was grievous to its members and a burden to their consciences. But that was not the proposal of the clause. The proposal was to empower the General Assembly of the Established Church to prescribe a new formula. That was a totally different thing. It was quite impossible to resist the course of theological development in any Church. Even the Roman Catholic Church had been obliged to resign itself to the development of theological thought. Therefore, let it not be thought that opposition to that proposal was to be attributed to a desire, which he repudiated, to impose a burden on the consciences of Churchmen. The right hon. Member for Haddington supported the clause from a different point of view, thinking that it took a step towards disestablishment. That was not the opinion of the hon. Baronet who had recently spoken, nor of the Lord-Advocate, nor of the First Lord of the Treasury, nor of the General Assembly. He could not support the Bill on either of these grounds put forward with such ability and candour by his right hon. and hon. friend.

This was a Bill which affected the interests of the laity. In every parish the laity had a clergyman who had made the subscription they desired. It was not easy to see what formula could be devised which could completely ease the consciences of all. There was a great deal in the Confession of Faith which many might think was not agreeable to the Word of God, and who might interpret the Word of God in quite a different sense to that in which it was interpreted by those who sat in Westminster two and a-half centuries ago. Therefore he might remind the House that when they talked of relieving consciences they were talking of entering on a task of which it might be easy to see the beginning but not the end, or even the road by which they must travel. That was what this clause would effect. He did not know that it would bring them any nearer to, or any further from, disestablishment, but it would give to the Established Church of Scotland what no Established Church ever had enjoyed in this country and no Established Church enjoyed in any other country—it would give it the power of prescribing its own formula and of determining what purported to be the creed of the nation. The Church of Scotland was established through Parliament because it held the creed of the nation. The Established Church could not have it both ways. They could not have all the freedom for their own Church Courts which the voluntary Churches must have and yet claim the privileges which an Established Church enjoyed. The Lord-Advocate had spoken of giving a fair platform to the different Churches. Such language would be fitting from the lips of a disestablisher. The Established Church of Scotland enjoyed property, State assistance, and patronage, which the other Churches did not, and to talk of a fair platform for the different Churches was simply to suggest the disestablishment of the State Church. This clause would denationalise the Church, and to hand it over to the General Assembly would be to destroy its claim to be the national Church of Scotland. The proper way to relieve the clergy would have been to bring in a Bill similar to the English Act of 1865, giving the General Assembly power to submit amendments to Parliament. But he protested against this hasty device for introducing a momentous change when it could not be fully considered.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE said that complaint had been made that hon. Members who were not Scotch and who were not Presbyterians had interfered in a question of Presbyterian doctrine. If that was to be the doctrine all round, well and good, but he might point out that there was a Scotchman and a Scotch Presbyterian, in the person of the Prime Minister, who was rather interfering with the people of England and Wales. This, after all, was not a Scotch question. That was the peculiar position of the clause, that although this was in a Scotch Bill it was a great deal more important to England and Wales than it was to Scotland. If this was a Scotch Parliament he quite agreed that it would be out of place to interfere with a Scotch measure, but this Parliament represented the whole of the United Kingdom, and once they subscribed to this clause they would be bound not only so far as Scotland was concerned but also as regarded England and Wales. Upon the previous occasion when the Bill was discussed, the Prime Minister laid it down that he did not consider that this Bill could be used as a precedent for dealing with the Church in England and Wales. Declarations of that kind were wanted in the country, because they could not be sure that the Prime Minister would not at some time or other, under pressure of the extreme clerical Party in the House, incorporate this clause in an Act for England and Wales.

This was not an imaginary danger, because at this moment it was being suggested to the Commission on Church Disorders that the identical remedy of this Bill should be adopted. The question was not whether these gentlemen had to subscribe to all the statements made by Moses, but whether it was a national Church, and whether the machinery of the nation should not be brought to bear upon formulas of that character. It was all very well to say that it was a national Church when they wanted tithe, but that the moment a favour was wanted it had ceased to be a national Church and was Presbyterian. If a Church were maintained as a national Church for the sake of privilege and patronage, it must be a national Church also in respect of the control of Parliament. They could not have it both ways. The Government were treating this Church as a sect for the purposes of its formulas but not as a sect for the purposes of its endowments. It was said that this was done in the name of freedom. If Churches were to be progressive, they must pay the price of progress. Let them give back to the nation the emoluments and endowments that came from the State connection if they wished to be free of State control. An agitation had already begun in the Church of England against this "narrow theology," of which hon. Members had spoken. Presently the Athanasian Creed would be attacked, and let the First Lord of the Treasury remember this, that if the Athanasian Creed was attacked the whole moral basis of retaliation would be gone. As a member of the national Church he claimed to have a voice in determining the meaning of the Athanasian Creed. The object of this agitation was not to get rid of rusty creeds, but to give more power to the clergy, to free them from lay control, and to shed the Protestant character of the Church.

SIR ROBERT REID (Dumfries Burghs) regretted that this clause had been introduced into the Bill and thought it would have been of better augury if the Church of Scotland had not consented to take advantage of this opportunity to raise a question which of itself was well worthy of consideration. The hon. Member for Carnarvon had unintentionally misrepresented the point of view from which Scotch Members regarded the interposition of English Members in these debates. All they asked was that English and Welsh Members should judge of the questions at issue by Scotch standards. Nobody complained in the least of the interposition of English or Welsh Members, particularly Nonconformists, as it was well known what they had in mind. They apprehended that the position and doctrines of the Church of England might be affected by this clause. Personally he did not see how the treatment of this particular Scotch question could be regarded as having any bearing whatever on the Church of England.

Hon. Members spoke of the establishment, and the relation between Church and State. What was the relation between Church and State in Scotland? In England appointments from the Archbishop of Canterbury down to the vicar or rector of a parish were made by the Crown or the lay patron. That was the strongest form of connection between Church and State. But in Scotland there was not a solitary person in the Church in whose appointment the Crown had so much as a whisper. In England the doctrine of the Church might come up for adjudication before the King in Council, and the decisions of the Privy Council were binding on both laity and clergy. In Scotland nothing of the kind obtained. There was no supervision or control by the temporal Courts over spiritual doctrine. There was control over property, but that obtained in regard to every Church, established or disestablished. Wherever a trust was created the Courts were bound to administer that trust, and if the trust depended upon doctrinal considerations the Court was bound to take note of doctrine. There was no analogy between the General Assembly and Convocation. The General Assembly consisted of ministers and laity, and it controlled both. Convocation ever since a statute of Henry VIII. had been unable to bind the laity under any circumstances, and he doubted whether anything they did could bind themselves. No fresh canon could be made by Convocation, nor could one even be recommended without the express licence of the Crown. On the other hand, when the General Assembly met, the Lord High Commissioner, appointed by the Crown, made an address. The debates were carried on under the presidency of the moderator; everything was done by him, and no power of any sort whatever rested with the Lord High Commissioner. Indeed, the Church of Scotland had never recognised that the Lord High Commissioner of the Crown had the right even to fix the date on which the General Assembly should meet. That was the sum total of the connection with the State; whether it was worth while to maintain it he would not now discuss.

He was in favour of disestablishment, because he believed in absolutely unquestioned freedom in all matters of this kind. What was the origin of its being called an Established Church? Between 1682 and 1688 approximately there was a great persecution in Scotland, and the statutes of 1690 and 1693 were passed for the purpose of binding the State to the Church, to assure the people that Episcopacy would not be forced upon the Church of Scotland, as was intended in the reign of James II., and those statutes were recognised under the Act of Union in 1707. The connection between Church and State was the slenderest imaginable, and it was impossible for anyone who had regard to the history of the country to suppose that what might be done in connection with the Church of Scotland would afford any precedent in regard to the Church of England. It was perfectly right, fair, and legitimate that English Nonconformists should wish to assure themselves on the point, but it was impossible to suppose that out of such circumstances as now existed there could arise a precedent which could be used for the Romanising of the Church of England. Historical considerations should dispel any such alarm. As he had said, however, he regretted the inclusion of the clause as it raised controversies which might have been avoided, and he should not support it, but he could not say that the fears expressed by hon. Members had been sustained by the debate, or any cause shown for their entertaining them.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said he had refrained from speaking, not from any want of respect to the House, but because the matter had been discussed on a previous occasion. The question had now been fully debated, and he appealed to the House to come to a decision.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 270; Noes, 157. (Division List No. 312.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allhusen, AugustusHenryAden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt.Hn.HughO.
Arrol, Sir William
Asquith, Rt.Hn.Herbert Henry
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hn. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt.Hon.A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, RtHnGeraldW.(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R.(Christch.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Beach, Rt. Hn.SirMichaelHicks
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles, T.Gibson (King'sLynn)
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Brymer, William Ernest
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Buxton,N.E.(York,NR,Whitby
Campbell, Rt.Hn.J.A.(Glasgow
Campbell, J.H.M.(DublinUniv.
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt.Hn. J.(Birm.)
Chamberlain, RtHnJA.(Worc.)
Chamberlayne, T.(S'thampton)
Chance, Frederick William
Chapman, Edward
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis(Antrim,S.
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crombie, John William
Crossley Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Denny, Colonel
Denny, Colonel
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.)
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt.Hon.SirJosephC.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon.SirJohn E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dunn, Sir William
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elibank, Master of
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants,W.)
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fellowes, RtHnAilwynEdward
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.SirJ.(Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Rt Hn SirRB. (Inv'rn'ss
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, SirRobertPenrose-
Fitzroy, Hon.EdwardAlgernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, PhilipS.(Warwick, S.W
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, MajEvans-(T'rH'mlets
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, HenryD.(Shrewsbury)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, RtHnLordG(Midd'x
Hamilton, Marq.of(L'nd'nderry

Sir Robert Reid.

Hardy, Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Heath, ArthurHoward(Hanley
Heath, SirJames(Staffords.NW
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, Sir A.(Stafford,W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard,John(Kent,Faversham
Howard, J. (Midd.,Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hn. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hon.Geo.T.(Denbigh)
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Lamont, Norman
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Hn.H.L.W.(Mile End)
Lee, ArthurH.(Hants.Fareham
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Liddell, Henry
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Long, Col. Charles W.(Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, ReginaldJ.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, SirLewis(EdinburghW.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Malcolm, Ian
Marks, Harry Hananel

Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, Rt.Hn SirH.E.(Wigt'n
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Mantagu, Hon. J.Scott (Hants)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, DavidJ(Walthamstow
Morley, Rt.Hn.John (Montrose
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, HerbertPike(Darlington
Peel, Hn.Wm. Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Rankin, Sir James
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reed, Sir Edw. James (Cardiff)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie, Rt. Hn.Chas.Thomson
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)

Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Samuel, SirHarryS.(Limehouse
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, SirH.(Renfrew)
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Smith, H.C.(North'mbTyneside
Smith, RtHnJParker(Lanarks.
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Hn.Arthur(Ormskirk)
Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon.Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir MarkJ.M'Taggart)
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Sir Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Ure, Alexander
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wallace, Robert
Walrond, Rt.Hn.SirWilliamH.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Wason, JohnCathcart(Orkney)
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.CE.(Taunton)
Welby, Sir CharlesG.E.(Notts.)
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wills, Sir Frederick (Bristol,N.)
Wilson, A. Stanley(York, E.R.)
Wison, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, SirW.H.(Yorks.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt.Hon.C.B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barlow, John Emmott
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, SydneyCharles(Poplar
Caldwell, James
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick

Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, CharlesRamsay(Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank

Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Farrell, James Patrick
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alexander(Lanark,NE
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fuller, J. M. F.
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton

Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis
Hardie, J.Keir (MerthyrTydvil
Harrington, Timothy
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Holland, Sir William Henry
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutchinson, Dr.Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jones, DavidBrynmor(Swansea
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan,W
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Sir James
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir JosephF.(Accrington
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lloyd-George, David
Lundon, W.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh,H.)
Mooney, John J.
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Paulton, James Mellor
Perks, Robert William
Philipps, John Wynford
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Roche, Augustine (Cork)
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Russell, T. W.
Sandys, Lieut.-Col.Thos.Myles
Schwann, Charles E.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Snclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt.Hn.CR.(Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan E.
Thomas, DavidAlfred(Merthyr
Thomas, JA(Glamorgan,Gower
Toulmin, George
Tully, Jasper
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Walton, JohnLawson(Leeds,S.
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
White Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wood, James
Woodhouse, SirJ.T(Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. George White and Mr. Henry J. Wilson.

MR. BRYCE said he desired to move the Amendment which stood in his name. He felt bound to submit the question again to the House. He noticed that on the last occasion this Amendment was supported by a considerable majority of Scotch Members. He objected to the part of the clause which he proposed to leave out because it was not necessary, and it put the professors of Scotch Universities in a worse position than they stood in at the present moment. He was not raising this question because the Government proposed to alter the present conditions and put the professors under a burden which they were not now subjected to. The professors now had Parliament to appeal to, but under this Bill they would have to appeal to an ecclesiastical body. The proposal in this clause was distasteful to the professors, and the General Assembly had never expressed any desire to have this power over the professors. With regard to the persons who should be entitled to sit on the board which nominated these professors, he suggested to the House that it was perfectly possible to deal with that question in a way which would be satisfactory to public opinion in Scotland and to this House. If it was essential to alter the appointing body and bring in clerical representatives, all that was necessary might be done in one or two ways. It could be done by altering the ordinance of the University. He thought it was a tenable view that the ordinance might be altered in that form. The other way would be to bring in a Bill which would empower the Privy Council to create such a board, or which would create such a board directly. The Government knew perfectly well that a Bill of that kind would be passed without any controversy, and that no difficulty would arise. The Government, having in 1889 empowered a Commission to deal with this question, became morally bound to carry out the recommendations of the Commission. He believed that an immense body of opinion in Scotland was in favour of freeing the professors from tests. That could be done with perfect ease. The Government ought either to omit this part of the clause or give an undertaking that they would at the earliest possible moment endeavour to remedy this injustice and carry out the recommendations fo the Commission. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 5, line 10, to leave out from the word 'established' to the word 'shall' in line 12.'"—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

The House divided:—Ayes, 255; Noes, 168. (Division List No. 313)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, AugustusHenryEden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt.Hn.HughO
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hn.Sir.H.
Bagot, Capt, Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt.HnGeraldW.(Leed)
Balfour, Kenneth R.(Christch.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Beach, Rt. HnSirMichaelHicks
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Bousfield, William Robert
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Brymer, William Ernest
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell, Rt.Hn.J.A.(Glasgow
Campbell, J.H.M.(DublinUniv.
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W.(Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain,Rt.Hon.J.(Birm.)
Chamberlain,RtHnJ.A.(Worc.)
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton
Chapman, Edward
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis(Antrim,S.
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Denny, Colonel
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt.Hon.Sir JosephC.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt.Hon.SirJohn E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fellows, Rt.Hn.AilwynEdward
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.SirJ.(Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, RtHnSirRB.(Inv'rn'ss)
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S.(Warwick,S.W
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Godson, Sir AugustusFrederick
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, MajEvans-(T'rHamlets
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Roland
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, RtHnLordG,(Middx
Hamilton, Marq.of(L'nd'nd'rry
Hardy, Laurence (KentAshford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton(Tynem'th
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Heath, ArthurHoward(Hanley
Heath, SirJames(Staffords.NW
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, Sir A.(Stafford,W.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard,John(Kent,Faversham
Howard, J. (Midd.,Tottenham
Hozier, Hon.JamesHenryCecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. ArthurFred.
Jessel, CaptainHerbert Merton
Kennaway, Rt.Hon.SirJohnH.
Kenyon, Hon.Geo.T.(Denbigh)
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Hn.H.L.W.(MileEnd)
Lee, ArthurH(Hants,Fareham.
Lees, Sir Elliot (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, FrederickN.S.
Llewllyn, Evan Henry
Long, Col.CharlesW.(Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft
Lucas, ReginaldJ.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming.
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, SirLewis(EdinburghW.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire
Malcolm, Ian
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hon.W.F.
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Middlemore, JohnThrogmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hon.J.Scott(Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan,DavidJ.(Walthamstow

Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, HerbertPike(Darlington
Peel, Hn.Wm.RobertWellesley
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reed, Sir Edw. James (Cardiff)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie,Rt.Hon.Chas.Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Samuel, SirHarryS.(Limehouse
Sandys, Lieut.-Col.Thos.Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, SirH.(Renfrew)
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, HC(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith, Rt.HnJParker(Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Hon.Arthur(Ormskirk
Stanley, EdwardJas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt.Hon. Lord(Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J.M‘Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Sir Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Walker, Col. William Hall
Walrond, Rt.Hn.SirWilliamH.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E.(Taunton
Welby, SirCharlesG.E.(Notts.)
Whiteley, H.(Ashtonund.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby, de Eresby, Lord
Wills, Sir Frederick(Bristol,N.)
Wilson, A. Stanley (York,E.R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, SirW.H.(Yorks.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt.Hon.C.B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N. E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barlow John Emmott
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, N.E.(York,NRWhitby
Buxton, SydneyCharles(Poplar
Caldwell, James
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carvill, Patrick Geo. Hamilton
Chance, Frederick William
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin,CharlesRamsay(Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, John A. (Inverness-sh.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dillon, John
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Ellice,CaptEC(S.Andrw'sBghs)
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Esmonde, Thomas Sir
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Farrell, James Patrick
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alexander(Lanark,NE
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fuller, J. M. F.
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis
Hardie, J.Keir(MerthyrTydvil)
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harrington, Timothy
Hayden, John Patrick
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
JonesDavidBrynmor(Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent P.(Cavan,W
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Sir James
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F.(Accrington
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lloyd-George, David
Lundon, W.
MacNeill, John GordonSwift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M‘Fadden, Edward
M‘Hugh, Patrick A.
M‘Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
M‘Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.
Mooney, John J.
Morley, RtHon.John(Montrose
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, James(Wicklow,W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)

O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Perks, Robert William
Philipps, John Wynford
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Reddy, M.
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries)
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Roche, Augustine (Cork)
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt. Hn C. R. (Northants)
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
Thomas, J A (Glamorgan, Gower
Toulmin, George
Tully, Jasper
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Wallace, Robert
Walton, John Lawson (Leeds, S.
Warner, Thomas Courtenay, T.
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wood, James
Woodhouse, Sir J T (Huddersf'd.
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Mr. Herbert Gladstone and
Mr. Causton.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 5, line 21, after the word 'and,' to insert the words 'unless the context otherwise requires.'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, column 1, lines 10 and 11, to leave out the words 'supplementing congregational contributions towards the.'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, column 2, line 13, to leave out the words 'General Church,' and insert the words 'these or similar.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, column 1, line 15, after the word 'Act,' to insert the words 'and for itinerant preachers.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, column 1, line 16, to leave out paragraph (b), line 16 to end, and insert the words '(5) General purposes of administration and management.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, column 1, lines 16 and 17, to leave out the words 'of the church, including expenses.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, column 1, lines 18 and 19, to leave out the words 'provision for itinerant preachers,' and insert the words 'management of the Free Church.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, column 2, line 23, to leave out the words 'for teachers.'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, column 2, line 23, to leave out the word 'training.'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, column 2, line 24, at end to insert the words 'or given.'"—(*The Lord-Advocate.*)

Amendment agreed to.

MR. SCOTT-DICKSON: I ask the House to consent to the Third Reading of the Bill being now taken.

Question, "That the Bill be now read a third time," put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time and passed.

IRISH EDUCATION (AFFLICTED CHILDREN) BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order for Second Reading read.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (MR. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.)

said that in moving the Second Reading of this Bill he had to explain that it was an unfortunate fact that no provision was made in Ireland, similar to that existing already in England and Scotland, for afflicted children. The Bill dealt with children who were blind or deaf or physically defective. It made it compulsory on the local authority to provide for the education of blind and deaf children, and to defray the cost out of the rates, subject to a State contribution, the amount of which would be dependent upon the provision to be made by the Central Board of Education with the approval of the Treasury. Roughly speaking, that would be about one-third of the cost. At present if the local authorities desired to deal with these children they could only send them to the workhouse or to existing institutions, paying the whole cost out of the rates. The Bill applied to the county councils, the town commissioners, and also to all those rural districts which had adopted the Education Act, so that it would apply to a considerable part of Ireland. It would enable local authorities to contribute out of the rates to such existing institutions for their enlargement and improvement so far as was necessary for the reception of the children so afflicted. There were, it appeared, a sufficient number of them to which children could be sent; and it would not, therefore, be necessary for local authorities to provide institutions. The rates out of which the cost would be borne would be the poor rate in the case of the county council, the borough rate in the case of the borough council, and the Towns Improvement Act—or the local Acts—in the case of the urban districts. He expressed the hope that as the Bill was regarded as uncontroversial it would find acceptance in the House. It was obviously desirable that there should be an opportunity given to local authorities to make some decent provision for children who not only required education but who, from their mental and physical infirmities, commanded their sympathy.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. Walter Long.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) said he did not oppose the Second Reading, but he pressed for time in Committee for the consideration of the Bill, stating that some of the provisions required discussion. This was a compulsory Bill, and he did not know whether the Bill had been brought before the local authorities in any way.

Mr. WALTER LONG said a great many recommendations had been received from various bodies in Ireland that the powers should be conferred, and in the Bill they tried to faithfully carry out the expression of opinion in many quarters in Ireland.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND said he thought they should have some evidence of that opinion, and in its absence he did not desire to pledge himself. He understood that the contribution from the Government was to be an additional grant to the existing educational grant in Ireland and that it was not to be put on the Development Grant.

Mr. WALTER LONG: No.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND said he was glad to know that it was not to come out of the existing educational funds in Ireland.

Mr. WALTER LONG said the precedent to be followed was precisely that of England and Scotland.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND asked if the right hon. Gentleman would undertake to provide some time for consideration of the Bill in Committee. Anxious as they were to promote the objects of the Bill, which did not seem to be a very objectionable Bill, he would not consent to the Second Reading unless they had some opportunity of laying before the Government the views of the local authorities and the public in Ireland on the subject.

Mr. WALTER LONG said it was obvious he could not give an undertaking as to the time that would be available for the Committee stage of the Bill. Surely the hon. Member would not enforce such a demand until he had seen the Bill and ascertained whether there were any changes he desired to make in it. He, however, would do his best to obtain some time to enable hon. Members opposite to make any suggestions they thought would be desirable. The Bill was not a new one. It had been on the stocks for a considerable time.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: The Bill was only printed six or seven days ago.

Mr. WALTER LONG said what he meant was that the subject of the Bill had been the object of considerable discussion in Ireland for some time. The local authorities had discussed the question, and in carrying out the objects of the Bill the Government had accepted the suggestions of the people of Ireland and of hon. Members opposite. As far as his information went, the Bill was the result of expressions of opinion in many directions in Ireland, and the Government had endeavoured faithfully to give effect to those expressions of opinion.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said the Bill was a long one, and, though the subject with which it dealt was one of which they all approved, it was one that they could not allow to pass without some consideration. He had only read the Bill very hastily, but he had found three clauses which he could not imagine the Irish Party allowing to go through without some examination. Clause 15, for instance, provided that—

> "The Commissioners may give aid from moneys provided by Parliament for public education in Ireland to a school in respect of education given to afflicted children, to such an amount and on such conditions as may be directed"

The wording of the clause did not carry out the intention of the Government. Then Clause 10 provided that the local authority should send a child, if possible, to a school under the management of persons of the same religious persuasion. Who was to be the judge in that regard? Clause 7 was the most contentious clause of any he had seen. It said—

> "If the local authority fail to fulfil any of their duties under this Act, the Commissioners may, after holding a public inquiry, make such order as they think necessary or proper for the purpose of compelling the authority to fulfil its duty."

It was a compulsory Bill.

Mr. WALTER LONG: Only as regards the blind and deaf.

Mr. DILLON said that, nevertheless, that was an enormous power to give to the Board of Education, and he doubted whether the local authorities of Ireland would agree to giving that Board a blank cheque of that character. It was therefore plain that the Bill required very careful consideration.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said some of them had been endeavouring for many years to get assistance for this class of children, and he welcomed the Bill most heartily. It was not a measure that would be opposed on Party grounds. Every Irish representative, whatever constituency he represented, was anxious to see it carried; but at the same time it was impossible to let this Bill or any other Bill through in the dog days without careful examination. The National Board in Ireland was not so highly respected that they could commit to it any power without careful examination. While nothing was done in Ireland for this class of children much was done in England and Scotland, and he could assure the Chief Secretary that the Irish Members were prepared to make any sacrifices so that this Bill could be considered, but the Chief Secretary must not ask them simply to accept the Bill without any consideration at all. They did not want much time, but he hoped the Chief Secretary would secure for them some little time in which the provisions of the Bill might be carefully examined.

Mr. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.) said he understood from the right hon. Gentleman that the contribution from the Treasury would be one-third. He asked whether that was the same as the contribution which was made to England. Before he assented to the Second Reading of this Bill he would like it proved by figures that the contribution to England for the last eleven years had only amounted to one-third, because his recollection was that the sum voted was much larger, and for Scotland it was larger still. He asked, before this Bill was put on the Paper again, that the right hon. Gentleman should take out of the Estimates and the Treasury records the amount of the contribution which had been made by the Treasury and that which had been made by the local authorities in England since 1893. In his opinion, Irish Members ought not to be content unless an assurance was given that a Parliamentary Paper would be issued giving that information.

Mr. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick) entirely agreed with what had fallen from members of the Irish Party. He only desired to say that, so far as he was aware, the local authorities of Ireland had received no notice of this Bill, which, so far as he could gather, had only been printed some seven or eight days. He thought the people of Ireland, upon whom the duty would be thrown of administering this Bill, ought to have an opportunity of considering it, and that every local authority ought to receive a copy of the Bill. He would not delay the House further than to say that he hoped those who would have to administer the Bill would be given an opportunity of considering the matter in detail.

Mr. HEMPHILL (Tyrone, N.) said that while Irish Members would be glad to give all reasonable support to the Bill, they had to remember that local taxation in Ireland was very heavy indeed, and they were anxious that no additional burdens should be placed on the ratepayers unless they were absolutely unavoidable. So far as the burdens likely to be imposed by this Bill were concerned, the House was completely in the dark. He agreed that it was highly objectionable to give the Commissioners of National Education power to compel the county councils to carry into effect the provisions of the Bill. It had not been stated in what proportions the burden was to be borne by the local rates and the Exchequer, and it was doubtful out of what fund the grant was to be made. He thought these were points which ought to be explained before the House committed itself to the measure.

Mr. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) asked whether the Bill simply extended to Ireland the powers already existing in England and Scotland. He understood that that was so so far as the financial part of the measure was concerned, but the right hon. Gentleman seemed to express some doubt as to whether many of the other powers in the Bill were quite the same.

Mr. WALTER LONG said that in asking why no statement had been made as to the burden which would be thrown on the rates, the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite had overlooked the fact that this Bill actually proposed to lessen the burdens which now existed. Under the law as it stood, if boards of guardians desired to provide for these unfortunate children, and did not send them to the workhouse, the whole of the extra cost fell upon the rates. The Bill proposed to reduce that cost, not increase it, because if guardians took advantage of these powers to send the children to suitable institutions, two-thirds approximately of the cost would be borne by the local rates, and one-third by the Exchequer. As to whether the cost would come out of existing Votes or out of a Vote for the purpose, it was a well-known principle that when a power of this kind was put into a Bill the cost came out of the money voted for the purposes of the Bill. If, however, there was the smallest doubt as to that under the Bill it would be amended. The hon. Member for North Dublin had asked him for information as to the basis on which the calculation had been made. The Government had taken the results of the English and Scotch Acts, and as they had determined to extend the same powers to Ireland they had gone on the assumption that similar results would follow. He thought a fair estimate of the cost to the local rates would be £10,000, and the contribution out of the Imperial Exchequer £5,000. He quite admitted the force of the suggestion that there should be more information as to the precise figures, and he would be very glad to obtain any information he could for the benefit of the House. He recognised the friendly and non-controversial spirit in which the Bill had been received by hon. Gentlemen opposite. It was obvious that they could not pledge themselves as to the details of the Bill until they had had time to examine them, and if it were necessary to deal with them by Amendment he would do his best to meet them. The criticism already made did not offer any probability of prolonged consideration in Committee. He, on behalf of the Government, put the Bill forward in an entirely non-controversial spirit, having the same object in view as most hon. Members opposite, and he did not anticipate any difficulty in coming to an arrangement upon the points which had been raised.

Mr. T. HARRINGTON (Dublin Harbour) pointed out that many of the schools in Ireland dealing with deaf and blind children were not in any sense connected with the National Board. This Bill proposed to give the National Board power to audit and inspect the accounts of those schools and that was a distinct departure from the principles upon which those schools, were governed at the present time.

Mr. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.) said that during the passage of the Local Government Act of 1898 through the House of Commons the attention of the Government was drawn to this subject. In his opinion this was not the proper time to introduce this Bill, because the tendency of all the numerous boards in Ireland at the present time was to raise their expenditure in every department. There was at the present time a Poor Law Commission inquiring into the Poor Law system with the intention of seeing whether it would not be possible to reduce the number of workhouses in Ireland. To take up a matter like this at the present moment would be only adding one more torture to the ratepayers of Ireland. This Bill would establish a new class of officials, and there were many other obstacles standing in the way. The proper way to deal with this question would be to wait until the Report of the Poor Law Commission was issued, and then they might be able to find some way of economising instead of tinkering in this way with such an important subject.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for To-morrow.

OSBORNE ESTATE ACT (1902) AMENDMENT BILL.

[Second Reading.]

Order for Second Reading read.

The FINANCIAL SECRETARY of the TREASURY (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.) formally moved the Second Reading of this Bill.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid.) said that as no explanation of this Bill had been offered by the Government, it fell upon him to explain the nature of this measure. The Osborne Estate belonged to the late Queen as private property apart altogether from Crown property, and she was particularly anxious that the Osborne Estate should remain the property of the Crown. She held the Osborne Estate as private property and paid taxes upon it, and she was very solicitous that Osborne should be retained as the personal property of the Crown. In consequence of the property being bequeathed in that way, on the Second Reading of the Bill last year he explained how solicitous Her Majesty had been in handing this property down as a personal appendage to the Crown. When the Osborne property was handed over to the nation it was stated that it was a valuable gift on the part of His Majesty. They were told that the free income of the estate was £1,000 a year. It was provided in the Osborne Estate Act that the portion of Osborne House which had been in the personal occupancy of the late Queen should be retained as a memorial of Her Majesty and be open to the general public, while the rest of the house should be devoted to the benefit of officers of His Majesty's naval and military forces, their wives, widows, and families. At the time of the passing of the Act it was said that the structural alterations required were estimated at between £5,000 and £6,000. It was further stated that the upkeep of the house and gardens would be from £3,000 to £5,000 a year. It was not long since 1902 when the Act was passed, but they found from the current year's Estimates that the amount to be expended on Osborne was £14,900. Last year the amount for structural alterations was £20,550. The House would, therefore, see that this property, which was said to be a valuable gift to the nation, had turned out to be an enormous burden. It was now proposed by the Bill before the House to extend the benefits of the convalescent home at Osborne to other branches of the public service, having particularly those in view who were serving the Crown in the Colonies or foreign countries under unhealthy or dangerous conditions. Who was to have the patronage with regard to the persons who were to occupy Osborne? The place was to be under the management of the Commissioner of Works. The Department of the Commissioner of Works was represented in the House, and it was answerable to the House for the manner in which it exercised its patronage. But this Bill proposed that the patronage in regard to the admissions to Osborne should be handed over to the Privy Council.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood abjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

LONDON BUILDING ACTS (AMENDMENT) BILL. (BY ORDER.)

As amended considered.

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid.), on behalf of the Chairman of Ways and Means, moved that the Standing Orders be suspended and that the Bill be now read a third time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Standing Orders 223 and 243 be suspended and that the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

***SIR ALBERT ROLLIT** (Islington, S.) said that some of his constituents, being both the largest and smallest tradesmen in Islington, felt that their interests would be very much affected by what they regarded as the very drastic methods adopted in the Bill for the prevention of the consequences of fire. The London Chamber of Commerce had represented the feeling that existed to the Committee which dealt with the Bill, with the result that very material modifications had been made in the measure which went far, but by no means entirely, to remove what were regarded as its more objectionable features. He submitted that the class for whom he spoke deserved, owing to competition and other public burdens upon them, every consideration, and that the promoters of the Bill should recognise the duty of not asking for more than was absolutely necessary for the protection of life and property. One or two points of difference which had been discussed still remained, and he hoped that opportunities of negotiating them would be afforded when the Bill was dealt with in another place, otherwise the only other course would be for his constituents and the chamber of commerce, as they said, to present a petition and go to further expense in opposing the measure. On the present occasion he could only content himself with making this protest on behalf of his constituents.

Question put, and agreed to.

(King's Consent and Prince of Wales' Consent signified).

Bill read the third time, and passed.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE

SIR A. HAYTER (Walsall) called attention to the four Reports of the Public Accounts Committee; and moved, "That the said Reports be now taken into consideration." He said that all the members of the Committee rejoiced that the Prime Minister, mainly owing to the exertions of the hon. Member for King's Lynn, had given them this opportunity of bringing their Reports before the House. He could assure the House, although their Reports were not seen, that the labours of the Committee had not been without fruit, because the Treasury were bound to take their recommendations into consideration, and not only to call to account any Department implicated, but also to send to the Committee a Paper showing the answer made by the Department. The first recommendation the Committee made this year was that the grants not exceeding £500, placed at the disposal of general officers commanding for unforeseen charges, should be applied solely to that purpose and not applied, as it appeared they had been, to supplement ordinary Votes and especially the Vote for works. The Treasury had issued regulations under which these grants were to be spent, and had warned general officers commanding that the grants would be withdrawn unless the conditions under which they were made were observed. Another recommendation of the Committee was that before any moneys were issued for the purposes of expenditure under the Military Works Acts, 1897 and 1903, an estimate should be submitted to the Treasury of the expenditure under any head for which it was proposed to issue money, together with a statement of the period within which it was proposed to expend the money. This question arose on the expenditure of £2,300,000 on barracks in South Africa, of which the Committee found that no accurate and detailed estimate had been provided and approved by the Treasury.

The House would be rather surprised to hear that the representatives of the Foreign Office did not see any necessity for all the sums which were entrusted to diplomatic and Consular officers abroad being brought into the general account and submitted to the audit of the Comptroller and Auditor-General. The items of this kind included large sums advanced by His Majesty's Minister at Peking from public money in his hands in anticipation of payments from the Chinese indemnity; fines levied for the murder of two missionaries; an indemnity paid in respect of the levy of illegal *likin* duties; and the balance of certain tonnage duties refunded by the Brazilian Government. The representative of the Foreign Office said that these sums had been paid into the hands of diplomatic and Consular officers abroad, and that the Committee had nothing to do with them. It was quite enough, he contended, for him to obtain from these officers a certificate that they had received the money. The Committee took a totally different view of the matter, and recommended that all such payments should be entered in the Foreign Office accounts, and rendered to the Comptroller and Auditor-General for his review and audit.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.) said he understood that what the right hon. Baronet laid stress on was that these sums ought to be audited by the Comptroller and Auditor-General, and that if they were so audited he did not lay stress on the particular form of the accounts.

SIR A. HAYTER said that was so. If the money was accounted for, that was enough for the House. The Committee entirely agreed with the view that it was advisable to amalgamate the packet, telegraph, and postal services. The Committee believed that the result would be a considerable saving both of Parliamentary and Departmental time. As to refunds to contractors in connection with the war, the Committee felt that these questions ought to be examined only by a judicial Committee. He rejoiced that they were being submitted to the Commission presided over by Mr. Justice Farwell. The Committee recommended that sums of £1,671 refunded to Mr. Stepney, £21,232 refunded to Mr. Meyer, £739 refunded to Messrs. Wilson & Worthington, and £1,542 refunded to Messrs. Wilson & Son, Cape Town, making a total of £25,185, should be removed from the account 1903–4 and charged to suspense account pending further investigation. The whole question could be gone into after the decision of the Commissioners. In the Navy accounts the Committee found that £160,000 had been paid for the refit of ships, and that these ships had within eighteen months been condemned as unfit for use for the Navy. It was stated that the refits had not added much to the value of the ships because they were not sold for commercial purposes, and fetched little more than the price of old iron. The Committee had put on record the statement that they could not too strongly condemn so extravagant a policy. He begged to move.

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said in rising to second the Motion he thought he might congratulate the House in having, for the first time, an opportunity of considering the most important Reports of its Committee on Public Accounts. If, as had been so kindly suggested by the Chairman of that Committee, it was due to his (Mr. Bowles') instrumentality, it might, perhaps, be counted to him as one good deed to set against the many evil with which he was credited. The full control of this House over expenditure was much more modern than many people thought. Under the Tudors and Plantagenet Sovereigns, although the House was jealous of granting money to the Crown, when it was granted they took no further notice of the matter. In the time of Charles II. an attempt was made to apply the simple idea of appropriating to specific purposes. But it was the time of William and Mary—1689 that an appropriation clause was first inserted in an Act of Parliament. Yet strangely enough, although the House did thenceforward appropriate its grants to particular purposes, it was something like 140 years before it took any steps to see that the appropriation had been carried out. No general accounts indeed of public expenditure were then presented to the House at all. And when in 1802 a general account was first presented, it was the Finance Accounts, which were not accounts of expenditure, but only of imprests or sums advanced to the Departments. Appropriation accounts there were none, nor was it until 1831 that an Act required the Navy to furnish an annual appropriation account of actual expenditure. The example of the Navy was followed by other Departments, and in 1857 a most powerful Committee, under Sir G. C. Lewis, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, recommended the extension of the system, and that appropriation accounts from all Departments should be annually presented to the House. It further recommended that these accounts should annually be submitted to the revision of the House of Commons. That was the first idea of the Public Accounts Committee in 1857, and accordingly that Committee was established in 1862, and remained to this day.

Accounts, as the House knew, were very dull things, and nobody ever cared to tackle them until they were compelled. The Public Accounts Committee was accordingly accounted dull. It was as it were the plain sister of the House, and it was at the mature age of forty-three that she was, so to speak, for the first time to presented at Court by her chaperons. This was the first time that the report of the Public Accounts Committee had been brought under the notice of the House with Mr. Speaker in the Chair. Yet when the Committee was appointed in 1862, that was not the completion of the work. That did not come till 1866, when that great Act, the Exchequer and Audit Act, was passed, which he had always regarded as the Magna Charta of our financial system, whereby the Comptroller and Auditor-General was appointed and his powers defined, and whereby the action of the Public Accounts Committee was secured and its procedure regularised. That Act still remained as the true charter of our financial system, although it had been impaired in many ways. The subsequent errors thus made and the serious infractions of principle involved in successive partial repeals of its clauses and the consequent vicious interceptions of revenue on its way to the Exchequer, could all be remedied by reverting to the principles and enactments of that Act.

He thought he was not exaggerating when he said that the Public Accounts Committee was the greatest present active force of Parliamentary control; the most powerful and effectual existing instrument for securing economy in public expenditure and the due administration of public funds. It was, perhaps, the only effectual instrument—more effectual even than the House itself, and that for several reasons. In the first place, it had the priceless advantage of having at its command the work done by the Comptroller and Auditor-General, an officer of that House appointed to examine, on behalf of that House, the appropriation accounts, whose salary was charged on the Consolidated Fund, and who was irremovable except upon Addresses from both Houses of Parliament. He was not alone an Auditor, he was also the inheritor of the authority of the Comptroller of Exchequer Receipts and Issues who in 1841 refused to Peel, in 1852 to Lord Derby, and in 1854 to Mr. Gladstone, the issue of large sums of money which the Ministry of the day, with the approbation of the Treasury, demanded. So great, indeed, was his power that not one penny could issue to-day from the national account in the Bank of England without his order nor a penny be spent without being justified to him and to the Public Accounts Committee as duly vouched and duly sanctioned by the appropriation of the House. The Comptroller and Auditor-General did most invaluable service both to this House and to the country, which only those who read through the voluminous Appropriation Accounts could judge at its true value. He examined all the accounts of the Empire, a most enormous task, as the House would readily understand, which he performed with the aid of skilled officers; he called attention to irregularities which came under his notice. Although it was true that the Public Accounts Committee had sometimes detected for itself irregularities to which he had not called attention, still it remained true that the major part of the work of the Public Accounts Committee was founded on his Reports. He found the fox, and the Committee ran it to earth.

The Committee's functions were large indeed. They extended, in his belief, and according to its own unchanged practice, not alone to the formal regularity of the expenditure, but also to its wisdom, faithfulness, and economy. It actually did on the completed account that which the House sought to do on the estimated account. It had advantages which the House had not. It had before it the actual officials concerned in the transactions—the accounting officers, numbering some seventy, each of whom was responsible for the expenditure of his own department, a responsibility which was not immune from attack, but which must be strictly maintained if the Comptroller and the Public Accounts Committee were to do their work. The Public Accounts Committee examined these officers, and occasionally cross-examined them. It required them to produce any papers it needed; it could send for any person whatever, and, if need be, could administer an oath to him. He looked forward to the time when the Committee would send for the First Lord of the Treasury to speak, for once, the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Moreover, in the Public Accounts Committee there was no guillotine, and no portion of the expenditure could be withdrawn from its full review and criticism, as the Estimates could be, and were, withdrawn from discussion in the House.

One other point he might be permitted to add. Although the Committee was composed of members of both Parties, with a preponderance of one in favour of the Party in power, he had never in the whole of his experience seen a subject treated in a partisan spirit, and certainly he had never seen a division of a Party character during the whole time he had served on the Committee. It did its work in a spirit of faithfulness. Nothing was too large or too small for it. Like the elephant's trunk, it could pick up a pin or tear down an official lord of the bureaucratic forest. Its range was as extensive as its powers. When Parliament had made its grants a stream of British guineas flowed to the uttermost ends of the earth. The Committee followed every guinea and saw that the money was properly applied, and, if not, that the officials were called to account. When it was remembered that the work extended over the expenditure of the whole British Empire it would be recognised that that was no small labour. That labour was embodied in Reports to this House such as the four which had been presented that day. Such Reports should not be buried in obscurity. They were of great interest and extreme importance. They were of greater importance now, when so much more public attention was given to national expenditure than ever before. He rejoiced that an opportunity had been given for the first time when the Reports of the Public Accounts Committee could be considered by the House.

The Committee was appointed at a much too late period of the session, but, in addition to that, the work had not been less, but rather greater than usual. Last week it sat every day, and the inevitable result had been, to his great regret, that it had not been physically possible to distribute all the evidence taken in time for this debate. He trusted that the Government would in future take the eminently wise step of appointing the Committee at the earliest period of the session in order that its Reports might be in the hands of Members some time before the debate which he confidently anticipated must henceforth be annual, and which he as confidently predicted would become one of the most fruitful and important of any conducted in that House. Three hours was a short time for this House to give to the discussion of the whole accounts of the British Empire; but it was the most they could get on this occasion, and he, personally, was grateful for it.

It was impossible to deal with all the various subjects embraced in these Reports, and even with those which would most interest the House it would be inadvisable on this occasion to deal. Nevertheless, he wished to call attention to one or two points of the greatest importance and of the highest moment. The Committee expressed opinions on various important matters which would be found in its Reports, from the condemnation of the expenditure of £8 6s. 8d. for printing a staff ride to the expenditure of £494,000 by the Admiralty without having signed a contract, which, in its opinion, were entitled to the serious consideration of the House. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that that expenditure was expended by Parliamentary authority, but he respectfully differed from him. So much as to its opinions. As to its absolute recommendations they were few, not more than six in all. To two of them he would respectfully call the attention of the House as of the very greatest importance. In the first place, the Committee recommended that four sums, amounting to £25,185, should be removed from the accounts of 1903–4 and charged to a suspense account. That amounted to a provisional disallowance of those four sums as charges against the Votes of the year. He was not going into detail about what were called the war store scandals, or the finance of the war in South Africa, of which the items making up the £25,185 referred to were off-shoots. There were no doubt very great losses to the public during and after that war caused by faulty contracts, by the failure of the system adopted by the War Office to secure due accountability, by frauds and robberies and by the unfortunate dual system of sales and repurchases—very often from sales to, and purchases from, the same man, initiated by Lord Kitchener, and carried on by Sir Neville Lyttelton. There was a general breakdown in many important particulars, not alone of the War Office system established for the very purpose of dealing with the difficulties always attending war, but also of the new devices for this particular war. Such was the breakdown that during the war accountability largely disappeared and accounting ceased. It was not too much to say that throughout the war, as regarded an appreciable amount of expenditure, it was impossible to say how the money went; what, if anything, was got for it, or who was responsible for its outlay. Strictly speaking, of the expenditure on the war there was no proper and complete account at all to be obtained.

As an illustration of the completeness and sufficiency of the system of which the Public Accounts Committee was the crown and summit, he would point out that the irregularities connected with the stores in South Africa were one and all detected by the Comptroller-General. The information regarding them was published in his Reports before it occurred to anybody either to ask a Question or to appoint a Committee or a Commission; and had there been no Butler Committee and no Royal Commission, the House would probably have had before it now the final decision, on all these matters at any rate, as to the £25,000, of the

Public Accounts Committee. Had that taken place, one of two things must have occurred. Either the Department must have recovered the items from the officer responsible for the expenditure, or His Majesty's Government must have come to the House for another Vote, upon which the whole question of responsibility would have been raised. As to the dual contract system, he felt there was not much at present proper to be said, although a good deal might be thought by the members of the Public Accounts Committee. This, however, he might say, that the system of dual contracts was mainly due to the fact that when in June, 1902, Colonel Armstrong, the financial adviser of the general on the spot, left, Sir Neville Lyttelton intimated that he did not require any financial adviser, and it was the consequent absence of an official of that kind which rendered possible the disastrous system of dual contract.

One other matter touching South Africa called for a word. The Imperial Yeomanry Committee was entrusted with £1,262,000 to spend. It appeared last year, and was reported to the House, that for more than a third, or £460,000, no details or vouchers were produced. It was now authoritatively alleged that vouchers did exist, though they had not been called for. He was very glad if they did exist, but he deemed it necessary to say that they had not been produced to the Comptroller and Auditor-General or to the Public Accounts Committee. The other recommendation he wished to refer to was that which had reference to accounting officers, and which arose out of a suggested Army Order—an Order which, if it had been carried through, would have tended to the complete destruction of the financial control of that House. He could not be blind to the fact that new professors and advocates had arisen of a most dangerous militarism, and that there seemed to be an idea seeking root in this country that the Army and the Navy should escape from the control of the civil power. He earnestly warned the House, and, if his voice could so far reach, he would warn the country against allowing any countenance to be given to so fatal a notion This was a civil country with a civil people engaged in civil avocations, and it was for the defence of that people in those avocations, against foreign or domestic violence—and for that alone—that either Army or Navy existed. They must be instruments of the supreme civil power, never its masters. They must be subordinate, above all, in finance. If once they allowed either the soldier or the sailor to escape from civilian control in the most essential matter of finance, that moment they had not only destroyed the control of Parliament, but had seriously endangered the liberties of the country. That there had been an attempt to escape from that control was, he feared, undoubted. That the attempt had succeeded in India seemed to him but too likely, and its probable results would there be only too dangerous. But here, thanks as he humbly conceived, to the Public Accounts Committee, any such attempt, if intended, had failed. The recommendation of the Public Accounts Committee, if carried out, as carried out it must be, would suffice to check that idea. He confidentially commended these Reports, which were the result of great labour and faithful service to the House. He should always remember with pride that, as a member of the Public Accounts Committee for ten years, he had been privileged to take a part in what he believed to be some of the most effectual service that could be rendered to the State.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the four Reports of the Public Accounts Committee be now taken into consideration."—(*Sir A. Hayter.*)

*SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston) said that he sincerely trusted that the hon. Gentleman would long continue his services in investigating the financial affairs of this country. He congratulated the hon. Gentleman on the manner in which the Public Accounts Committee did their work in helping economy in administration; and on his success in securing a part of a day for the discussion of the Reports of the Public Accounts Committee. Since then great scandals as to waste of money had been reported. Those exposures had electrified the public conscience and had resulted from increased scrutiny and activity on the part of the Public Accounts Committee. When they were considering the subject upstairs, in the Select Committee on public expenditure in 1903, they found that the Public Accounts Committee was the most efficient instrument Parliament had for discovering the waste of money. That Committee had also sought by other means to increase the survey and general investigation of public expenditure; they had advised a careful analysis of the Estimates before they were voted. Whilst he congratulated the House in having that opportunity of discussing in a short sitting accounts pregnant with information, he would suggest that in future years they should have a larger and longer opportunity of discussion. The recommendation of the Public Expenditure Committee was that a whole day should be given to consider the Reports of the Public Accounts Committee, and he was sorry that earlier in the session a day was not granted for a critical discussion of that great subject. If Parliament was to maintain and retain that control over public money which it ought to have, it was necessary that every Member of the House should be interested in the investigation and consideration of the national Estimates. After all, they were there mainly as the guardians of the public purse. First of all, they guarded the liberties of the nation, if they could (and it was somewhat difficult in the present day), and next their duty was to consider public expenditure and to guard the interests of their constituents.

They had to thank the Public Accounts Committee for having done good work, but if they were going to continue the work over an increased area they would have to have another Committee formed on very much the same lines. He would like the recommendation of the Public Expenditure Committee considered at some future time, viz., that certain sections of the public accounts should be submitted to an Estimates Committee sitting upstairs who would study and report on the Estimates before the money was voted. There was no possibility, especially under the new rules, of their doing their duty in that House in the criticism of public expenditure. The way in which the Estimates came before them and the way in which discussions were carried on under the new rules made it impossible that close and minute scrutiny should be given over the whole expenditure. In a few days they would have millions voted under the closure and which had never been discussed at all. They ought to have some body to study and analyse every Vote and every item; in fact, he was sure they ought to have another Committee, called the Estimates Committee, which would take year by year, as suggested, he believed, by the hon. Member for King's Lynn in the first instance, sections of the Estimates, dissect them in the most careful manner, and report once a year on a section of public expenditure. Then in the course of three or four years the whole area of their public expenditure might be analysed and investigated and Reports placed before the House. When some such system was adopted, they would get rid of scandals which had disgraced the Government in recent years, and they would have more economical and efficient expenditure of public money.

*Mr. DUKE (Plymouth) said he did not think anybody who read the Reports of the Public Accounts Committee could fail to see that that Committee was doing all that was at present done toward discharging a primary duty on the part of the House. They were there to control public expenditure and regulate the purse strings, but owing to the rudimentary mode in which public expenditure was controlled money was voted almost in entire ignorance. Although he admired the work done by the Public Accounts Committee, he sympathised with the suggestion made by the hon. Baronet opposite with regard to what had been said in a tone of unwonted congratulation by the hon. Member for King's Lynn. At present they began to check expenditure when it was too late to save money, and the House totally neglected its power to save either £500,000 or 1s. 6d. at the time when saving could be effected. He sincerely trusted that what had been said by the hon. Member for King's Lynn would bear some fruit. It could not be satisfactory that the expenditure of the country should go on as though we lived in China or Russia, and as though, because a sentry was posted or a department or a store was opened at a certain point two hundred years ago there was almost gospel sanction for the continuance of the expenditure. The House, for the want of such a Committee as had been suggested, did not get at the root of the expenditure. He was sure there were many unofficial Members who were pressed both by their own feelings and by their constituents to try and find out, for instance, why so small an Army as ours costs so vast a sum. It was not because of its numbers, and it was said to be not because of its efficiency. The cost was altogether out of proportion, but during the five years he had been in the House he had never been able to find any Member, official or unofficial, who could guide him to any point on which expenditure could be saved. It could not be done unless some Committee were warranted to take the Estimates item by item and recommend to the House, if necessary over the heads of permanent Departments, what the expenditure should be.

He was told that great saving in the current Navy Estimates had been effected because some person of common sense suggested that if he were permitted to take the expenditure £10,000 by £10,000 and call before him those who vouched for the necessity of it he would be able at any rate to find out with regard to sums of £10,000 whether each of them was required. It seemed an elementary proceeding. He was satisfied it took place and that there was a saving. It might not be a permanent saving, because abuses revived, but there was at present an immediate saving of £3,500,000 on the Navy. One of the representatives of the Army regarded that as an amazing saving, but would he tell the House that economy was not effected by that means. If any right hon. Gentleman on the Front Bench told the House that the economy was not effected by that means, he should be very much surprised, because at the present moment he had excellent reasons for believing that that was the precise means. He might be misinformed, but, if it were a method which had not occurred to anybody, he ventured to think it was a thing which might very well be suggested. It might be that the great expenditure with which the record of the Conservative Party would for years be associated had been absolutely necessary, but he was not at all sure that their constituents were satisfied that it had been. If some such method as had been suggested by the hon. Baronet opposite were adopted and applied both to the Army and Navy, they would at any rate have the satisfaction of knowing that the vast sums spent were necessarily spent, if they did not have the satisfaction of reducing them by considerable amounts.

*MR. GODDARD (Ipswich) said he should like to say a few words upon this, the first occasion upon which the Reports of the Committee had been under discussion by the House. He congratulated the hon. Member for King's Lynn on having so persistently stood out for an opportunity of discussing that phase of national expenditure. The Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee had already laid before the House the recommendations of the Committee, and the hon. Member for King's Lynn had gone at some length into a very interesting statement of the history of the Committee. He rather preferred to take a different line, and he should like to say a few words as to his impression after eight years experience on the Committee with regard to its work in connection with the expenditure of the country.

The debate offered an opportunity, and perhaps would inspire a curiosity, to look into the appropriation accounts. Probably outside the official members of the Government and the members of the Public Accounts Committee there were very few Members who ever took the trouble to read the appropriation accounts, for the very simple and sensible reason that they regarded the expenditure as having been made and done with. But, because of that want of exploration into those accounts, hon. Members lost a great deal of information which did not appear in the Estimates. A considerable amount of enlightenment might be given them if they would only take the trouble of reading the appropriation accounts and the Report of the Controller and Auditor-General upon them. He would give an illustration. There was an excess of £20,068 in the Vote for salaries of the military department, and it was stated to be due mainly to an increase of staff, including an extra staff, approved by the heads of the War Office and the Treasury, for a history of the South African War. He did not know whether it was officially known by the Members of the House that they were spending a considerable amount of money on the preparation of a history of the South African War. It did not appear in the Estimates, but the real fact was that they were paying £6,000 a year for three years for that purpose. He did not wish to criticise the account. It might be worth the expenditure for military purposes and it might be an exceedingly useful document, but from the Estimates it was impossible to gather that the expenditure was going on. He had no doubt it was covered by some salaries, but it was not specifically named. The point he wished to illustrate was the loss of control over expenditure by the House of Commons. He did not think there was a more responsible duty attaching to the Members of the House of Commons than to watch the expenditure of the country. It was one of the prime reasons for which they were sent to the House of Commons, and any attempt to deprive them of that power of control was very serious and ought to be critically examined.

His impression after eight years on the Public Accounts Committee was that the control of the House of Commons over public expenditure was a diminishing quality. He thought that loss was mainly due to three reasons. There was first of all the new closure rule, which limited discussion. Secondly, he thought he was justified in saying that there was a growing practice of sanctioning expenditure simply by means of the Treasury. And, thirdly, there was the loose and inadequate way in which Estimates were drawn up and laid before Parliament, resulting very often in money being voted for one purpose and being used altogether for another purpose without any Parliamentary consideration, and in expenditure upon particular services exceeding the Estimates granted by the House, in many cases by upwards of 100 per cent. With regard to the new closure rule, he might perhaps remind the House that only last year no less a sum than £31,224,231 was voted without any examination of the Estimates. He did not think that could be held to be conducive to good Estimates. If the Departments thought there was a laxity in considering them, and that they might go through Parliament without a word being said, it was not conducive to care in drawing them up. He did not wish to cast any reflection upon the Treasury, for he did not suppose it was any worse than it would be under any other Government, and he quite understood that it was an exceedingly difficult thing to resist the pressure that was put upon it from various Departments to increase the amount of expenditure, but he did think, and he thought he should be able to prove, that the Treasury might be firmer in withholding sanction from some of the expenditure. It was a very rare thing to find the Treasury absolutely withholding sanction. He thought there was only one case which came under the notice of the Public Accounts Committee that year. It was in connection with the expenditure in the Chatham Dockyard. There was a token Vote of £50,000, and the Department exceeded it by £20,000. The Treasury did in that case refuse to give its sanction to the amount. It was, however, very rare indeed for the Treasury to do that.

The method of getting expenditure which had not been sanctioned or even considered by Parliament was growing, and it was most dangerous. He would like to give one or two illustrations. The net result of the Navy transactions for the year 1903–4 was that on the total expenditure of £37,000,000 odd there was an excess of £97,951. Of course that did not represent the fluctuations on the amounts of the various Votes. The Admiralty as late as 14th March, 1904, made a forecast showing expenditure and Estimates fairly equal but in the final balance the net excessive expenditure on Votes 2 and 11., which on 14th March had been estimated to amount to £22,800 and £39,500 respectively, had grown to £70,931 and £87,000. These two amounts practically accounted for the whole of the net excess. In the ordinary course of events, the Department ought to have come to Parliament for a Supplementary Estimate to warrant that expenditure. That would have given the House an opportunity of discussing it and would have restored the control of the House of Commons over such expenditure. But that was not the way in which it was done. The Treasury very properly refused to allow the application of certain surpluses upon certain Votes to be used for making up deficiencies on other Votes without reference to Parliament, but in effect it worked out in another way. The Treasury did not prevent the Admiralty from making use of excesses of receipts upon appropriations-in-aid to other purposes. There was an excess upon appropriations-in-aid of £115,000 or £116,000. In the ordinary course that amount would have been immediately transferred to the Exchequer as extra receipts, and Supplementary Estimates would have been asked for excess expenditure. He thought the Treasury ought to have insisted upon that course being followed and not to have allowed the excess of receipts upon appropriations-in-aid to have been used to make up deficiencies. The result, of course, was that a balance in hand was shown. It would therefore be seen that £97,000 had been absolutely withdrawn from the control of Parliament.

He would only give one other illustration. Formerly all items of works undertaken by the War Office and the Admiralty and estimated to cost £1,000 and more were shown separately in the Estimates. In 1902–3, when a great many irregularities crept into their conduct of national finance, there was an alteration with regard to the Army, and no details were given of works which did not cost more than £2,000. In 1903–4 that alteration was extended to the Admiralty. There they had an extension of power to Departments to spend money on works the particulars of which were not known outside the Department at all. It was a clear case of loss of control by the House of Commons. No doubt it was done with the sanction of the Treasury and was in perfect order according to the rules of Parliament, but Parliament had lost control over that money. All items under those heads which would not amount to more than £2,000 could be started without giving any particulars of them in the Estimates, and there would be no vote upon them. That was what he meant by loss of Parliamentary control. Already the War Office and the Admiralty escaped much of the control given to other Departments, and he thought it was a great pity to have given them power which lessened that control. He had another illustration which showed how the same thing crept into other Departments besides the Army and Navy.

Another instance he might give, if time permitted, was in regard to the Revenue buildings in which a sum of £185,000 was used without proper Estimates being submitted. The loose and inadequate Estimates placed before Parliament were one reason for the loss of Parliamentary control. As an illustration of this, he pointed out that in the Army Votes there were seven services for which Estimates were passed, but no expenditure made, which meant that the money voted could be used for other purposes not sanctioned by Parliament; there were twenty items on which the expenditure was less than the Estimates, four items in which the expenditure had exceeded the Estimates, and three items of expenditure for which no provision had been made in the Estimates, but for which expenditure had been incurred by Treasury sanction. There was an illustration from the Admiralty. The Admiralty had estimated in 1903–4 that the expenditure on the Osborne Royal Naval College would be £40,000. On April 27th, 1903, the Admiralty wrote to the Treasury stating that the total cost at Osborne would be £65,000, and sanction was asked for this expenditure from savings under other heads. It was always necessary to show that savings had been made under other heads, otherwise the Treasury would not give their sanction, and that was probably a reason why excessive Estimates were often submitted. The Admiralty also asked for authority to go on with other works, such as bungalows for the cadets, costing £22,200; so that the original Estimate rose from £40,000 to £87,200. On July 30th, 1903, the Admiralty again wrote to the Treasury in respect of an hospital for infectious diseases, the site of which had had to be changed, necessitating an expenditure of £5,500 instead of £3,500. The total Estimate for Osborne thus rose from £40,000 to £92,700. But that was not the end of the story. On March 12th, 1904, the Admiralty wrote again to the Treasury stating that the Estimates would be largely exceeded. In 1903–4 the total expenditure was estimated at £94,000, and the sum finally named as the total Estimate for this work was £160,000. The Treasury entered a feeble kind of protest against this method of presenting Estimates, but under pressure it gave way and consented to the expenditure. Parliament thus found that it was pledged to an expenditure of £160,000 when only £40,000 had been asked for a short time before. Such cases, he thought, showed how Parliament lost grip over expenditure, and how, in consequence, the national expenditure enormously increased.

The Supplementary Estimates were also growing. In 1903 Supplementary Estimates for £4,500,000 were asked for. This expenditure had already been incurred and, as the major portion of the money had been spent, Parliament found it to be impossible to refuse the grant. The money included the price of the two Chilian war vessels, though Parliament was never asked about the purchase. It was a perfect farce to ask Parliament to vote money which had already been expended. Facts like these showed that Parliament had lost control over the expenditure of the country, and, in these days of swollen Estimates from which the poorest of the community were suffering, it behoved hon. Members to examine the question of Parliamentary control in finance closely for themselves with the object of preventing waste and extravagance.

*Sir EDGAR VINCENT (Exeter) said he yielded to no man in his hostility to Supplementary Estimates; they were totally subversive of good finance, but he believed he was correct in saying that the Supplementary Estimates this year were far lower than they had been in previous years. He regarded that as a hopeful sign of financial administration. The advocates of economy and supporters of a more stringent system of finance had had several reasons for congratulation in the course of the present session—first, because they had achieved a notable triumph in the abolition of the system of Works Bills, for he took it that the declaration of the Government applied to the Works Bills generally and not merely to the naval works; secondly, because they had a distinct improvement in the form of the financial statement presenting on Budget night, from which the entire expenditure could now be clearly observed; and lastly, in having secured that night for the first time a discussion on the Reports of the Public Accounts Committee. The result of that discussion must be largely to increase the sense of the House and of the country as to the importance of the services of the Public Accounts Committee and also to increase its authority and prestige. The allotment of a day for the discussion of the Reports of the Public Accounts Committee was one of the recommendations of the National Expenditure Committee. He congratulated the Government upon having adopted that recommendation, and urged them not to stop in the path of progress, but, having learnt the value of the services rendered by a Select Committee in regard to accounts, to extend the system and set up a Select Committee to examine the Estimates.

The control of expenditure was far more efficient applied before the event than after. If the expenditure had already been made it was simply a question of establishing past responsibility, and there was no opportunity for saving the money of the country. He was convinced that the utility of examination before the event was as ten to one compared with examination after. It had been argued against the establishment of a Committee such as had been suggested, that it would diminish the control of this House, but they had from the Prime Minister a very important statement of opinion, that discussion in Committee of Supply did not aid the cause of financial economy. Everyone knew that to be true. It was absolutely impossible for private Members to gain any useful purpose by discussing with the Minister of the Crown Estimates regarding which he alone had information given him by permanent officials. Unless private Members could examine the Votes in detail and obtain information regarding them by examining the permanent officials of the various Departments, their criticism was almost always void of effect and of no real service to the country. He did not think it could be seriously contended that the establishment of such a Committee would relieve the Treasury of responsibility or destroy the authority of the Treasury over the spending Departments. He did not share the view that the Treasury had lost power and authority during recent years. The permanent officials had never been more zealous or more capable than at the present time, but the amount of good that they could do in the way of financial control depended largely upon the amount of support given them in the Cabinet by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the amount of authority exercised by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Cabinet depended largely upon the amount of support he received in that House. The House could only give support if it had knowledge.

*MR. SPEAKER intimated that the hon. Member was going outside the Motion before the House.

SIR EDGAR VINCENT said he would conclude by expressing his personal view of the great value to the cause of public economy of the services rendered by the members of the Public Accounts Committee as evidenced by the admirable Reports which were now submitted to the House.

MR. CHURCHILL (Oldham) said the present debate was a pleasant interlude amidst the hard political times through which they were passing, and had yet to pass. Upon many points a very general agreement had been expressed. All were convinced that the present system of financial control was lax and ineffectual, and that no proper scrutiny of the Estimates or control of finance was exercised. They were also agreed as to the unique value of the Reports of the Public Accounts Committee, which, for the first time, they had an opportunity afforded them of discussing. In that matter the Prime Minister had treated the House with some consideration, which Members ought not to omit to recognise. Then, too, all were bound to recognise the great services rendered to the cause of public finance by the hon. Member for King's Lynn, who, in days when private Members had little opportunity of doing useful work, was one of the few Members who had been able to make his influence felt from an unofficial position upon the course of public affairs.

He desired to submit one or two considerations suggested by the functions of the Public Accounts Committee and bearing on the question of financial control. Financial control divided itself into two separate spheres—the examination of Estimates and the audit of accounts. The Public Accounts Committee dealt extremely well with the audit of accounts, but it did not touch the examination of Estimates. The examination before that Committee was so formidable a one that nobody would care to submit himself to it unless he were as sure as he could be of the statement he had to present, and that audit of accounts was effective and real because they had accurate knowledge based on expert opinion and there was an entire absence of partisanship. Moreover, they were guided by the Comptroller and Auditor-General, who was independent of any political Party, and they could call before them Departmental officers who, as the Blue-book showed, gave excellent, clear, and definite answers to the questions addressed to them. The contrast between the examination of the accounts for the purposes of audit and the examination of the Estimates before the House of Commons was deplorable. On the one hand, there was knowledge, absence of partisanship, expert evidence, and the submission of high officials to cross-examination? On the other hand, what did they see in Committee of Supply? He admitted the value of Supply days as occasions for raising grievances and discussing questions of policy, but so far as any systematic and scientific examination of the expenditure of the country was concerned, they were a series of farces from beginning to end. That must be so from the size and variety of the Estimates presented and the enormous field covered by them. No human being not possessed of expert information or access to official documents could possibly bring any effective criticism—expect by accident—to bear upon the details of expenditure in Committee of Supply. It was absurd to suggest that a system under which 670 Members, dominated by partisanship and Party feeling, strolled in and out on Supply days, and voted without having heard the debates, involved any definite, methodical, and scientific examination of the expenditure of the country, He submitted that the recommendations of the purely non-partisan Committee which was appointed some three years ago ought to have been acted upon, or, at any rate, publicly considered before now.

Public expenditure divided itself into three aspects. There was the policy of expenditure, the merit of expenditure, and the audit of expenditure. To illustrate what he meant, let the House suppose there arose a question of the improvement of the scientific training of the Royal Army Medical Corps. Whether it should be done would be a question of policy; whether the end should be secured by building special hospitals or by placing the men in London hospitals, would be the merit of the expenditure; and whether the money voted had been honestly and properly expended would belong to the sphere of audit. Questions of policy were for the Cabinet and the House of Commons, and the question of audit was adequately dealt with by the Public Accounts Committee, the Treasury, and the Comptroller and Auditor-General. But between these two there was a lacuna or middle ground, which, for want of a better term, he called the merit of expenditure, and upon that no control adequately or effectively operated at the present time. What they had heard of the work of the Public Accounts Committee ought to encourage them to apply to the sphere of merit the same kind of efficient examination that they applied to the sphere of audit. They ought to set up an Estimates Committee, which should conduct the examination of the Estimates by the same scientific methods as the audit of accounts was now conducted by the Public Accounts Committee. He earnestly hoped that work would be undertaken in the future No one would suggest that an Estimates Committee, any more than the Public Accounts Committee, should have any executive function; they would have no power to reduce or increase a Vote; all that they would have power to do would be to find out the truth and place it before the House of Commons. He suggested that if an Estimates Committee were set up its comments on each Estimate should be printed on a blue slip and attached to the Estimate when it was laid before the House. They would then be able to debate the Estimates in the House with knowledge, be able to award praise and blame where it was deserved, and the present slip-shod and haphazard system would pass away. He looked forward to a reformed Parliament which would be disembarrassed, by devolution, of the mass of detail with which their progress was now largely choked, and in such a Parliament these two Committees would be an indispensable feature.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, N.), on behalf of the Government, associated himself with all that had been said as to the valuable work done in the Public Accounts Committee. The present was an interesting occasion, as it was the first on which the work of the Committee had been submitted to the House. He had been struck, in reading the four Reports of the Committee, with the admirable quality of impartiality therein displayed, and it was because of that quality that they had been received with the respect they merited in that House. He hoped that the practice, now initiated, would in no wise alter the character of those Reports; it was conceivable, he hoped it was not probable, that by bringing the Reports into the arena of the House of Commons they might to a certain extent lose that admirable quality of impartiality. The hon. Member for King's Lynn had mentioned that, in the Committee, Party divisions were practically unknown, and that the questions were discussed purely on their merits. In that House there was sometimes a danger of matters that were national and not Party matters being somewhat dimmed by the differences which existed between the two great Parties, but he hoped that the fine tradition embodied in these Reports might continue unimpaired.

His hon. friend the Member for Exeter, the hon. Member for Oldham, and other hon. Members had expressed the desire that what was now being done in connection with audit might be extended to Estimates. That was a very large question. His own belief was that no Party in that House would readily adopt the system which found favour in France, and that they would never have a Budget Committee, the approval of which would be a necessary condition precedent to the presentation of Estimates to that House. He did not believe, as a matter of practice, that any Party in that House would relieve Ministers from their responsibility in submitting the Estimates to Parliament. Whether it might be possible to adopt the suggestion of the hon. Member for Ilkeston, and for the Public Accounts Committee to carry out an extended review of the different branches of the public accounts so that in the course of a few years the whole area might be covered, was another matter. It would be in pursuance of the aim of the hon. Member for Oldham, and the obvious corollary would be that they should pass over detailed matters not recommended for discussion by the Public Accounts Committee.

He was not sure that some of the illustrations used to enforce the arguments of hon. Members that evening had been quite happy. With nearly all that had been said on matters of principle they found themselves in agreement, but he could not allow one or two of the illustrations used to pass without comment. For instance, the large economies in the expenditure of the Navy were not due, except in a minute degree, to the examination referred to by the hon. Member for Plymouth, but to a large act of policy affecting the whole establishment of the Navy and the character of the sea-going Fleet which was not the outcome of that detailed criticism. If the hon. Member for Ipswich had taken the trouble to ask the accounting officer of the Department, whose *laches* he was criticising, or if he had taken the trouble to examine the Estimates, he would have found that the obscurity in the items relating to the history of the war was not so great as he asked the House to believe. In the Estimates he would have found in each year an item for £6,000 for "preparation of the history of the South African War." Another ill-chosen example of criticism, that in connection with the College at Osborne, referred to the transfer of expenditure from a sea-going ship to the establishment on land, and this showed the folly of purely arithmetical criticisms unless they were accompanied by a review of the circumstances under which the Estimates were presented. This expenditure was due to the creation of a college, one of the most successful pieces of construction by the naval department, and it was because the college was completed in so short a time that the money was transferred from one item to the other. The hon. Member for Ipswich said that £40,000 was asked for, and £160,000 was actually spent, and he wished the House to understand that that was extravagance.

MR. GODDARD: I did not say that. I said that the Estimate began at £40,000, and it had gone up to £160,000.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER accepted the hon. Member's explanation. He wished to point out, however, that there had been no departure from the purpose for which the money was intended. He thought it was the duty of somebody on behalf of the Government to state how these Reports had been received by them, and the task had fallen to his lot because it happened that the larger part of the recommendations of the Public Accounts Committee concerned his Department. The Government had accepted the unanimous Report of the Public Accounts Committee, and he would like to say one or two words about the principal items accepted.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): What does the right hon. Gentleman mean by accepted?

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said the Report made certain recommendations. Those recommendations had been accepted, and it was proposed to act upon them. The first had reference to the grant of £500 to general officers commanding for unforeseen charges. The War Office and the Treasury shared the opinion of the Public Accounts Committee that those amounts should be applied exclusively to the purposes for which they were granted, and they would be so applied in the future. The second recommendation concerned military, naval, and other works. He was aware of the particular case that came under the notice of the Committee, and he could not find that there was any failure on the part of the War Department to furnish the particulars asked for; but the principle that such particulars should be furnished on all occasions was readily accepted by the War Office and the Treasury.

There was one more item which was of more general interest, and was, no doubt, of great importance. It dealt with the accounting officer referred to in the new Army Order. He was anxious the House should understand the position of the Army Council with regard to this matter. The War Office, like every public body, was bound by the law of Parliament; and the law of Parliament had enjoined that the accounting officer was responsible to the House, and that he should have his representative in all the great spending Departments of State. There was no desire or intention to challenge that fundamental law; but at the same time it ought to be made clear that the Army Order which had been made the subject of criticism was drawn with a very deliberate intention. It was not the intention to exclude the right of the accounting officer to communicate directly with representatives of the House, but there was the intention of giving a greater liberty to officers in charge of administration of districts. In this connection he would like to read one or two passages from the Report of the Esher Committee. They said—

> "The entire system of War Office finance, which has been built up during many years, and has its origin in a distant past, is based upon the assumption that all military officers are necessarily spendthrifts, and that their actions must be controlled in gross and in detail by civilians. This theory is largely responsible for the unreadiness for war which has been frequently exhibited, as well as for reckless and wasteful expenditure."

Again, the Esher Committee said—

> "The theory that military officers of all ranks are, by the fact of wearing uniform, shorn of all business instincts has inevitably tended to produce the laxity which it is supposed to prevent. . . While the present system of financial control is futile in peace, it is ruinous in war. Officers unaccustomed to bear any financial responsibility and ruled by excessively complex regulations cannot at once improvise a system for the control of expenditure in the field when the restraints are suddenly removed. The result, as in South Africa, is the waste of millions."

Those were very pregnant sentences, and it was the intention of the War Office to give effect to that sound doctrine. The Army Order had now been modified in a form which met with the approval of the Treasury. They had preserved a far greater liberty than that which had hitherto been allowed to the general officer in charge of administration, but it had been made clear that the control of Parliament should be maintained, and he believed that the Army Order so drawn would satisfy the House.

There was one other item which called for remark, and that was the question of refunds in South Africa. There, again, they had accepted the recommendation of the Public Accounts Committee. The Committee recommended that those items which had not yet been satisfactorily dealt with because of the length of the inquiry and the distance which separated this country from the scene of the transactions, should be carried over to a suspense account until the investigation that was going on was complete. They accepted the recommendation. These accounts would be carried to suspense account. In conclusion, he said he thought that on this, the first occasion when the Reports of the Public Accounts Committee had been brought under the review of the House of Commons, there had been a ready acceptance of its proposals by the Government, because they had felt that those proposals were framed after an examination of the problems with which they were concerned from a purely non-Party point of view, and with an eye to the good of the country at large.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.) referred to the question of the meat and vegetable rations sent out to the troops in South Africa. In his Report of January 31st this year the Comptroller and Auditor-General reported that 5,571,622 of the rations supplied were condemned and destroyed in South Africa. In addition he reported that 497,125 emergency rations supplied by the firm of Maconochie Brothers, never having left these shores, were returned to that firm and condemned as being unfit for use. He also reported that this same firm replaced 365,000 rations in place of those condemned and that many of these were subsequently found to be unsound; and he finally informed the House, through his Report, that of the total rations destroyed, 955,727 were Maconochie emergency rations and 1,053,563 were Maconochie meat and vegetable rations. The Public Accounts Committee took all these facts into consideration and they heard what Messrs. Maconochie had to say. The explanation given by the firm was that the War Office, in November, 1899, came to them in a great emergency and asked them to supply large quantities, under great stress, of these emergency meat and vegetable rations. The firm was invited if it had not material at hand to use pemmican, which was at Woolwich in the possession of the Government, in manufacturing the rations. It was further stated that the firm understood that the rations were for immediate consumption—at any rate, consumption within the next few months. The firm agreed, and they appeared not to have agreed very eagerly, because they had to lay aside a great deal of their own business, which, he understood was permanently lost. That was in February, 1899, and the firm pushed on with the order at the special wish of the War Office.

In December, 1899, down came the War Office with a contract to be signed by Maconochie Brothers, and what happened at this juncture? The Report showed that the hon. Member for East Aberdeen was examined, and in his evidence he said that he told Mr. Major, the late Director of Contracts at the War Office, that his firm could not sign the usual contract form and this was not an ordinary contract, and that the sort of thing he was supplying would not keep for more than twelve months and so his firm could not give the usual guarantee. Then Mr. Major replied "but we must have something for office reference." Then the firm's reply was "If that is all then we will sign it," and it was signed. Mr. Major, the hon. Member explained might have understood that as a guarantee, but the firm understood exactly the opposite, and said that if that was all they would sign the contract. Now what was that contract? It stated that the contractors warranted the articles to keep sound and wholesome in any climate for a period of two years from the date of delivery, and it further stated that this warranty would not be enforced in trivial cases or upon small rejections. And so the firm of Maconochie Brothers said they were asked to sign this for office reference, and they signed this contract on December 2nd, 1899. Mr. Major was subsequently asked whether the statement that this contract was merely for office reference was true, and he denied it in his evidence and would not admit any such suggestion. The next reply of Messrs. Maconochie was to the effect that the rations were made from Woolwich pemmican, for which they were not responsible. The final reply of Messrs. Maconochie was to the effect that the rations were exposed to extremes of tropical climate and that they were badly stored and kicked about here, there, and everywhere in all weathers and therefore went bad. He dared say that was true of a good many, but it was the fact that

497,412 condemned rations never left these shores, and therefore this answer could not apply to them.

The matter of the condemnation of these rations had been the subject of a voluminous correspondence between the War Office and Messrs. Maconochie, and on November 19th, 1904, the firm wrote an important letter in which it stated that it was prepared, without prejudice, to make over the sum of £2,500 to the War Office in settlement of claims in respect to condemned rations. It appeared from the next letter that the Treasury rather opposed this, but the Army Council appeared to have acquiesced and the offer of £2,500 was accepted. That was the conclusion of this part of the matter. The final judgment of the Public Accounts Committee was this (paragraph 10)—

> "Your Committee, while admitting that the manufacture of these rations was something in the nature of an experiment, are of opinion that Messrs. Maconochie sent in defective rations, and that they cannot plead either the effect of tropical climate or rough usage or the presence of Woolwich pemmican to excuse the non-fulfilment of their contract for the supply of emergency rations for the troops."

As against that the hon. Member for East Aberdeenshire, on page 169, told the Committee that the firm had received numerous letters from the ordinary soldier, and that he thought he could say at that moment that there was not a single service Member in the House of Commons who would not admit that the ration was the best form of food he had. As to that, again, they had the Report of the General Officer Commanding in South Africa, issued in a Parliamentary Paper, transmitting the opinions of a board of officers on certain supplies of meat and vegetable at Pretoria considered to be unfit for use. General Lyttelton said—

> "Consequent upon frequent complaints about these rations having been received from the Office Commanding the Pretoria District, whose medical officer attributes to them the prevalence of diarrhœa amongst the men, an analysis was made by Major Beveridge, of the Royal Army Medical Corps, a copy of whose report is enclosed."

Dr. Macnamara.

The hon. Member then read the analyst's report upon one case, twenty-eight tins Maconochie's meat and vegetable rations, which stated that the sample contained heavy traces of iron, that seven tins out of the twenty-eight were blown and their contents decomposed, that the remainder showed commencing decomposition, that in each case the interior of the tin was blackened and corroded in places, thus accounting for the large proportion of iron in the meat, and, in conclusion, that if this was a fair sample of the consignment the whole should be destroyed, being unfit for consumption and a danger to health. He hoped that he had now put perfectly fairly the whole statement on both sides. The Public Accounts Committee made a statement on which he would not comment, but about which he would ask a Question. They said—

> "Your Committee feel it right to draw the attention of the House of Commons to Clause 9 of the contract signed by Messrs. Maconochie, namely, 'no Member of the House of Commons shall be admitted to any part or share of this contract or to any benefit derived therefrom.'"

Upon that point the hon. Member for East Aberdeenshire himself gave evidence. The hon. Member for North Norfolk directed his attention to this clause in the contract. The hon. Member for East Aberdeenshire said that his firm was a private limited liability company, and that he was a shareholder in it. The question was then asked—

> "You had no part or share in the profit, or any benefit derived therefrom?"

The answer of the hon. Member for East Aberdeenshire was—

> "I presume, with regard to that contract, that anyone who takes any shareholding interest in any company that takes a contract gets

a benefit the same as any shareholder in a railway company that carries troops gets a benefit by his stock in the company."

The contracts were entered into in 1899 and 1900. As far as he could gather the company was registered as a private limited liability company on September 29th, 1900. The hon. Member for East Aberdeenshire was managing director and, of the 100,000 shares, held 79,996. Two other members of his family held between them 20,000 shares. He dared say that was quite proper. He was not a business man and offered no opinion on the subject. But he would allow himself to make this comment. He could not help thinking that the hon. Member, when he put it to the Public Accounts Committee that he was as a shareholder in a railway company, was not quite frank in view of the fact that he and two members of his family held 99,996 out of the 100,000 shares of the company. He desired to ask the War Office these two Questions: (1) Would the Government undertake that the whole of the incidents connected with the supply and condemnation of the emergency meat and vegetable rations to the troops in South Africa should come before the Royal Commission, and (2) if not, would they undertake, having regard to the condemnation which was set out in the Report, that the firm of Messrs. Maconochie Brothers should no longer remain upon the list of contractors to the War Office?

***MR. MACONOCHIE** (Aberdeenshire, E.) said it did not often fall to the lot of a Member of that House to sit for two years under the pillory of the personal attacks of his political opponents. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Camberwell had deliberately misstated the facts of the case. [OPPOSITION cries of "Order."]

DR. MACNAMARA: On a point of order, Sir, I am sorry there should be any heat introduced, but I ask you whether it is competent for an hon. Member to charge another hon. Member with deliberate misstatement of the facts of the case.

***MR. SPEAKER:** I do not think the hon. Member is justified in using such an expression.

***MR. MACONOCHIE** said he withdrew the expression at once. He meant to convey that the hon. Gentleman had not the facts at his finger ends. He thanked the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee for withdrawing a statement which had certainly prejudiced him very much, and he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would carry out that simple act of justice by inserting his withdrawal in the Report.

With regard to the emergency rations, the statement of the hon. Member opposite that he was not a Member of the House was perfectly true. He was pressed to undertake work that, he was given to understand, could be undertaken at the time by nobody else. The conditions surrounding the production of this article were very arduous, and the work had to be undertaken in a very short time. The article known as an emergency ration was composed of four ounces of pemmican and five ounces of cocoa paste in two tins joined together by band. He would specially call the attention of the Public Accounts Committee to the fact that they were totally misled when they understood that the rations were hermetically sealed or that they were sterilised. Wherever they were exposed they were subject to deterioration in a very short time. What were the facts concerning this contract? The Department that had to do with it could not supply their requirements and could not obtain what they wanted elsewhere. His firm put on one side many thousands of pounds of their regular trade in order to supply them, much against their wish and to their great injury. Twenty-two months after they were delivered there was complaint made that they were defective. He then referred to the conversation the hon. Member had quoted, and explained that the firm had no responsibility, that the article did not bear their name, that it was manufactured for the Department, and that they took no responsibility, but that, being desirous of preserving their good name as it had always been, and he hoped to-night it would be reinstated, he said that they would replace the tins if the necessary material were supplied under rigid supervision to make them good, and that the firm would pay expenses incurred. This was done, and three years and seven months after the original order the goods were found defective, so that even if there had been a guarantee it had expired. However, it supported their contention that the article would not keep, and there was evidence which could be read in the Blue-book that, so far as the War Office was concerned, it was not an article of which they had had very much experience, and to a certain extent it was experimental.

He did not think his firm had been treated in the matter very reasonably. It must have cost the firm £12,000 to £15,000—a good sum to pay for obliging the Department in time of stress and trouble. The hon. Member omitted to state that the meat and vegetable rations had been lying out in the open exposed to frost, sun and rain and all the vicissitudes of weather out there, and it was no wonder that some proved defective. If tin goods were taken out of any grocer's shop and kept in an open field for twelve months how many of the articles would they find at the end of the period which were not defective? He repeated here, and he was not afraid to say it anywhere, that in every case, so far as the particular ration which they invented in 1898 was concerned, there had been great praise given. Every service Member of the House had personally testified to him that there never was any complaint made during the campaign about it. But no goods could stand the exposure in the open, as, for instance, that which those stored within 500 yards of the sea at Durban received. He did not see how they could have expected any article of food in any kind of vessel to stand the treatment to which those articles were subjected. Correspondents of experience had vouched for the excellence of the goods, and he need not refer to the work done by the firm over and above that for which they received pay. He felt that the Department had treated his firm in a way they would not have been treated if he had not been a Member of that House. He was not ashamed of anything the firm had done, and was not afraid to stand before any tribunal. He felt that the House would deal with the matter in a proper spirit and do him justice.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Mr. BROMLEY DAVENPORT, Cheshire, Macclesfield) said the hon. Member opposite had fallen into an error in confusing emergency and vegetable rations. It was necessary to bear in mind that they were different things. An emergency ration was a small tin containing pemmican and cocoa paste. Every soldier had to carry one, so that he could fall back upon it in the event of his being cut off from his ordinary means of supply, but he was never to use it except in case of real emergency. In that case he was allowed to draw upon his emergency ration. It was, in fact, an insurance against the starvation of the soldier.

At the beginning of the South African war a large quantity of these rations Was required. The Department had a difficulty in obtaining a supply, and the firm of Messrs. Maconochie Brothers were asked to undertake this work. With the rations sent out to South Africa he had not to deal. They were probably exposed to some treatment in that country which explained why they went bad. But of the emergency rations remaining in this country 497,000 were found to be going bad. The contractors, under protest, agreed to replace them. They actually replaced 366,000 of the rations. When he came to the War Office they had yet to replace 131,000. As those emergency rations were perishable and it was doubtful whether they would last for two years, he thought it a more common-sense arrangement to get a sum of money down from the contractors rather than to ask them to replace the rations. It was estimated that it would probably cost the contractors £3,000 to replace the rations, and therefore he thought he was driving a good bargain for the public when he agreed to take £2,500 instead of the 131,000 rations which were not wanted and could not be used. He was perfectly satisfied in his own mind that so far as the public was concerned he did drive a good bargain, and that so far as the contractors was concerned it was perhaps rather a hard bargain.

The hon. Member asked him whether he would remove the firm from the list. It was no part of his duty to defend the firm; he had enough to do to defend his own Department. He knew that the hon. Member would not willingly do injustice to any person under any circumstances. It was very doubtful whether it was possible to make emergency rations which would last for two years, and, therefore, so far as Messrs. Maconochie were concerned, he thought it would not be fair to strike the name of the firm off the list because they had failed to do that. No meat and vegetable rations went bad in this country. They went bad in South Africa, where they were subjected to treatment which made their going bad reasonable. He would point out that of the meat and vegetable rations supplied by other firms 16 per cent. went bad and had to be destroyed, while only 8 per cent. of those supplied by the Maconochie firm went bad and had to be destroyed. He thought, therefore, the House would agree that it would not be doing an act of justice if the firm were struck off the list. As to the suggestion that the matter should be referred to the Royal Commission, of course the Royal Commission could go into it if they desired; but as the whole question had been fully investigated by the Public Accounts Committee he thought that would be an unnecessary proceeding on their part.

Major SEELY (Isle of Wight) said the hon. Member opposite had made an appeal to the service Members of the House. He did not propose to deal with the financial aspect of the question. It was not his business to defend the hon. Member, but as the question of the quality of the goods had been raised he thought it was only fair to say that he had lived upon the emergency rations for some time in South Africa, and that they were very good indeed.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he desired to express his personal sense of the value of the work which was done by the Public Accounts Committee, and also of the courtesy and care which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Walsall brought to bear in the discharge of his duties as chairman.

Question put, and agreed to.

Ordered, "That the four Reports of the Public Accounts Committee be now taken into consideration."—(*Sir A. Hayter.*)

TRADE MARKS BILL.

As amended, considered; Amendments made; Bill read the third time, and passed.

PUBLIC MEETINGS (FACILITIES) BILL [LORDS].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1.

Committee report Progress; to sit again To-morrow.

MOTOR-CAR ACT (1903) AMENDMENT BILL.

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn.

CONGESTED DISTRICTS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn.

FERRIES (ACQUISITION BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES) BILL.

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn.

NATIONAL BOARD OF EDUCATION (IRELAND) (SCHOOL COMMITTEES).

Return ordered, "showing the number of Schools under the National Board of Education where there is a School Committee recognised by the Board as patron of the School; the number of such Schools under the management of the Roman Catholic, the Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Methodist Churches respectively."—(*Mr. T. W. Russell.*)

IRISH EDUCATION (AFFLICTED CHILDREN) [EXPENSES].

Committee to consider of authorising the payment, out of moneys provided by Parliament for Public Education in Ireland, of the Expenses of Education given to Afflicted Children, in pursuance of any Act of the present session to make better provision for the Elementary Education of Afflicted Children in Ireland (King's Recommendation signified), To-morrow.—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)

Adjourned at ten minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 27th July, 1905.

INTRODUCED.

Alfred Baron Milner, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., having been created Viscount Milner, of St. James' in the county of London, and Capetown in the Cape Colony, was (in the usual manner) introduced.

SAT FIRST.

The Lord Sandys sat first in Parliament after the death of his brother.

The Lord Hastings sat first in Parliament after the death of his father.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Hessle Gas Bill [H.L.]; Great Central Railway (Pension Fund) Bill [H.L.]. Commons Amendments considered and agreed to.

London County Council (General Powers) Bill. The King's consent, and the consent of the Prince of Wales, signified; and Bill reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Malvern Water Bill. Reported with Amendments.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill. Reported from the Select Committee, without Amendment, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.

Rathmines and Rathgar Extension and Improvement Bill. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

North-East London Railway Bill; Wigan Corporation Bill. Moved, That the order made on the 16th day of March last, "That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 27th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bills be now read 2ª; agreed to. Bills read 2ª accordingly and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill. House in Committee (according to order). Bills reported without Amendment. Standing Committee negatived; and Bills to be read 3ª To-morrow.

London Building Acts (Amendment) Bill. Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; and referred to the Examiners.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill. House in Committee (according to order). Amendments made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow.

Thames Conservancy Bill; North-East London Railway Bill; Wigan Corporation Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee for the consideration of the said Bills; (viz.),

V. Colville of Culross,
L. Clonbrock,
L. Ramsay (*E. Dalhousie*),
L. Deramore,
L. Ludlow (Chairman);

agreed to; and the said Lords appointed accordingly. The Committee to meet on Monday next, at Twelve o'clock; and all petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bills to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills.

London Government Scheme (London and Middlesex, Bill; London Government Scheme (Hackney and Edmonton Unions) Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Earl of Stamford and the Earl of Lauderdale be proposed to the House as members of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Viscount Falmouth and the Lord Kintore (*E. Kintore*), and that the Earl of Lauderdale be Chairman of the said Committee; read, and agreed to.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CHURCHES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Extracts from the proceedings of—(1) The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; (2) The General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland.

COLONIES (ANNUAL).

No. 451. Hong-Kong (Report for 1904).

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3457. Japan (Nagasaki).

No. 3458. Spain (Malaga).

No. 3459. Turkey (Beirut and Coast of Syria).

No. 3460. Spain (Barcelona).

No. 3461. Uruguay (Supplementary Report).

No. 3462. France (Corsica).

JUDICIAL STATISTICS (IRELAND), 1904.

Part I. Criminal statistics.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES.

Report of the progress of the Ordnance Survey, to the 31st March, 1905.

INLAND REVENUE.

Forty-eighth Report of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Inland Revenue, for the year ended 31st March, 1905.

POST OFFICE.

Fifty-first Report of the Postmaster-General on the Post Office.

NAVY (STATEMENT OF EXCESS).

Statement of the sum required to be voted in order to make good excesses of Navy expenditure beyond the grants, for the year ended 31st March, 1904.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

BISHOPRICS ACT, 1878, AND BISHOPRICS OF SOUTHWARK AND BIRMINGHAM ACT, 1904.

Order in Council of the 11th July, 1905, approving a Scheme of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners with respect to the Bishopric of Birmingham, and for other purposes.

BANKRUPTCY.

General rule made pursuant to Section 25 of the Bankruptcy Act, 1890.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES (INTELLIGENCE (DIVISION).

Annual report of proceedings under the Sale of Food and Drugs Acts, 1875 to 1899, the Merchandise Marks Acts, 1887 and 1894, the Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Act, 1893, and the Board of Agriculture Act, 1889 (Section 2, Sub-section 3), for the year 1904.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

PUBLIC ROADS (IRELAND) BILL.

Amendments reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3ª To-morrow.

COAL MINES (WEIGHING OF MINERALS) BILL.

Read 3ª (according to order), and passed.

CHURCHES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª on Monday next.—(*The Marquess of Linlithgow.*) (No. 155.)

TRADE MARKS BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; and to be printed. (No. 156.)

TRAINING COLLEGES IN SCOTLAND.

Lord TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, I am anxious to ask the noble Marquess the Secretary for Scotland a Question of which I have given him private notice. In the earlier portion of the session it was proposed to deal with the question of Scottish Training Colleges by means of a Minute of the Education Department. That idea was dropped at the time on account of the introduction of the Education (Scotland) Bill, which was thought to be a better and more convenient method of dealing with the subject. I am afraid the Education (Scotland) Bill has now gone the way that Bills too often go at this time of the session, and I would now like to ask my noble friend whether he proposes to proceed with the Minute of the Scottish Education Department. I may say that if he does, it would meet, if not with universal, at any rate with general, assent.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (The Marquess of LINLITHGOW): My Lords, I am afraid I must agree with my noble friend that there is very little chance of the Education (Scotland) Bill coming before your Lordships this session, although it has not as yet been formally withdrawn. Under those circumstances I propose that the Training College Minute to which my noble friend has referred should be put into operation as soon as convenient, as it has already been made the subject of discussion in another place.

ARMY (RESERVE)

*LORD ROSMEAD rose to bring to the notice of His Majesty's Government the discrepancy in the financial treatment accorded to the two classes of Reserve officers called up for service during the late war in South Africa; and to move to resolve, "That, in the opinion of this House, the emoluments received by the pensioned officers of the Reserve who were called up for service during the late war in South Africa compare most unfavourably with those of other Reserve officers up called for similar service, but who had retired with gratuities; and the consequent grievances of the pensioned officers should be favourably considered by His Majesty's Government with a view to removing the disparity complained of."

The noble Lord said: My Lords, having drawn your Lordships' attention on several occasions to the decided disparity in the financial treatment of the two classes of Reserve officers who were called up for service during the late war, it is not necessary for me to repeat what has already been said. I do not, therefore, propose to take up much of your Lordships' time, but to content myself with stating a few of the facts. I first drew the attention of your Lordships to this matter on May 11th, 1903, in the form of a Motion very similar to the one which I am now moving. I withdrew that Motion on the suggestion of the then Under-Secretary of State for War, who informed your Lordships at the time that in the opinion of the Secretary of State there were special cases among Reserve officers in which some redress might be necessary. For that reason the right hon. Gentleman had recently appointed a Committee which was inquiring into the whole subject. On August 7th in the same year I appealed to His Majesty's Government for some information in regard to the Report of the Committee in question, and I received a reply which, in my humble opinion, was not at all satisfactory.

Again, on February 26th of last year, I brought the matter to the notice of your Lordships in the form of a Question, and on that occasion was informed by my noble friend the present Under-Secretary of State for War that I was under a misapprehension as to the exact purposes of the Committee, the appointment of which had been announced on May 11th of the previous year. The Committee, said the noble Earl, was not appointed to inquire into the grievances of Reserve officers during the late war, but into the general question of the past, present, and future re-employment of Reserve officers in time of war. I bowed to the superior knowledge of my noble friend, but that was not what I was led to believe by his predecessor. On February 26th of last year the noble Earl further informed your Lordships that this mysterious Committee did emphatically report against making any proposals retrospective. Had I been aware of this on May 11th, 1903, I need hardly say I should have declined to withdraw my Motion on that occasion.

The officers of the Reserve who were called up for service during the late war are divided into two classes—those who retired with a pension and those who retired with a gratuity or lump sum down. The former, when they were called up for service during the war, had their pension suspended, whereas the gratuity officers not only continued to enjoy the benefits of their gratuities, but drew the full pay of their rank during service. Your Lordships are informed that the reason why no actual reduction was made in the pay of the gratuity officers was that the noble Marquess who was Secretary of State for War at the time they were called up for service did not consider such a course altogether fair. I entirely agree with the noble Marquess. I do not attempt to say which proceeding is the correct one, but this I do contend, that both classes of Reserve officers should have been treated alike while they were on service. In other words, what was sauce for the gratuity goose should have been sauce for the pension gander. In the actual circumstances of the case there were many senior pensioned officers who obtained less remuneration than gratuity officers of half their service—a condition of things which would be ridiculous if it were not so grossly unjust. I beg to move the Motion standing in my name.

Moved to resolve, "That, in the opinion of this House, the emoluments received by the pensioned officers of the Reserve who were called up for service during the late war in South Africa, compare most unfavourably with those of other Reserve officers called up for similar service, but who had retired with gratuities; and the consequent grievances of the pensioned officers should be favourably considered by His Majesty's Government with a view to removing the disparity complained of."—(*Lord Rosmead.*)

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of DONOUGHMORE): My Lords: This Motion which my noble friend has brought forward is in danger of becoming a hardy biennial in the proceedings of your Lordships' House. My noble friend alluded to the fact that he had already raised the question on previous occasions, and I have had the privilege of already delivering the speech which I shall deliver to-night, with this exception, that on this occasion it will be much shorter. It is nothing more than a difference of opinion between us. My noble friend maintains that the circumstances underlying the case of the gratuity officers, if I may so call them for the sake of brevity, are exactly on a par with those of the pensioned officers, and we have argued, I regret without convincing my noble friend or his friends in another place, that their state of existence is entirely different, and therefore the difference of treatment was warranted.

Very shortly, the difference is as follows. The War Office felt that had the gratuity officer had deducted from his emoluments when re-employed the actuarial value of his gratuity he would have suffered an injustice, because that actuarial value would have been considerably greater than the interest he could have expected to obtain from that money when invested. There was also the belief that in very few cases would it be found that officers who had obtained a gratuity some years before would still be in possession of that gratuity. It was again felt that it would be a hardship to call upon them to do active service on active service pay minus the value of their gratuity, which in all probability they would not be in possession of.

The position of the retired-pay officer is entirely different. Retired pay is a reward for past services, and it is also, as is clearly shown in the pay warrant, a retainer for future service. We have power to stop the retired pay if, on calling upon an officer to come up for service, he refuses to do so. I therefore trust your Lordships will not accede to the Motion which has been brought forward not for the first time by my noble friend. I deny that we have treated harshly retired officers who were re-employed during the recent war in South Africa. They were liable to re-employment on certain conditions, which included £100 for outfit and other details; but it was decided that all officers who had been re-employed should receive a war gratuity of £100 for every year they served during the war, and an extra £100 or £50, according to detailed arrangements into which it is not necessary to enter, for a further year's service. These re-employed officers when they retired could not possibly put forward any case entitling them to this war gratuity. It was an act of grace on the part of the War Office that they were granted it; and I merely mention it to show your Lordships that we are not open to the charge of having treated harshly officers whom we re-employed during the war.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, I should like to give your Lordships a concrete instance of how this works. I will take the case of a major who is in receipt of a gratuity and a major who is in receipt of a pension, and compare the results in each case. Take the major in receipt of a gratuity, supposing he had served for two years mobilised. In virtue of those two years he would be entitled to a higher grade of gratuity. He would receive his pay, £600, and his gratuity, £400, a total of £1,000. A major who retired with a pension would receive only £300, the difference between his pension and the pay, and that man with a service, perhaps, of twenty-five years as against the gratuity major's fifteen years. In May, 1903, the late Lord Hardwicke stated that the subject was one in which Mr. Brodrick took the greatest interest and it would be thoroughly inquired into. The inquiry promised has not taken place. What has happened is that the conditions of service have been revised, so that the major with the pension is precluded from being treated in the same way as the major with a gratuity; the conditions of service have been changed for the express purpose of preventing it. I do not think that is justice. I do not think that is the way to encourage the sons of officers to follow in the steps of their fathers in the service of the King.

he EARL of WEMYSS: My Lords, if the noble Lord goes to a division, I shall certainly vote for his Motion, because it advocates what seems to me not only justice, but policy in dealing with officers. I will state a case as given by one of these officers. In the late war, captains in the Reserve who had retired from the Army with gratuitie and were mobilised for duty in various capacities in the United Kingdom during the Boer War, were more highly remunerated than majors and lieutenant-colonels who had retired with pensions after many years longer service, and several of whom served before the enemy in South Africa. There was an unjust distinction drawn between senior officers of longer service, but who had retired on pensions, and junior officers who had received gratuities. Mr. Brodrick on May 8th, 1904, said—

> "I recognise now, as I did in 1903, that certain officers had grievances with regard to the terms under which they were employed."

There is an admission from the War Office that the officers had a grievance. It will be fresh in your Lordships' recollection that when we debated this question on a Motion moved by Lord Tweedmouth a few days ago, it turned out that, taking the Regular Army and Auxiliaries, we are short of 10,000 officers. That is a terrible state to be in; but I can conceive nothing more likely to deter men from entering the Army as officers than the fact that the War Office should treat one class of officers more liberally than another. I, therefore, think the Government, instead of refusing to accept the Motion, would have done well to accept it. The Motion which was moved by Lord Tweedmouth on Tuesday and accepted by the Government declared that the present state of things as regards the shortage of officers requires the instant attention of His Majesty's Government, and I would strongly recommend my noble friend the Under-Secretary to give his instant attention to doing justice to a class of officers to whom it is clear an injustice has been done.

VISCOUNT TEMPLETOWN: My Lords, I do not rise for the purpose of continuing this debate, but merely to say that, after the clear way in which it has been proved that inequality has taken place in the treatment of two classes of officers, I hope my noble friend will not be induced to withdraw the Motion, but will go to a division.

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TARIFF REFORM.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE rose "To call attention to the speeches of Mr. Chamberlain at St. Helen's on June 3rd, and at the Albert Hall on July 7th, and to the Resolution of the Tariff Reform League passed on the latter occasion; and to move to resolve—(1). That this House disapproves of any proposal to establish a General or Penal Tariff; (2). That this House disapproves of any system of Colonial Preference based on the taxation of food." The noble Duke said: My Lords, I am only too painfully conscious that many of your Lordships are by this time so weary of discussions on the fiscal question that it is probable that some natural impatience is felt at any attempt to renew discussion of it; but, in my opinion, it is a question of such vast importance and one of which it is so

Viscount Templetown.

necessary that clear ideas should exist in the minds of the electors, and at the same time one on which there still exists so much obscurity and confusion on the part of some of our leaders, that I do not think that much excuse is required from me if I ask your Lordships once more to consider the subject.

The Resolutions I have to move are not intended to raise, and I think do not raise, any issue as between His Majesty's Government and the Opposition. I understand that His Majesty's Government intend at the next election to submit to the country some scheme of fiscal reform which will involve assent to the principle of retaliation, and will also involve some further examination of the question of colonial preference. To both of those policies I believe the Opposition are opposed. These Resolutions do not raise that issue. The issue they are intended to raise, and which I think they do raise, is one, not between the Government and the Opposition, but one between the different sections of those who support His Majesty's Government; and my desire is to make one more attempt to discover to the opinion of which section of their nominal followers His Majesty's Ministers at present incline.

It may be said that this issue is solely of Party interest. I think it is of wider interest. Although it does not appear very probable that His Majesty's present advisers will be in a position after another election to submit any legislative proposals on the fiscal or any other question to the country, still it must be a matter of deep interest and importance to the country to know what course will be taken by the Unionist Party in Parliament and in the country in the more or less prolonged period during which they may find themselves excluded from office. I am afraid that, whether in power or in opposition, after what has occurred the Unionist Party must for a considerable period be a divided Party. But, in my opinion, great as that evil is, it is a lesser evil than that the Party should have a semblance of unity when in reality unity does not exist, and a lesser evil than that the Unionist Party should be the one which is pledged to a policy which is retrograde and unsound.

The position the Unionist Party will take after the next election will be greatly decided by the advice they receive from their responsible leaders; and I propose to-day to attempt, not by putting Questions to His Majesty's Government, but by inviting His Majesty's Government to give a clear "Aye" or "No" to certain definite propositions, to obtain an expression of their opinion on a subject on which, in my judgment, that expression of opinion has been too long delayed. In the last discussion that took place on this question my noble friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs gave the House to understand that, although it was not impossible, it was extremely improbable that what is called the ordinary Colonial Conference would be called together to deliberate next year; that in June next we should be within measurable distance of the time for a dissolution; and he told us to consider whether, at such a time, the Government would be inclined to issue, or the Colonial Premiers would be willing to respond to, an invitation to attend a Colonial Conference.

Since that discussion, and even since I put my notice on the Paper, circumstances have somewhat changed. We now know that, if the Government is still in power when Parliament meets next year, it is their intention to submit to Parliament a scheme of electoral reform which will, with the ordinary business, probably occupy the whole session, and which, if passed, may render necessary the preparation of a new register. Therefore, the period before the dissolution may be longer than my noble friend thought when he last addressed the House, and it is quite possible that there might be time during the present Parliament for holding another Colonial Conference; and it seems to me not altogether inopportune to ask my noble friend whether the Government have taken any steps, or intend to take any steps, before Parliament meets again, for the purpose of summoning the ordinary Colonial Conference, and, if so, whether they have considered the subjects which it would be competent or desirable that that conference should discuss.

Another point left in some obscurity at the last discussion, which I think my second Resolution may help to clear up, was whether those supporters of His Majesty's Government who give their adherence to the policy of calling together a free and unfettered conference for the discussion of our fiscal relations with the Colonies thereby commit themselves to any approval of the policy of colonial preference based on the taxation of food. That is the subject of my second Resolution, and I think the vote which your Lordships may give upon it may provide a more satisfactory Answer than anything that has yet been obtained by asking Questions. If we were to put a Question we should no doubt be told that by assent to a free and unfettered conference no one is committed to anything, and that, if any conclusions should be arrived at at that conference, those conclusions will have no effect until they have been submitted for the approval of another Parliament. That may be a good answer before the conference has met; but what will be our position after the conference has met and has discussed our fiscal relations, and possibly come to some conclusion? If that conference is able to agree on a plausible scheme of colonial preference founded on the taxation of food, we shall inevitably be told that it is too late to raise the question of principle on which the measure rests. We shall be told that, as reasonable men, we must take the consequences of our own action. We shall be told that we always knew that the only possible basis for colonial preference was the basis of the taxation of food, and that if we were irreconcilably opposed to that it would have been better never to have entered the conference at all. What we want is to be assured that after the conference, and after it has possibly arrived at some conclusion, we shall be as free as we now are to oppose what we believe to be an unsound policy and one which would provide an unstable foundation for closer relations between the mother country and the Colonies.

Desiring as we do the most intimate relations in fiscal as well as in all other matters with our Colonies, we desire above all things that there should be no room for misunderstanding between us and them. We do not want to enter into a discussion with them, possibly to arrive at some agreement based upon generous offers on their part, and then to be placed in the position of having to turn round upon them and say we are obliged to reject those offers because the concession required on our part was one to which we are in principle opposed. I maintain that the time for us to make up our minds on the principle is before, and not after, the conference. When a principle is at stake it is not possible for us to preserve the open mind which we are invited to preserve. The second Resolution asserts in the clearest language the principle to which I and those who agree with me adhere; and we ask every Member of the House—I believe there are many on this side of the House, possibly including some members of the Government, who are strongly and definitely opposed to anything in the nature of taxation, especially taxation of a protective character, upon the food of the people—we ask them to make their opinion clear and remove the possibility of any misunderstanding.

I am not going to discuss the question of the colonial offer, or whether there was such an offer. What I think is perfectly certain is that, although many of the Colonies might be willing, if we thought it was in our own interest to reverse our fiscal policy in the matter of the taxation of imported food, to make us generous and satisfactory offers, they have never invited us to reverse our fiscal policy on their account. They have always said that that was a question we must first decide for ourselves, and that when we had decided it they would be in a position to discuss what they could give us in return. There is, however, a wider question which I desire to submit. I want to try to ascertain what is the present position of the leaders of the Unionist Party. I think I perceive with sufficient clearness, though not perhaps as clearly as I could wish, what is the position in which the Prime Minister would like to stand. I understand that the Prime Minister desires to obtain a mandate from the country to reverse the maxim which has hitherto prevailed in our fiscal policy, that duties are never to be imposed except for the purpose of revenue; but, so far as I can understand him, he desires to obtain this mandate for the purpose of negotiation alone. He has said that the idea of entering into a tariff war with all the protective nations of the world never entered his mind. He has discarded the intention of proposing general tariffs or penal tariffs. The most definite declaration which the Prime Minister has ever made on this subject was that which he made when he first unfolded his policy at Sheffield. Having regard to the practice of other nations, he said—

> "I contemplate no such procedure with regard to this country. I think it would involve too great a disturbance of our practice, and might risk the disorganisation of our trade. But I see no such objection to our proceeding, so to speak, from the other end; and if we thought we could do it without disadvantage to ourselves, which is, after all, the guiding consideration in these matters, we might inform any foreign country which we thought was treating us with outrageous unfairness that, unless they modified their policy to our advantage, we should feel ourselves compelled to take this or that step with regard to their exports to our markets."

I am not aware that the Prime Minister has ever in any of his speeches advanced beyond that position. The complaint we have to make is that he has allowed others to attach a different interpretation to his words. As to colonial preference I will do the Prime Minister the justice to say that I do not think he has ever expressed any objection to the taxation of food on principle, but he has expressed the very strongest opinion that in the present state of public opinion it does not enter into the field of practical politics. I think the Prime Minister has to a certain extent modified that opinion. I think he has now persuaded himself, or been persuaded by others, that if this question was discussed in a free conference with the Colonies it is possible that this objection on the part of the people to the taxation of food, which he once thought insuperable, might be overcome. This, very generally, is what I understand to be the policy that the Prime Minister would desire to place before his followers and the country at the next general election. But unfortunately he has not had a clean sheet upon which to inscribe his own policy. Another statesman had been in the field with fiscal reform before him, and, in my judgment, so far at all events as the Unionist Party are concerned, that other statesman holds the field. There is another policy besides that of the Prime Minister, a larger and more extended policy.

As to retaliation, Mr. Chamberlain nominally accepts the policy of retaliation. He cares nothing more for the word retaliation than for the word Mesopotamia. He accepts the big revolver of my noble friend behind me, but he intends to load that revolver himself, and to load it with a general tariff, a scientific tariff, and, if need be, a penal tariff. That has been stated more clearly than ever in the last speech which Mr. Chamberlain has made. He said—

> "'Retaliation' is an excellent text, so is Mesopotamia. What do we mean by retaliation? We mean an effective engine to force a fair trade policy upon the nations with which we exchange our products—or, failing that, to take up our own independent position, and, if we cannot exchange our goods with theirs, to keep for our own people our own demands."

What is that but a tariff war? Mr. Chamberlain went on to say—

> "We want the big revolver when we meet the men who are armed at all points. . . . . What is the use of a revolver which is not loaded? We will load our revolver with a general tariff. That tariff must be moderate, in my opinion. It will be a tariff principally for revenue. It will be a tariff which contains a large free list of articles which are necessary for the spread of our commerce, and on which, therefore, we should be foolish to put any duty. It must be a scientific tariff, and when we have it we must ask at the same time for a mandate from the electorate of this country that the revolver is not given to us as a toy—that it is meant for use; that its charge—this general tariff of which I speak—may be turned at a moment into a penal tariff in the case of those nations which will not meet us on equal terms."

The policy thus expounded by Mr. Chamberlain is a policy of a revenue tariff, a general tariff, a scientific tariff, and, if need be, a penal tariff. This is a policy of fiscal revolution to which I think no encouragement has been given by the Prime Minister or any member of his Government, unless encouragement can be found in the silence with which the speeches of others have been accepted. Clearly there have been two policies before the country. The question to be considered is whether there are still two policies before the country or whether they have been merged into one; and, if they have been merged into one, whether it has been through the retirement of Mr. Chamberlain to the position of the Prime Minister, or through the advance of the Prime Minister to the position of Mr. Chamberlain. One thing, at all events, is certain; no Government and no Party can deal with the fiscal question as a whole without taking into account the existence of Mr. Chamberlain's policy and the policy of the Tariff Reform League. I submit that it is the duty of our statesmen and leaders not to concern themselves only with the views and the policy which they have evolved for themselves from their own studies and their own philosophical meditations, but to take into account all the facts of the case, and the existence of Mr. Chamberlain and the Tariff Reform League are facts. They may be convenient or inconvenient facts; pleasant or disagreeable facts, but they are facts with which in any consideration of the fiscal question we have to deal and which it is impossible for us to ignore. The policy of the Prime Minister up to the present time in regard to Mr. Chamberlain and the Tariff Reform League has been to ignore their existence. But he will find that they cannot be ignored. The agitation is in the hands of a resolute and determined statesman who will have an answer from the country, and will obtain that answer whether it be in his favour or against him. I am not very much surprised, in view of this negative attitude which the Government call its policy, that Mr. Chamberlain should have put forward the somewhat audacious claim that the Prime Minister's policy is one with his own.

On the last occasion on which the House discussed this subject, I called attention to the speech of Mr. Chamberlain at St. Helen's, in which he put forward this claim. I do not think my noble friend the Foreign Secretary quite understood the object of the Question which I then put to him. My noble friend said that he had not given minute attention to the matter, that he had not compared the speeches of Mr. Chamberlain with those of Mr. Balfour, and he seemed to think that my object in putting the Question or in referring to those speeches was to detect some differences between them. That was not my object at all. My object was to call the attention of my noble friend to a definite claim which had been made by Mr. Chamberlain that the policies of Mr. Balfour and of himself were practically one, and to ask him whether he assented to that claim. That claim was put forward at the Albert Hall in a more extended form, because it covers not only the question of colonial preference, but also of penal tariffs. Mr. Chamberlain said—

> "Meanwhile I rest myself upon the actual words of the Prime Minister. I make no comment, but in my judgment they constitute a declaration which justifies the hope that I have already expressed, that when the great trial of strength comes the Unionist Party, which through the mouth of all its popular and representative men has declared itself in favour of the policy which we have proclaimed, will find its leaders shoulder to shoulder, and placing themselves ready at the head of a movement which offers to this country its only constructive and fighting policy."

Is it possible that a claim can be put forward in stronger language that the Prime Minister is a supporter of Mr. Chamberlain's policy than that which I have just quoted?

The question for the House is whether this claim can be made good. I am not going to put any Question to the Government. I know that the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack has a strong objection to being asked Questions as to his intentions which are based upon the declarations of other people. I am not going to ask the Government whether they assent to this claim of Mr. Chamberlain's or not; I must look for the evidence to other quarters. If Mr. Chamberlain desired to prove this claim he could bring forward a good deal of evidence. He could point to the sympathetic letter of the Prime Minister on his resignation; he could point to the retention in the Government of his son, an avowed supporter of his policy; he could point to innumerable letters and messages addressed by the Prime Minister to tariff reform candidates in the constituencies wishing them success; he could point to the Parliamentary manœuvres of the present session in the other House designed to shield Mr. Chamberlain from a hostile vote on the part of the followers of the Government; he could point to the continued silence of every member of the Government in the face of these repeated challenges; he could point to the presence at the Albert Hall of 150 supporters of the Government who listened to this claim and who uttered no protest and made no sign; he could point to their acceptance on the same occasion of a resolution which was so framed as to convey the impression that the claim that the two policies were identical could be maintained.

I do not say that all this evidence—and I think a good deal more could be produced—is conclusive. It may be that when the policy of the Government is placed before the country we may find that the Prime Minister has not advanced one step beyond the policy of the "Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade" and his Sheffield speech, but if that be so, I ask, What chance is the Prime Minister giving to his own policy, and what is the position in which he is placing those unfortunate members of his Party who, while they are prepared to support everything which he himself has ever said or proposed, are not prepared to go one step further? These unfortunate followers get all the kicks and none of the halfpence. What has Mr. Chamberlain to say about them? He had something to say about them at the Albert Hall. Mr. Chamberlain said—

> "I know very well there are men on both sides of politics who, when some great forward movement is in progress, are led by excessive modesty to creep to the rear. They are the men who tell you that too rapid advance should be avoided."

—I think I remember some sentences of that sort in the speech of the Prime Minister—

> "They are the men who are afraid of committing themselves prematurely, and it is only when the battle has been fought and won that they emerge to congratulate the victor. We want 'The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill.' We have a clear understanding as to every part of our policy, and we will not allow these gentlemen"—

Those are the gentleman who support the Prime Minister and no more—

> "I think myself the constituencies will not allow them, after having done everything in their power to thwart us in the commencement, to come back after our victory as nominal supporters, but who have the full intention of preventing us from securing what ought to be the natural results."

For whom, my Lords, were these jibes intended but for the supporters of the Government policy if not for the Government itself. And while they are exposed to these taunts I can recall no word of encouragement which has been addressed by any member of the Government to these men who are fighting as well as they can for what they believe, from the declarations of the Government, to be the policy of the Government.

I read the other day a rather interesting article in the *Standard.* That article, of course, I do not quote as having any authority, but I quote it for a reason which I will explain in a moment. It was an article on the organisation of the Unionist Party, of which the writer had a good many complaints to make, but I find in it this sentence—

> "It is absurd, for instance, when a constituency is known to be on the whole decidedly favourable to the policy of Mr. Chamberlain, to bring forward a candidate who declines to move one step ahead of Mr. Balfour's programme. It is equally unwise when local feeling is preponderatingly suspicious of food taxation to solicit its suffrages for a gentleman who makes preferential tariffs a prominent feature in his address."

I admit that this article has no authority; I quote it only because it appears to me to describe exactly, not to say cynically, the game—for I can call it nothing but a game—which is being played before our very eyes—a game which in the opinion of the writer is not being played so well as it might be, but as to the soundness and the honesty of which there does not appear to be in his mind the smallest doubt. According to this writer it does not matter whether a Unionist candidate is a supporter of the policy of the Government or of the policy of Mr. Chamberlain so long as he calls himself a Unionist and is pledged to a fiscal change of some kind or another. It is true that this advice was given in respect of candidates for vacant seats. But the spirit of the advice applies equally to the seats of sitting Unionist Members, and it is being applied—though perhaps not so satisfactorily as the writer could wish—but it is being applied to those constituencies. Greenwich, Croydon, and Middlesex, to take examples, are supposed to be constituencies which are favourably disposed towards Mr. Chamberlain's policy. The sitting Members representing those constituencies are willing to support the policy of the Government, but to go no further. Therefore, either they have been forced out, or they will have to fight for their seats.

I do not ask the Government whether they endorse this advice. The Answer which they will give to the Resolutions which I move will supply in the best fashion the Answer to that Question. Neither of the Resolutions controvert in any particular the policy of the Government. They controvert solely the policy of the Tariff Reform League, the policy which has been emphasised in the speeches which I have just quoted. The acceptance, or rejection, or the evasion of the definite propositions which I have put to the House will enable the House better to judge than any Answer can enable them to judge whether it is the intention of the Government to stand by their own supporters who cannot go beyond their own policy, or whether they are prepared to hand those supporters over to the tender mercies of those who have spoken of them in the language which I have just read.

Now, my Lords, I have only to say one or two words about the Amendments to my Motion which have been placed on the Paper. The House may have observed that since it was first placed on the Paper I have made a slight alteration, not in the words or the purport of the Resolution, but of its arrangement. The original Resolution contained two propositions dealing with two different branches of the fiscal question. In its altered form those propositions are now separated. As it is my desire in bringing forward these Resolutions to give to the Government and every Member of your Lordships' House the opportunity of making his position on the fiscal question clear, I think it may be for the convenience of the House if these Resolutions could be put separately. But on this point I am in the hands of the House, and I must be guided by the opinion of the authorities of the House. But I have already privately suggested, and I now publicly suggest, to my noble friend Lord Minto, who has given notice of an Amendment, that his Amendment applies solely to what is now the Second Resolution on the Paper. He objects to the Resolution because in his opinion it will restrict the freedom of the Colonial Conference. But that objection can only apply to the second Resolution; it cannot apply to the first Resolution, which deals only with the subject of general or penal tariffs. That is a purely domestic question for ourselves with which no Colonial Conference can possibly concern itself. Therefore, I suggest to my noble friend that he would make his position more clear if he were to consent to move his Amendment on the second Resolution. For reasons, some of which I have already endeavoured to explain, I am afraid I cannot accept his Amendment, even if it applied only to the second Resolution; but if he should succeed in amending the second Resolution as he suggests, I should be grateful for small mercies, and I hope it may be possible for him, seeing that his Amendment applies solely to the second Resolution, to support the first Resolution as it stands on the Paper.

But there is another Amendment in the name of my noble friend Lord Camperdown; and I confess that I find some difficulty in understanding the object with which he has put down the Amendment, and still more difficulty in understanding why, as I have seen it stated, the Government should intend to support it. If they take that course they will show themselves to be more obstructive even than the Government have shown themselves in the other House. It is true the previous Question was once moved by the Government to a Resolution somewhat similar to the second of my Resolutions, and it was moved on the ground taken by my noble friend Lord Minto, that it would hamper the freedom of the conference. But since the previous Question was moved to that Resolution, on four different occasions the House of Commons has passed, I will not say without the protest of the Government, but without direct opposition or without the interposition of the previous Question, four Resolutions dealing with the fiscal question; and I want to know why your Lordships' House is not to be permitted as much as the other House of Parliament to discuss, and not only to discuss, but to give its vote upon, the questions which have been raised before the country.

It is quite true that these Resolutions have not influenced in the slightest degree the agitation which has been carried on by Mr. Chamberlain and the Tariff Reform League. I do not suppose that those Resolutions will have much influence upon the policy of the Government when they come to propose it. But it does not follow that those Resolutions will be altogether without influence on the country, or that the country will altogether disregard the fact that in one of the Legislative Chambers in which they have have a large majority they have either not dared or not thought it prudent to meet those Resolutions by a decided and distinct negative. In your Lordships' House His Majesty Government have a still larger majority than in the other House, and it is supposed—I do not know with what truth—that the following of Mr. Chamberlain is larger in this House than in the other House of Parliament. If that be so, I shall be much surprised if the tariff reform Members of this House will be disposed by voting for the previous Question to declare that it is inopportune to express a judgment on the policy which has been put forward by their leader, which has been discussed in the other House of Parliament, which is being discussed in every part of the country, and which in no very distant time must be decided by the country. As I said at the outset, these Resolutions do not and are not intended to controvert the policy of the Government as defined by themselves. They are intended to, and I think they do, offer a distinct condemnation of the policy of the Tariff Reform League which Mr. Chamberlain in his last speeches seeks to fasten on the shoulders of the Government. They are intended to afford to the Government and to every Member of your Lordships' House means which, I think, are simple and effective of asserting whether they are prepared to stand by their own policy, or whether they are willing that it should be put aside and superseded by one which is absolutely and essentially of a different character.

Moved to resolve, "(1). That this House disapproves of any proposal to establish a General or Penal Tariff; (2). That this House disapproves of any system of Colonial Preference based on the taxation of food."—(*The Duke of Devonshire.*)

*THE EARL OF MINTO, who had given notice to move as an Amendment to the Duke of Devonshire's Motion, 'To leave out all the words after 'any' and to insert 'attempt to impose restrictions upon the scope of the inquiry to be conducted by the next Colonial Conference,'" said: My Lords, in rising to reply to the speech of the noble Duke, I can assure your Lordships that I do so with the greatest respect for the past services he has rendered to the Empire and to the public life of this country; and in what I have to say I should like to dissociate myself as far as possible from any Party feeling, for, in my humble opinion, in a discussion of this great Imperial question we should all do well to divest ourselves of political bias or prejudice. I would gladly believe that, whatever our political inclinations may be, we are all of us united in the one wish to maintain the integrity of the Empire, and that if we differ, we differ only as to the best means of assuring its future.

The noble Duke has drawn attention to certain changes which he has made in the original form of his Resolution, changes of which he very kindly gave me notice, and he has suggested that I should confine my remarks to the last clause dealing with the supply of foodstuffs from the Colonies.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: I did not suggest that the noble Earl should confine his remarks to any part of the Resolution. What I suggested was that he should alter the position of his Amendment

*THE EARL OF MINTO: The noble Duke suggested that I should alter the terms of my Amendment so as to meet the second clause of his Resolution; but the principle and the machinery embodied in both clauses—though I confess the first clause refers particularly to home taxation—seemed to me in some ways to be so akin to each other and so certain to overlap in the future, that I thought I was entitled to take the Resolution as a whole. I can assure your Lordships that I gave notice of my Amendment with no wish to enter into a tariff debate in your Lordships' House, and I do not feel called upon to follow the noble Duke in the analysis of political Parties in this country, nor to dispel the fears which he apprehends from the result of future conferences, whilst I certainly need not, in any way, attempt to explain the future policy of the Prime Minister.

Before going further I think it is due to your Lordships' House to say that after I had given notice of my Amendment I became aware that my noble friend Lord Camperdown was anxious to move the previous Question, and although, in many ways, I personally would wish for a decided decision on the Amendment which I had ventured to place on the Paper, I cannot but feel that the Motion of my noble friend is, under present circumstances, best, and more suitable on broader grounds. I, therefore, shall not move the Amendment of which I have given notice. All the same, I feel called upon to explain to your Lordships the reasons which originally induced me to give notice of it. As I have already stated, it was due to no wish to discuss or to analyse the most difficult question of tariffs, for I felt that there were far deeper Imperial questions involved in the noble Duke's Resolution than any consideration of the advantages or disadvantages of tariff readjustment or of inter-Imperial trade.

I felt, my Lords, that such a Resolution emanating from a statesman of such eminence, and going forth to the world with the weight of approval of your Lordships' House, could only be accepted in one light by our kinsmen in the King's possessions beyond the seas—namely, in the light of a cold rebuff to much courteously expressed and deep-seated colonial sentiment, and that it would fetter free discussion at some future conference on points as to which the people of this country have as yet expressed no decided opinion, but as to which our fellow-countrymen in the King's distant possessions have expressed themselves in no ambiguous voice. For they have told you that, in their opinion, these questions of tariff reform and inter-Imperial trade are vital to the future of the Empire, and that they believe them to contain, to a very large extent, the solution of those difficult questions which surround their closer connection with the mother country. The effect of such a Resolution could not but be mischievous and far-reaching, and I, personally, cannot see how, with the weight which it would derive if accepted by your Lordships' House, it could fail to hamper, if it did not altogether prevent, free discussion at future Colonial Conferences.

It would appear to me that the noble Duke, dissatisfied with the very clear Answer he recently received from my noble friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs as to the free discussion which His Majesty's Government thought desirable at this conference, is now endeavouring, by persuading your Lordships to sanction this Resolution, to cripple that discussion which His Majesty's Government have just declared to be essential.

The noble Duke appears to me scarcely to appreciate the importance of these Imperial family gatherings, these gatherings between the motherland and her offspring States, which meet on terms of equality to discuss affairs of the Empire. The noble Duke forgets that parental autocracy disappears with the nursery—that it is the administration of babyhood—that these offspring States are now rising nationalities full of ambitions and hopes and growing power; and that though they are as devoted as ever to the land from which they sprang, they claim their right to speak freely at Imperial discussions.

I may be accused of looking at the question from a colonial point of view alone. I should like to say that I am looking at it from an Imperial point of view. I should be sorry to feel that I was looking at it from a point of view associated simply with the future career of Parties in this country

The noble Duke has formed his own decision, actuated by, perhaps, an over-loyal affection for the system of tariff legislation which many of us who have wandered much beyond the precincts of these Isles think to be now out of date and unsuited to the requirements of our great Empire. Or the noble Duke may, perhaps, have been influenced by a want of acquaintance with the feelings, the sentiments, and the requirements of our kinsmen beyond the seas.

That want of acquaintance is answerable for much. It is answerable for many incorrect statements, for many random assertions; and I hope your Lordships will not think I am beside the mark in trying to give some illustration of the feelings and the forces which exist on the other side of the Atlantic, and which, whatever people at home may think, must greatly influence our policy in this country.

I have endeavoured to the best of my ability to give illustrations elsewhere of what I consider to be the state of affairs in our colonial possessions, but I hope, even at the risk of some repetition, your Lordships will allow me to state them again here, for words spoken within these historic walls are likely to carry much more weight throughout the country and throughout the Empire than what may be said in other places.

We must recognise that Imperial statesmanship cannot now-a-days afford to be parochial. We cannot afford to look at things from an insular point of view. We must remember that while there are great interests at home which we cannot afford to ignore, there are the interests of our kinsmen far away that we must not ignore either, and that if we wish to continue to build up the future of this great Empire we must be prepared to share in those interests.

As your Lordships are aware, I had the honour of representing our Sovereign for some six years in the Dominion of Canada. The period of my appointment was an eventful one. It was a period of immense development, the development of vast resources and increasing wealth; and in the midst of all this came a great war and a rush to arms of British subjects throughout the King's dominions—a demonstration to the world of the value of Imperial strength and Imperial unity. Following on this came the conference of 1902, that much debated conference, the results of which created a great effect in Canada, and then Mr. Chamberlain's pronouncements on inter-Imperial trade.

All these factors combined to accentuate much deep feeling, to bring to light many ideas that had hitherto lain in embryo. Men began, as the term now goes, to think Imperially, and to wonder whether all these great resources and all this wealth could be directed into British channels, or whether, without a leader, they were to be left to wander we know not whither. In Canada the idea of preferential trade, rightly or wrongly, was the idea which most fascinated the population, and which gave, in their opinion, the solution of the difficulties to which I have already alluded. It was, I think I may say, unanimously accepted as that solution throughout Canada, for before I left the Dominion chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and manufacturers' associations had unanimously passed resolutions in favour of it; and it must be remembered that these associations in a highly protective country contain the very people whom individually you would not expect to encourage a further perference for British goods. Their resolutions represented the general wish of the people of Canada.

Besides that there were resolutions unanimously passed by several of the provincial Parliaments, whilst the Dominion Parliament did not take that course simply for the reason, as the leading statesmen of Canada have frequently declared, that tariff reform having become a Party question in this country, they did not think it right to step into the political arena.

I came home to find that many false conclusions had preceded me, conclusions based on very superficial knowledge and obtained from very doubtful sources. I came home to find much ignorance, geographical ignorance, ignorance of Canada's sea-ports, ignorance of the possibilities of Canadian transport and railways. I was told that there was no genuine wish in Canada for preferential trade, and that no offer at all had been made on the part of the Colonies.

I have already told you of the influences which had caused me to form a somewhat opposite opinion; but now, if your Lordships will allow me, I will venture to give rather more detailed information, which I think cannot fail to be of interest and of great value as putting forward the colonial position. I do so largely because statements which I myself make are often taken as merely personal assertions of no great value and are disregarded and forgotten, whilst the information which I should like to place before your Lordships is official and reliable, both as regards the figures and the source from which it is derived.

There seems to be in this country very little idea of the enormous resources of the North-West of Canada, and as that part of the Dominion is the great food-producing part of the Empire and likely to be very much more so in the future, I think it is only right that I should place before your Lordships its capabilities, which I think for Imperial reasons ought to be known. Professor Saunders, the Director of Experimental Farms in the Dominion, says that—

> "He reckons that in Manitoba and the three provisional territories, Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, there are 171,000,000 acres suitable for cultivation; still further, that in the Athabasca and McKenzie districts there are respectively 155,000,000 and 340,000,000 acres of land which have not yet been fully reported on agriculturally, but where considerable quantities of wheat have already been grown. Of the 171,000,000 acres of agricultural land referred to, only about 4 per cent. has yet been brought under crop; but supposing that a quarter of this 171,000,000 acres was under wheat crop annually, and taking the average production per acre of Manitoba for the last ten years, Professor Saunders estimates that the total wheat crop would be 856,000,000 bushels annually, which would place Canada in the position of being much the largest wheat-producing country in the world. And these figures deal only with a portion of the West and take no account of the wheat-growing areas in the Eastern provinces. It is also interesting to note in the same report the difference between the average present wheat yield per acre of the United States and Canada. The average yield of the United States for the preceding ten years was 13·53 bushels per acre, whilst in Ontario and Manitoba, which are the only provinces from which Professor Saunders found available statistics, the average winter wheat crop for the last ten years was 21·52 bushels per acre and spring wheat 16·64, and for the same period in Manitoba, where only spring wheat is grown, a little over 20 bushels per acre. The fairest way to make a comparison between the wheat-growing capabilities of the Western States of America and the Canadian North-West is to take the average yield for ten years of the States bordering on Manitoba, viz.:—Minnesota, 14·33; North Dakota, 12·87; South Dakota, 10·67—as against 20 bushels per acre in Manitoba. The following is, I think, very impressive—the total wheat crop of the United States for 1903 was 637,821,835 bushels, and was grown on less than 50,000,000 acres. The wheat-growing lands of the United States are not what they were, and a comparison between the above 50,000,000 acres and the enormous acreage I have quoted to you as the wheat-growing area in the Canadian North-West alone is very striking. The total imports of wheat and flour into Great Britain in 1902 were equivalent in all to about 200,000,000 bushels of wheat. Were one-fourth of the land said to be suitable for cultivation in Manitoba and the three provisional territories under crop with wheat annually, and the average production equal to that of Manitoba for the past ten years, the total crop would be over 812,000,000 bushels. This would be ample to supply the home demand for 30,000,000 of inhabitants (supposing the population of Canada should by that time reach that figure) and meet the present requirements of Great Britain three times over. This estimate deals only with a portion of the West, and it leaves the large Eastern provinces out of consideration altogether. From this it would seem to be quite possible that Canada may be in a position, within a comparatively few years, after supplying all home demands, to furnish Great Britain with all the wheat and flour she requires and leave a surplus for export to other countries. With a rural population on the Western plains in 1902 of about 400,000, over 67,000,000 bushels of wheat were produced. Add to this the wheat grown in Ontario and the other Eastern provinces and we already have a total of over 93,000,000 bushels. These figures are full of promise for the future of Canada as a great wheat-exporting country."

I should like also to read another extract. In this case it is taken from the Campaign Text-book of the Democratic Party of the United States—

> "Regarding reciprocity with Canada. This great country on our Northern border, one of the largest and finest on the globe, has a land area slightly larger than that of the United States, and perhaps little inferior to it in the vast variety and value of its resources. It is surrounded and indented by seas that teem—to a degree beyond all others anywhere—with the wealth of ocean, and they, in conjunction with its mighty system of internal transportation, afford a splendid basis for maritime and commercial enterprise. Its population, now rapidly increasing, is practically identical in origin, customs, religion, institutions, and Customs requirements with our own. Only a political boundary, an imaginary barrier,

separates this Imperial domain, this land of inestimable promise from us and others . . . . . From a decrease of 60 per cent. from 1873 to 1897 the preference tariff has aided British merchants and manufacturers to sell more than 100 per cent. more goods in Canada in 1904 than they sold in 1897. In the three years ending in 1903, the sum of 8,464,596 dollars in duties has been saved to British sellers by the operation of preference. Says Mr. George Johnston, the able chief statistician of the Dominion: 'The conclusion I feel warranted in drawing from these figures is that the preferential tariff has saved a business which, before the adoption of that tariff, was rapidly dwindling, and has, in fact, so greatly increased it that there is a reasonably sure prospect that the palmiest period of the trade in the past thirty years will be over-shadowed in the near future.' Increases like this were made, of course, chiefly at the expense of the United States. . . . .Great Britain has not been unmindful of the change in Canadian sentiment with respect to the United States, and the so-called Chamberlain plan as promulgated in February, 1903, has entered as another element threatening closer relations between the United States and the Dominion. . . . . .This plan proposes in a nutshell the restriction of the greatest market in the world, the British Empire, to the countries composing that Empire, to the exclusion primarily of the United States and of all other countries, except upon such terms as might be secured through the breaking down of tariffs. It implies that Great Britain has reached the limit of patience in permitting a free market for the wares of high protectionist countries, and is determined to do a little trade for herself along lines suggested by her rivals. Should this policy of Mr. Chamberlain's succeed—and it is the general opinion both here and in England that notwithstanding temporary set-backs eventually it will—its importance to the United States cannot be overestimated."

That, my Lords, is American opinion, which was largely circulated at the time of the last Presidential election, and, though issuing from the Democratic Party, anyone who followed the American Press at the time could very easily detect that the Republicans were quite ready to take a leaf out of the Democratic note-book.

I now come to the Resolution at the Conference. That Resolution is so well-known to your Lordships that I think it unnecessary for me to read it. It is denied over here that any direct offer was ever made on the part of the Dominion to this country, and I can only say that to my mind the offer appeared very distinct. If it is thought best to term it an overture rather than an offer, I am quite ready to accept the change. But there is one point always overlooked in this country,—the rider added by the Canadian representatives to the Resolution, to the effect that—

"The Canadian representatives are prepared to recommend to their Parliament preferential treatment of British goods on the following lines—viz., the existing preference of 33⅓ per cent., and an additional preference on lists of selected articles—(*a*) by further reducing the duties in favour of the United Kingdom; (*b*) by raising the duties against foreign imports; (*c*) by imposing duties on certain foreign imports now on the free list."

I should have thought that if that was not an offer it was something very nearly approaching one. The question is so very important that, at the risk of wearying your Lordships, I am anxious to place the Canadian view distinctly before you, and I would venture to read an extract from Mr. Fielding's Budget speech of June 7th this year. Mr. Fielding said—

"We have found ourselves in this position in regard to the question, that the matter has now become one of Party controversy in the mother country. It is not so with us in Canada. We may differ in detail, but I think I am justified in saying—and I think hon. Gentlemen opposite will not find fault with me in saying—that practically the two great political Parties in Canada are a unit to-day in favour of the principle of preferential trade. Though they may differ as to particular items of detail, or as to the best method of bringing it about, there is practically no difference in Canada. A question of that character, which has an Imperial side to it, and a question which enlists the warm and enthusiastic support of a man of such ability and force as Mr. Chamberlain, is certainly not going to remain a dead letter, although in the early future we cannot expect any great results from the movement. What should be our own action in the matter? We may be influenced in our own preferential policy by what may occur in the mother country in the hereafter. We should retain a free hand in that respect. But, for the present, we think it is wise policy to adhere to the preferential system, in the hope that it may be adopted more generally throughout the Empire, and that by-and-by a better understanding may be come to in the mother country, and that it will be adopted there as well. It has been sometimes said that Canada should take some further action in endorsing that principle. I do not think we are called upon to take any step beyond that which we have already taken. The attitude of Canada has been clearly laid down at the Colonial Conference, and while every phase of the Government policy has been discussed in this House, there has been practically no exception taken to the position assumed by the Government at the conference on the question of preferential trade. Now that the matter has become one of Party controversy in England we naturally hesitate to take an active part in the second clause of his Resolution ; but the principle and the machinery embodied in both clauses—though I confess the first clause refers particularly to home taxation—seemed to me in some ways to be so akin to each other and so certain to overlap in the future, that I thought I was entitled to take the Resolution as a whole. I can assure your Lordships that I gave notice of my Amendment with no wish to enter into a tariff debate in your Lordships' House, and I do not feel called upon to follow the noble Duke in the analysis of political Parties in this country, nor to dispel the fears which he apprehends from the result of future conferences, whilst I certainly need not, in any way, attempt to explain the future policy of the Prime Minister.

Before going further I think it is due to your Lordships' House to say that after I had given notice of my Amendment I became aware that my noble friend Lord Camperdown was anxious to move the previous Question, and although, in many ways, I personally would wish for a decided decision on the Amendment which I had ventured to place on the Paper, I cannot but feel that the Motion of my noble friend is, under present circumstances, best, and more suitable on broader grounds. I, therefore, shall not move the Amendment of which I have given notice. All the same, I feel called upon to explain to your Lordships the reasons which originally induced me to give notice of it. As I have already stated, it was due to no wish to discuss or to analyse the most difficult question of tariffs, for I felt that there were far deeper Imperial questions involved in the noble Duke's Resolution than any consideration of the advantages or disadvantages of tariff readjustment or of inter-Imperial trade.

I felt, my Lords, that such a Resolution emanating from a statesman of such eminence, and going forth to the world with the weight of approval of your Lordships' House, could only be accepted in one light by our kinsmen in the King's possessions beyond the seas—namely, in the light of a cold rebuff to much courteously expressed and deep-seated colonial sentiment, and that it would fetter free discussion at some future conference on points as to which the people of this country have as yet expressed no decided opinion, but as to which our fellow-countrymen in the King's distant possessions have expressed themselves in no ambiguous voice. For they have told you that, in their opinion, these questions of tariff reform and inter-Imperial trade are vital to the future of the Empire, and that they believe them to contain, to a very large extent, the solution of those difficult questions which surround their closer connection with the mother country. The effect of such a Resolution could not but be mischievous and far-reaching, and I, personally, cannot see how, with the weight which it would derive if accepted by your Lordships' House, it could fail to hamper, if it did not altogether prevent, free discussion at future Colonial Conferences.

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The noble Duke has formed his own decision, actuated by, perhaps, an over-loyal affection for the system of tariff legislation which many of us who have wandered much beyond the precincts of these Isles think to be now out of date and unsuited to the requirements of our great Empire. Or the noble Duke may, perhaps, have been influenced by a want of acquaintance with the feelings, the sentiments, and the requirements of our kinsmen beyond the seas.

That want of acquaintance is answerable for much. It is answerable for many incorrect statements, for many random assertions; and I hope your Lordships will not think I am beside the mark in trying to give some illustration of the feelings and the forces which exist on the other side of the Atlantic, and which, whatever people at home may think, must greatly influence our policy in this country.

I have endeavoured to the best of my ability to give illustrations elsewhere of what I consider to be the state of affairs in our colonial possessions, but I hope, even at the risk of some repetition, your Lordships will allow me to state them again here, for words spoken within these historic walls are likely to carry much more weight throughout the country and throughout the Empire than what may be said in other places.

We must recognise that Imperial statesmanship cannot now-a-days afford to be parochial. We cannot afford to look at things from an insular point of view. We must remember that while there are great interests at home which we cannot afford to ignore, there are the interests of our kinsmen far away that we must not ignore either, and that if we wish to continue to build up the future of this great Empire we must be prepared to share in those interests.

As your Lordships are aware, I had the honour of representing our Sovereign for some six years in the Dominion of Canada. The period of my appointment was an eventful one. It was a period of immense development, the development of vast resources and increasing wealth; and in the midst of all this came a great war and a rush to arms of British subjects throughout the King's dominions—a demonstration to the world of the value of Imperial strength and Imperial unity. Following on this came the conference of 1902, that much debated conference, the results of which created a great effect in Canada, and then Mr. Chamberlain's pronouncements on inter-Imperial trade.

All these factors combined to accentuate much deep feeling, to bring to light many ideas that had hitherto lain in embryo. Men began, as the term now goes, to think Imperially, and to wonder whether all these great resources and all this wealth could be directed into British channels, or whether, without a leader, they were to be left to wander we know not whither. In Canada the idea of preferential trade, rightly or wrongly, was the idea which most fascinated the population, and which gave, in their opinion, the solution of the difficulties to which I have already alluded. It was, I think I may say, unanimously accepted as that solution throughout Canada, for before I left the Dominion chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and manufacturers' associations had unanimously passed resolutions in favour of it; and it must be remembered that these associations in a highly protective country contain the very people whom individually you would not expect to encourage a further perference for British goods. Their resolutions represented the general wish of the people of Canada.

Besides that there were resolutions unanimously passed by several of the provincial Parliaments, whilst the Dominion Parliament did not take that course simply for the reason, as the leading statesmen of Canada have frequently declared, that tariff reform having become a Party question in this country, they did not think it right to step into the political arena.

I came home to find that many false conclusions had preceded me, conclusions based on very superficial knowledge and obtained from very doubtful sources. I came home to find much ignorance, geographical ignorance, ignorance of Canada's sea-ports. ignorance of the possibilities of Canadian transport and railways. I was told that there was no genuine wish in Canada for preferential trade, and that different conditions would vote differently on the same matter.

I am not alone, and those who agree with me are not alone, in that matter. I could give your Lordships an illustration. Take the case of the sugar bounties. Those bounties have been denounced. The Convention which abolished those bounties has been denounced all over the country as having been the cause of the rise in the price of sugar which took place last autumn and last winter. What has happened now? The price of sugar has fallen and is falling every day. Those who were unable to believe that the Convention was the sole cause, or even the chief cause, of the rise in price are surely not wholly without reason when they observe that although this Convention still exists yet the price of sugar is falling. Is that a question on which every Member of this House is prepared to vote "Aye" or "No," or express a positive opinion? There are many others who have differed at various times on questions of this sort. I will quote a rather celebrated occasion. Viscount Goschen, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1890, reduced the duty on currants; and this is what he said—

> "I propose to reduce the duty on currants from 7s. a cwt. to 2s. The Committee will ask why I have selected currants while the tax on raisins remains as before. Currants come chiefly from Greece, and Greece attributes such an immense importance to this reduction that she is prepared in return to make a substantial offer of reduction on British manufactured goods. . . These reductions will relieve the British trader of duties which are calculated at from £50,000 to £60,000 a year. Currants have been specially selected this year. I should be extremely glad if the countries exporting raisins, such as Spain and Turkey, could see their way to meet us in a similar manner on a future occasion."

I merely give that illustration to show how one person may entertain different views at different times, and regard these duties and what I may call the retaliatory principle from different points of view. I think I have made quite clear to your Lordships the grounds on which I propose to move the previous Question. I think the noble Duke's Motion is contrary, in the first place, to the practice and rules of this House. There is no Bill before the House; there is nothing before Parliament; there is nothing to which Parliament can appeal; and it seems to me that if your Lordships were at this moment to declare a positive opinion with regard to this matter, you would be entering a judgment on the fiscal question without having heard all that is to be said with regard to it. The noble Duke said in the last words of his speech that by his Resolution he would enable the Government to show that they adhered to their own opinion, and not to that of Mr. Chamberlain. I can only say, having read the Resolution very carefully, that I cannot conceive that there is anything of that kind in it. It appears to me it would be far more natural, if your Lordships were to pass this Resolution, that the country should say that you had not only disapproved of Mr. Chamberlain's position, but had also approved of the position which is taken up by the noble Duke and by those who agree with him.

Amendment moved—

"That the previous Question be put, whether the said Question shall be now put."—(*The Earl of Camperdown.*)

*LORD ROBERTSON: My Lords, your Lordships have heard the line which is to be taken by the champions of His Majesty's Government, and I venture to think there will be a sense of profound disappointment in all parts of the House. Unquestionably we have arrived at a very grave crisis in the history of this country. One of the most prominent men of the time has directly identified Ministers with his own proposals. He has challenged their disclaimer of those proposals, and what is it now proposed that we should do? That we should agree to a Motion that the question be not entertained by the House of Lords at all. Why, my Lords, the position of my noble friend opposite seems to be this. He will pile up and accumulate all sorts of technical objections; but the one thing he will not do is, he will not face the broad issue raised by the noble Duke. We are told that it is most unusual and unpardonable that the House should be invited to consider utterances of a private Member of Parliament, and that the next thing will be that the opinions of my noble friend the Duke of Devonshire will be pilloried and challenged for discussion in the House of Lords. They may be, if and when the noble Duke announces that he is standing shoulder to shoulder with the Government; then, and not till then, will there be a parallel between the case which the noble Earl has figured and the case with which we have to deal to-night.

I have said that this is a grave crisis in the history of the country, and I will state in a word why. For two years vague opinions have been floating about, and they have been industriously circulated in favour of some form of protection. These suggestions have been met by His Majesty's Ministers up to the present time with various Answers, but what is common to each and every Answer is this: a disclaimer of a general system of protection. That is the universal characteristic of all the speeches of Ministers. One has said, "Let us try retaliation and negotiation. What is the harm of that?" Another has said, "Would it not be well, at all events, to encourage the Colonies by having some form of colonial preference?" But each person who has said that has coupled with it a denial of the proposal to establish a system of protection. Now what has happened in Mr. Chamberlain's speech is this: that a full-blown system of protection is offered to the country, and, what is more, every one is ruled out of alliance with Mr. Chamberlain unless he goes in for what has been called "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." That, my Lords, is stated in the most explicit terms, and Mr. Chamberlain in his speech uttered words of defiance which I beg my noble friends on this side of the House to take to themselves. He has said in words—

> "Let no one join with us who does not agree with the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill."

I want to ask noble Lords on this side of the House who lined Mr. Chamberlain's platform the other night whether they are for the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill.

LORD BLYTHSWOOD: Yes.

*LORD ROBERTSON: Of course, my noble friend Lord Blythswood is an out-and-out protectionist, but I have not heard any other response. The proceedings at the Albert Hall acquire an additional significance. Here is Mr. Chamberlain's message for my noble friend Lord Minto—

> "It is no use for a man to come down to the country and profess to be an advocate for preference with our Colonies, to put forward the importance of unity with our Empire, and at the same time to boast that he is unwilling to pay the price."

And the price, observe, is the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill. That is a challenge to the Ministry, and I want to put this explicitly and directly to the Leader of the House. Is it true that you are going to stand shoulder to shoulder with Mr. Chamberlain? If so, I really think the time has come to say it. It is not fair to Mr. Chamberlain and, as I am going to show presently, it is not fair to the Conservative Party, that an attitude should be adopted of indisposition to answer Questions which are vital to the prosperity of the country. If my noble friends on the Treasury Bench, however, are not going to stand shoulder to shoulder for the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill, then I hope they will remember that the shafts of satire that were aimed at the people who would not pay the price, but wanted to stand in with the venture, are directed at them. I should like to know whether the noble Lords who were on the platform the other night intended the cheers that greeted this sarcasm about half-hearted supporters to apply to their own leaders.

In a matter of this kind you cannot have it both ways. Either you are entitled to the honour and credit of standing shoulder to shoulder with Mr. Chamberlain, or you ought to break off frankly and say you are not going to do so, and disclaim these predictions. It is quite true that Ministerial utterances have been somewhat vague; but at the same time I certainly give the Ministry credit for the fact that on no one occasion in public has there been the slightest justification shown for Mr. Chamberlain's prediction that they were going to stand shoulder to shoulder with him. I do not know what warrant he had for this statement. I do not know what has passed between him and Ministers, but as a loyal member of the Tory Party I have a right to know whether there is anything more than what has appeared publicly. I have a right to know whether the Party is or is not to be ruined by being identified with a general and penal tariff.

My noble friend Lord Minto, addressing himself, of course, from the Colonial point of view, has uttered a great many very admirable sentiments which are extremely popular, and never fail to elicit cheers, but I cannot help saying that not merely does he fall within the bann of the message which I have delivered to him from Mr. Chamberlain, but he also incurs the responsibility of identifying patriotic sentiments, which all of us share, with a fiscal scheme which most of us regard as quackery; and should that fiscal scheme come to grief, as it will come to grief sooner or later, are you not imperilling those noble sentiments of alliance and kinship which the noble Earl has given expression to? We are told also—it is expressed in the noble Lord's now abandoned Amendment —that we ought not to discuss this question, but leave it intact and unimpaired for the consideration of Colonial Conferences. But it has already been said by the noble Duke, with great force, that unless you go into a Colonial Conference with definite ideas as to your own interests, you are leading both the Colonies and your own fellow-subjects at home into a mire and a morass.

You have no right to go into a Colonial Conference without having your mind made up as to the extent of your mandate, and the suggestion that we should have a Colonial Conference which should treat at large of questions of this kind—such a question as whether we are going to have a general penal tariff—seems to me to be the wildest piece of madness that ever was entered into by statesmen. But I want to ask another Question. I have great respect for the Colonial Conference, but I have also some respect for the British Parliament, and I want to know why everybody, why all men in both hemispheres, should have a right to meddle with this subject of British trade, and should be invited to meddle with it, and the British Parliament alone be barred from touching it. That is the position which the Government are asking us to take up to-night by this Amendment. It is that we are to hand over to A, B, and C, to the end of the alphabet, this question of vital interests of British trade, and all the while muzzle both the House of Lords and the House of Commons. I do not know to what propitious accident we owe even the presence of His Majesty's Ministers on that bench to-night. According to the recently-established constitutional practice the custom is that Ministers go out and never reappear during a discussion on tariffs. It has come to this, that they have allowed the House of Commons, elected under their auspices and kept going at their express desire, to pass a Resolution expressly and in terms condemning the avowed policy of the Prime Minister.

I must own that to me—and I boldly say I am a loyal and devoted supporter of the leaders of the Unionist Party—it is a little hard to find out how that tenure of office is justified in the eyes of men of honour. Has it not come perilously near to *propter vitam vivendi perdere causas?* Is it not the case that the relegation of the House of Commons —I am happy to say not of the House of Lords—to a position of political obscurantism is rather an ominous beginning, especially when we are nearing the end of a Parliament. I myself have no doubt whatever that the present occasion is merely a call to the Conservative Party to purge itself of these heresies and to go to the country on broader and far sounder issues.

I have said that trade was involved; but there are more things than trade involved in these proposals. I regard the danger of a general tariff as a danger which affects the soundness of politics and the stability of the institutions of the country. And I will tell you why. No one who knows this country of late years, no one who knows London, can doubt that there is a vast amount of irresponsible and speculative wealth ambitious to interest itself in our politics. That is certainly one of the features, and, I think, equally certainly one of the dangers, of the times. Men who have acquired wealth in those ways are to a large extent ousting from the

House of Commons men of moderate means who cannot afford to be their rivals in the competition for seats; and if you set up a general tariff we all know what it will mean. It will mean not merely that the speculators will flock into Parliament, but that Parliament will be the proper place for them.

But, my Lords, behind that danger there is another, about which I feel very strongly, and I do hope my noble friends around me will feel strongly upon it also. If you have, what I will for shortness call a gambling Parliament, you will find—if you have not got them already—unscrupulous people who are very ready to lead the dance, and then the institutions of the country will be merely assets realisable at some stage of the game to buy off people who make claims on the general tariff. Then the Church, then the House of Lords will be merely looked at as things which you may deal with to-day or to-morrow or not at all, but which no scruple will withhold you from dealing with when occasion requires. I have heard it said that these are merely developments of modern society, about which it is idle to repine, and which it is impossible to resist; but I do hold that the overt and active introduction of this ruinous system of corruption is one which ought never to be taken in hand by the gentlemen of England. That kind of work may be very suitable for other people, but it is not suitable for the Tory Party. I need hardly say that I do not refer to the Party opposite, and I would merely suggest that, in some of the byways of politics, you may possibly discover some one more likely to enter upon these dangers.

Now, my Lords, I have one or two words, strong and, I hope, direct, to address to my leaders. In English history there has only been one justification recognised as constitutionally lawful for rebellion, and that is the abdication of the Sovereign; and I want to ask whether, in the case of the present Prime Minister, the Party is not perilously near that crisis. I cannot understand a theory of Party loyalty by which we should be bound to Mr. Balfour and his assigns. It is a personal tie, a tie of honourable obligation; but it is not transmissible to any third party or nominee, and I, for one, decline altogether, on a vital question of this kind, to look elsewhere than to the Prime Minister for a declaration of policy. It seems to me, further, that never was there an opportunity more admirably adapted than the present for the reinstatement of the Conservative leaders and of the Party in the eyes of the country. If you are not now going to make it clear that you are not the tools of Mr. Chamberlain, when are you ever going to do so? The ruin of the Party is complete unless we have now an explicit declaration from the Front Bench.

I have the most unbounded respect and admiration for the Leader of this House, and, although my noble friend is a Liberal Unionist, and I myself am a Tory, I venture to claim him as one of those at whose feet I lay my appeal. Is my noble friend content that his great fame as a successful and trusted Foreign Minister should be blurred and vitiated by this ignoble alliance? But I will turn to the Prime Minister himself. I remember that twenty years ago, I followed a leader in the House of Commons whose name was also Arthur Balfour, but the Arthur Balfour whom I followed, and whom I remember with enthusiastic admiration even after that lapse of time, was a leader whose yea was yea and whose nay was nay. We were then never offered the remainder biscuit of obscure passages in speeches which might read one way or the other at the pleasure and taste of the reader. We had the most frank utterances. Our leader was in the centre of every battle, and we followed him. What was the result? He cowed sedition in Ireland. He raised the Conservative Party to such a pitch of popularity in the country as it had never seen before since the days of Mr. Disraeli. That is the leader whom I desire, and if I could see him once again I would rejoice and be glad. In those days no bleak shadow of an interloper fell between him and his followers.

What do we see now as the result of these transcendent talents applied in the present day in the House of Commons? Well, I am bound to say we see a succession of the most marvellous clevernesses.

We see every rock cleared, every eddy carefully steered out of; but the pilot seems to have no notion whatever of the ultimate destination of the ship. For the Conservative Party to feed itself upon successes of that kind, and at the same time to be claimed by Mr. Chamberlain as his adherents, the insult to it being offered publicly, is enough to turn the hair grey of any one who has seen the triumphs of the Tory Party. We have seen the leaders of the Party allow Mr. Chamberlain to capture the Party organisation, and to equip constituencies with candidates like the gentleman who was sent down to Wales some time ago as a Conservative candidate, and who was going to vote for disestablishment and Home Rule. Where are your Conservative principles to be if all this is allowed to go on, and a free hand given to those disastrous conditions which a reign of corruption would form under a general tariff?

I have spoken strongly, but I hope not too strongly. My noble friends on this side grievously err it they think that this general tariff which is now offered to them has any of the signs of modern Toryism upon it. Mr. Disraeli would have regarded with horror a proposal to subject the Party, not to the old honourable corn laws, but to this ignoble general tariff. I would remind my noble friends also that this proposal of a general tariff is vaunted by its author as having been offered to the Party opposite. We were told at the Albert Hall that this was not a Party question at all, and that he had offered it to everybody, but it was merely because the other side would not have it that he now came and offered it to you. I hope the Tory Party have pride enough, at all events, to refuse to live on the leavings of the Party opposite. I hope, in a word, that the result of this great and striking lesson may be that our leaders will once more come forward and lead the Party in the paths of honour; that we shall see an end to this reign of quackery, and the inauguration of a reign of reason and honour.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (The Duke of MARLBOROUGH): My Lords, the noble and learned Lord who has just sat down has expressed a considerable amount of apprehension whether Mr. Balfour is still Prime Minister, and he has in the course of his remarks pointed to the various speeches which Mr. Chamberlain has made—speeches which he finds in strong conflict with the speeches of the Prime Minister. We want to assure him that we, the members of the Government, regard Mr. Balfour as Prime Minister, and as Leader of the Tory and Unionist Party. The Motion of the noble Duke is not exactly what it is represented to be. The Motion appears to me to be one of those innumerable pegs which the procedure of this House willingly and generously affords on which to hang discussions on such questions as: How far and in what respect are the views of the Prime Minister the views of Mr. Chamberlain, one of his distinguished followers? Does Mr. Balfour, or does he not, agree with Mr. Chamberlain? Are there not two policies? That was roughly the refrain of the speech of the noble Duke, and in order to support his contention he examined the speeches of these two statesmen with an unusual amount of skill, vigour, and precision.

Let me remind the noble Duke at once that the Prime Minister has said in the most definite terms that he is prepared to be cross-examined on his own political utterances, but that he totally declines to be cross-examined on the interpretations placed on those utterances by anybody whatsoever. Surely, if the Prime Minister is unwilling to be cross-examined on the interpretation placed upon his words by others, how much more should we, the members of his Government, decline to submit to that process? The noble Duke, in the course of his remarks, said that although the Prime Minister had expressed continuous views, and had laid down a definite policy, he had allowed a totally different impression to prevail. After all, the leader of a great Party in the State has other duties to perform than that of dissociating himself from the views of one of the most powerful and loyal supporters of his Government.

But let us consider for a moment the position of the Party to which noble Lords opposite belong. It is a matter of common knowledge that the views of the Liberal Party and those of the Irish Party are by no means in harmony or in conformity the one with the other. It is also matter of common knowledge that the views and aspirations of the Labour Party are by no means in conformity with those of the Radical Party. But, my Lords, we do not come down here and ask that the views of the noble Lords opposite and those of Mr. Redmond and Mr. John Burns should be collated and examined in order to find out whether they are in agreement or not. We are more or less indifferent, because we know perfectly well that, whatever differences exist, in view of a possible political conflict in the future, noble Lords opposite would allow them to sink, and that before a general election takes place they will be united on common ground to fight their political opponents. Noble Lords, therefore, may rest assured that if these are the political tactics pursued by one great Party in the State, the probabilities are that very similar tactics will be pursued by the other great Party in the State, and if there are any divergencies or differences of opinion in the Unionist Party, although I am not aware that there are any, the noble Duke may be perfectly assured that before the general election comes the members of the Unionist Party will rally behind the Prime Minister, and support the policy which he has consistently and continuously upheld—the policy on which he has stated on many occasions that he means to go to the electors of the country at the time of the next general election.

Now, my Lords, the noble Duke in the course of his remarks said that Mr. Chamberlain, in his speech at St. Helens, claimed that his policy was one to which Mr. Balfour subscribed. I must confess that the views of the noble Duke and my own are totally different with regard to that speech of Mr. Chamberlain's, What did he preface his remarks by saying? He said that he heartily subscribed to the policy of the Prime Minister as adumbrated at the Albert Hall; he thanked the Prime Minister for the lead which he had given; and, if my memory serves me right, he added that he agreed with the policy of the Prime Minister especially, because it was one totally different from that of noble Lords opposite. Therefore, I confess that I cannot understand the interpretation placed upon that speech by the noble Duke and others.

Then, my Lords, I should like to dwell for one moment on the question of the taxation of food. The noble Duke asked us in the course of his speech what would happen if a Colonial Conference decided to express its views in favour of the taxation of food. I need hardly remind him, in parentheses, that the Prime Minister has said most distinctly that, in the event of a conference coming to any decision, that decision would be submitted to the electors of this country. But there seems to be an inconsistency in the noble Duke's remarks, because having stated his fears that a Colonial Conference might express their views in favour of the taxation of food, he proceeded to assert in another portion of his speech that the Colonies would on no account give any preference to this country until we settled among ourselves whether or not we were prepared to tax the food of the people. If that is the case, how is it possible for a Colonial Conference in the near future to come to the conclusion that they desire to tax the food of the people of this country? Then I am reminded that the noble Duke himself was a party to imposing a shilling duty on corn—that is on the food of the people. On his own argument, he thereby raised the price of food to the poorer classes of this country, this no doubt with a view that they should contribute to war taxation, which all classes should bear in proper proportion. No doubt the noble Duke may tell us that that taxation was imposed as war taxation, and that it was not to be employed in any way as a preferential tax. But the point I wish to establish is this—that the effect of a shilling duty on corn is precisely the same upon the poorer classes of this country whether it is employed as a war tax or as a preferential tax, and it cannot have been of much comfort to the humble individual, who, according to the noble Duke, paid a higher price for his bread in consequence of that 1s. duty, to be assured that although the price was higher yet the noble Duke, in being a party to sanctioning the imposition of the tax, had been able to preserve in their entirety the principles of his economic belief.

What is the task which we are invited to perform this evening? We are asked to say that if it is a question of imposing a tax on food for the purposes of paying for a war, for whch the British public get no return except the knowledge that they have shared the liabilities which this country has to bear, then according to the noble Duke it is a sound, just, and sacred tax. But if the very same policy is suggested at a future Colonial Conference with the possibility that the British public may reap from it considerable advantages—advantages in the shape of increased markets for their manufactured goods, the development of large tracts of land which at present are unproductive, the increase of inter-Imperial trade, and the probability thereby of tending to break down commercial barriers which exist between our Colonies and ourselves—then the noble Duke asks us, indeed implores us, to condemn that policy at once, before those who are most interested in it have even had an opportunity of discussing it, as a pernicious doctrine, and a vile and unclean thing with which we must have nothing to do.

I trust, however, that noble Lords generally will not misunderstand me. I do not desire to-night in any way to say whether or not I think the taxation of food is advisable.

SEVERAL NOBLE LORDS: Hear, hear!

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH: Noble Lords opposite cheer that remark. I presume that underlying their cheer there is a certain amount of satire. I should like to remind noble Lords opposite that the last time I had the honour of addressing your Lordships on this particular question two political organs in the Press which support the Party of noble Lords opposite—the *Daily News* and the *Daily Chronicle*—took different views on the matter. In one paper I was accused of being an out-and-out protectionist, while in the other a considerable amount of satisfaction was expressed that I, on behalf of the Government, had entirely repudiated the views and aspirations of Mr. Chamberlain.

But what I wish to point out to your Lordships, with every feeling of respect to the noble Duke, is an apparent inconsistency in his argument. According to the noble Duke, if you call a tax a revenue tax, no matter how much inconvenience or discomfort it may inflict upon the poorer classes, it is a just and proper tax; whereas, on the other hand, if you call it a preferential tax, no matter how great the possible advantages may be, it is a wicked and pernicious tax. If I understand the position of the noble Duke and those who agree with him correctly, the question resolves itself into this—whether food shall be taxed to pay for a war or whether food shall be taxed to maintain the Empire; in other words, whether food shall be taxed to protect the Empire, or whether food shall be taxed to preserve the Empire. The noble Duke thinks for the purposes of war the tax is legitimate, but in the other case it is illegitimate. That appears to me to be a metaphysical scruple rather than a practical argument for dealing with one of the most complicated and urgent problems. Surely when our practical differences are so small and, I think, chiefly imaginary, and when the possible advantages are so considerable and so real, we may with some justice pause before we come to a decision upon this important and difficult problem until we have placed before us all the information which only the deliberations of a Colonial Conference can give us.

Now, my Lords, what are the reasons which warrant us in thinking that it is unwise to express any definite views before this conference is summoned. Your Lordships are aware that the Colonies themselves have expressed no definite concrete opinion upon the value of any particular tax, although they have conveyed their views in general terms. Surely we ought to pursue a similar policy. I think it would be very unwise for us at this date to say that we will exclude certain taxes from the consideration of the Colonial Conference. We on this side of the House believe that we foresee the great possibilities of the future, and we are of opinion that to express our views now in a premature way would have a most injurious effect upon the Colonies themselves, especially in view of those Resolutions which they have passed at Colonial Conferences, to which Lord Minto at an early period of the debate referred.

Noble Lords are perfectly well aware of what is the policy of His Majesty's Government. It is the policy of having a free and unfettered conference. The effect of the noble Duke's Motion would be to limit the scope of that conference, to muzzle the conference and prevent it from discussing the one topic upon which the members of it are so anxious to express their opinions. The Motion, if we were to sanction it, would, in my humble opinion, transgress the political functions of your Lordships' House. This House is essentially an Assembly which represents the permanent as opposed to the transient opinions of this country. It is essentially a House of Revision, and that we should be called upon prematurely to record our views in terms of disapprobation of a policy of which many in the Colonies are in favour, seems to me to be an attempt to associate this House with a constitutional prerogative which it has seldom if ever laid claim to. Moreover, it would administer a political rebuff to a distinguished follower and supporter of the Government; and, finally, it would deliberately assert our disapproval of a policy the principles of which the representatives of the Empire have expressed their willingness to discuss. Therefore, since the Government are not willing to follow a course which they deem to be unwise, imprudent, and impolitic, they will resist with the full force at their disposal the Motion which stands in the name of the noble Duke.

THE EARL OF FEVERSHAM: My Lords, as I had a Motion on the Paper of your Lordships' House very similar in terms to the Amendment which has not been moved by Lord Minto, perhaps I may be permitted to offer a few observations on the present occasion. I am one of those who think that it would be a matter for great regret if the conference which was to have met in 1906 were not permitted to assemble next year, and I had hoped that we would have received some intimation that His Majesty's Government would call that conference together. The noble Duke, and those who act with him, seem to be very much afraid of the meeting of that conference. The noble Duke says that it ought not to meet before a general election. I, for one, think that it would be a matter of great regret if it were postponed until after a general election. For what is the conference to do? What did it meet for on the last occasion? It discussed three most important questions—Imperial defence, political relations, and commercial interests. Why should we not have a conference meeting next year to discuss our commercial relations?

Then, my Lords, the noble Duke referred very frequently to the taxation of food. I should like to remind him that he was a member of the Government which retained the 1s. duty on corn for many years, both under Lord Palmerston and under Mr. Gladstone. We never heard the noble Duke say at that time that the 1s. duty was a tax on the food of the people. It was considered a registration duty. Then, too, the noble Duke was a member of the Government which reimposed the 1s. duty on corn. We were never told then by the noble Duke that it was a tax on food, and all that Mr. Chamberlain has proposed is that we should have a duty of 2s. instead of a duty of 1s. Do the noble Duke and noble Lords opposite contend that the difference between a 1s. and a 2s. duty measures the difference between the taxation and the non-taxation of food? It is very misleading to the people of this country to say that a small duty of that kind is any real taxation on food at all. It was found when the 1s. duty was reimposed a few years ago that it had no effect whatever on the price of corn; therefore, we may assume that the 2s. duty would have hardly any effect. Mr. Chamberlain has said that if it did have any effect, all it would do would be to increase the price of the quartern loaf by ¼d., andthat, in that case, he would reduce the duty on other articles of first necessity to counterbalance the increased price of bread. The fact is that this cry of the taxation of food is misleading; it is playing to the gallery, and it is unfair to the people of this country.

But, my Lords, I really think that, for the sake of maintaining and consolidating the great interests between the mother country and the Colonies, the people of this country are prepared to make some sacrifice, and I submit that it is not fair to them to say that they shall not have the advantage of knowing what the views of the Colonies are on the question. I join issue entirely as to the time of meeting of that conference. The people of this country have a right to know what are the views and opinions of the colonial representatives before they are asked to come to a decision on this great and important matter. Why do you wish to shut the mouths of the Colonies and thus prevent the people of this country from having that knowledge and information which they ought to possess before they come to a decision on this vital question? Light is always better than darkness, and I think we ought to take every opportunity of informing public opinion in this country on the great question of colonial preference and tariff reform.

What is the condition of the country? Are noble Lords opposite satisfied with the general condition of the country? Have we not had large numbers of the labouring classes thrown out of employment—so much so that a Bill has been introduced by the Government to give greater employment to the people of this country? Are our manufactures so flourishing, and is agriculture so prosperous, that we do not require some change and some reform? Mr. Chamberlain proposes to remedy this condition of things. What remedy do the noble Lords opposite propose? Nothing but adhesion to the old system of miscalled free trade, which was all very well fifty or forty years ago, but which now has proved to be inconsistent with the general prosperity of the country. Holding these views, I cannot possibly vote for the Motion of the noble Duke, which would leave us just as we are without any power to deal with the difficulties and the distress in the country, and which provides no remedy but simply binds us to carry on an antiquated system which, as I say, in this twentieth century is inconsistent with the general prosperity and happiness of the country.

THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER: My Lords, I crave your Lordships' indulgence for two reasons, first, because I am absolutely sincere on the subject now under discussion, and I know that your Lordships always grant the greatest indulgence to anybody who is sincere; and, secondly,—I know this will commend itself to your Lordships—because I intend to be very brief. I desire to confine myself almost entirely to answering the arguments put forward against the Motion of the noble Duke by the Duke of Marlborough, who spoke on behalf of the Government. The noble Duke stated that he was unaware that there were any differences of opinion between different members of the Government, and he also alluded to something which he described as "common knowledge." If one may adduce, as he adduced "common knowledge," I think it will be at least permissible to suggest that it is common knowledge that the Party which he defends are at any rate in some degree divided in their opinions. He said, further, that even if there were some slight division they would, when it came to an election, meet together on common ground, rally round one flag, and have one heart and one mind and one defence against the common enemy, which I take to be the Party sitting on this side of the House. But, my Lords, will the noble Duke's Party have one common ground and one flag when the time comes for us to defend, in the face of the electorate, what I may perhaps call the bridge of free trade? Will there not be something like the incident of which we are told in connection with ancient Rome, when, of the attackers, although common enemies of Rome—

> "Those behind cried 'Forward'; and those in front cried 'Back.'"

Is not that very much the position even at the present moment? Is not the figure-head, the very fine figure-head of the Government, the Prime Minister—I say it with all due respect—crying "Back" on the question of fiscal reform, and is not he whom we have heard described as "the power behind" crying, in unmistakable terms, "Forward?" How, then, can it be said that they are going to have one cry and one flag?

Then, too, the noble Duke said that our Party were divided on many subjects, and he cited the names of Mr. Redmond and Mr. John Burns. But neither Mr. Redmond nor Mr. John Burns, even if we grant that they have the power with our Party that Mr. Chamberlain has with the Party opposite, has proposed a new measure so sweeping and so vital to the interest of this country as Mr. Chamberlain has done, and will undoubtedly propose to the electorate when they go to the country. I maintain that Mr. Chamberlain has proposed a most revolutionary measure. It is a measure which strikes at the very heart of the economic principles of our Constitution, and it is one on which the other side will, undoubtedly have to go to the country. I submit that in our case the same position does not arise. We are not going to the country on any revolutionary measure proposed by Mr. John Burns.

The noble Duke furthermore stated that Mr. Balfour had refused to be cross-examined as to the meaning placed on his words by others; he was willing to answer questions as to what he said, but not as to the meaning which others might place upon it. Nobody wants him to be cross-examined as to the meanings placed on his statements by others. All we ask is that he should give some definition of policy that can have only one meaning, that no one can mistake, and upon which no other meaning can be put; and that, as I understand it, is what he and his loyal followers refuse to do. They refuse to make any statement of policy which is so clear and unequivocal as to admit of only one meaning.

Then the noble Duke complained bitterly of the unkindness and unjustness of two daily papers in not understanding his meaning on a previous occasion. It may be my stupidity or my unkindness, but I must say that I equally fail to understand a great part of the noble Duke's speech to-night. Perhaps as a young Member I have no right to criticise the Front Bench opposite, but it seems to me that the speech of the noble Duke was quite on all fours with what we have learnt to expect from responsible members of the Party opposite. When we were learning geography we used to be told that an island was a piece of land completely surrounded by water. I am almost tempted to say that the speeches of the Government on the fiscal question are composed of nothing surrounded by platitudes; they are certainly surrounded by evasions of the main question at issue.

The noble Duke also said that this House had no business to take this question into consideration at all, that we were merely a House of Revision. I maintain that the term "a House of Revision" as applied to this House is an absolute misnomer. We have no real power to—at least we never would—revise anything that the people obviously wished for. I maintain that the functions of this House are to put a stop temporarily on any piece of legislation that we think would be contrary to the public wish, until the public have had an opportunity of passing judgment upon it; and if this is not a case in which we should exercise that right I cannot conceive one. The Party opposite propose, with a waning majority, without going to the country first to get a direct mandate for the purpose, practically to bind the country to some form of discussion in a Colonial Conference which it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to repudiate, and when we attempt to exercise the undoubted right that we have to say, "No, you shall first go to the country and get your mandate," we are told that this House is merely a House of Revision, and can only use futile words afterwards in condemnation of an accomplished fact. Surely, my Lords, it is better that such a lamentable conclusion should be avoided. Prevention is surely better than an attempted cure. Therefore, I sincerely ask your Lordships at any rate to give this matter serious consideration, and to say that the feeling of the country—which to our minds is apparent enough—should be officially tested before any such important step as going to a Colonial Conference with a free hand is permitted.

*LORD AVEBURY: My Lords, Lord Minto, who speaks with so much authority on colonial matters, told us in his interesting speech that Canada was united in favour of preference. But what kind of preference do they mean, and what is the case as regards our trade with Canada at the present moment? We admit all Canadian produce free of duty; Canada, on the other hand, charges us some 16 or 18 per cent. Surely before we can talk of preference we ought to be placed upon an equality. I am glad to be able to quote in support of that contention the high authority of the Tariff Reform Association itself. In their "Handbook for Speakers" they say that fiscal union and commercial reciprocity is the only possible foundation of Imperial federation, and they give with great force the examples of the United States, the German Empire, the Australian Federation, and the Dominion of Canada. I do not know what the noble Marquess will tell us later on in the debate, but, so far as my information goes, I am afraid there is very little chance of Canada or our other great self-governing Colonies placing us upon the same footing as that on which we have placed them. No doubt they give us a preference in the sense that they charge foreigners more than us. But it is very little use their locking the door against us, and then double-locking it against the foreigner. Our real competition is with their manufacturers, and as compared with them we are placed at a great disadvantage. At the same time we appreciate very much the friendly feelings which induced them to give us a preference, over foreigners, but I am afraid we cannot but agree with the opinion expressed by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on March 7th—

> "I said—I wish I could withdraw the statement—that I was not aware how it was possible on such a basis to found any great scheme of preferential duties."

Mr. Chamberlain, as he has gone on with his campaign, seems to have become more and more protectionist. When he began his great object was the very noble endeavour to bind together the Colonies and the mother country—an object with which we must all heartily sympathise. But since then he has gone more and more in favour of general protection, and he continually makes the assertion that in his belief the duties which he proposes to put on will be paid mainly by the foreigner. In the Board of Trade Memoranda it is made very clear indeed from the statistics of countries which have heavy duties on grain that the price in those countries is raised by the duty. This it is true is not always the case in France, because in some years France imports very little grain, and of course when there is no import the duties have no effect on prices. But directly there is a bad harvest in France, then the price goes up even more than the duty, and the evil of a bad harvest is aggravated by the duty.

But there is one set of facts which I think will prove to your Lordships even more than figures that the consumer really pays the duty. No comparison of prices is really necessary in order to prove that duties raise the price. The course of trade proves it. When wheat comes from abroad—say from Argentina —the vessel "calls for orders" at Queenstown, Plymouth, Havre, Southampton, or some other European port. The merchant carefully compares the prices at the principal markets, calculating all the expenses—freight, insurance, port dues, etc., including, of course, the Customs duty—to a fraction. If he finds that the highest price, including the duty, is at Berlin, to Berlin it goes; but it will not go to Berlin until the price there has risen to cover all the charges, including the duty. If, after allowing for all other charges, the price in London and Berlin is the same, the wheat will of course be sent on to London. There being no duty in England, no wheat will go to Berlin until the difference in price exceeds or, at least, equals the German duty. It is obvious, therefore, that the consumer pays the duty.

I do not deny that protection in other countries is bad for the trade of the world, but I submit to your Lordships that the countries which suffer most by protection are the protectionist countries themselves. Man for man, and head for head, we export more than any of the great protectionist countries. The United States export £2 18s. 0d. per head, France £3 7s. 0d., Germany £3. 15s 0d., and the United Kingdom £5 19s. 0d. Take, again, the case of Canada. What are the two great things which Canada requires? She has a cold climate, and millions of acres of virgin soil; her people require warm clothing to protect them from the severities of the winter, and cheap railway facilities to bring their produce to market. But what is the policy of Canada? It is to make her people pay 20 per cent. more than they need for their clothes, and, by raising the cost of rails, to discourage the creation of fresh railways. I can quite understand that a country may wish to give some advantage to agriculture and thus to tempt people out of the great cities into the country; but why any country should wish to tempt people from the rural districts into the great towns I cannot imagine.

We cannot have a clearer illustration of the injury which protectionist countries impose upon themselves and the advantages which we derive from free trade than by taking the case of the shipbuilding trade of the world. Last year the United States built 469,000 tons of shipping, France 106,000 tons, Germany 102,000 tons, and the United Kingdom 980,000 tons, or more than Germany, France, and the United States put together. Why was this? Because our shipbuilders were able to get their raw material and the other articles which they required so much more cheaply than the shipbuilders in other countries. The German trades which are not protected are continually complaining of the evil effects of protection on their industries.

As an illustration of the injurious effect of protection upon the trade of protectionist countries in neutral markets let us take the case of India. India gives us no preference; our manufacturers pay the same duties as those of other countries, and yet out of the total imports of India, amounting to £52,000,000, no less than £39,800,000 came from the British Empire, and most of the rest consisted of articles which we do not produce. Compare our £39,800,000 with the imports from some of the principal protectionist countries, whose policy we are advised to follow. The imports from Germany were only £1,500,000; from the United States, £800,000; from France, £900,000; and even of these comparatively trifling amounts a substantial proportion consisted of articles such as wine and oil, which we do not export. Moreover, our preponderance is increasing. In the last five years our exports to India have risen £3,400,000; those of France, £250,000; of Germany, £300,000; of Belgium (part being German), £500,000; while those of the United States have actually fallen £100,000! If it be said that India is part of the Empire, let us take Argentina. According to the last Foreign Office Report, our exports to Argentina in 1904 were £12,900,000; those of Germany, with 16,000,000 more people, were under £5,000,000; those of the United States, with nearly double our population, were even less than those of Germany! Nobody can doubt, I think, that the great amount of our commerce in Argentina is due to our free-trade policy, and that other countries so handicap themselves by their protectionist policies that they are quite unable to compete with us in neutral markets.

The case of India is very interesting from another point of view. We are sometimes told that India is a conspicuous example of the advantages of retaliation. The Secretary of State for India, speaking at Shere on December 14th, said that India—

> "got infinitely more consideration from foreign countries for her products than we did for British products. The reason was that our hands were tied here, and that they were untied in India."

The noble Marquess, the Leader of the House, spoke with more moderation, but in the same sense. He also maintained that India has an advantage, because she—

> "enjoys an amount of freedom which is denied to the mother country. This liberty is one which this country did at one time enjoy, but it was taken away."

The result, he went on to say, is that Indian products are, as a general average—

> "subject to duties ranging between 1 and 11 per cent."

while British products are—

> "subject to duties averaging between 13 and 35 per cent.—a very considerable advantage accruing to Indian products as distinguished from the products of this country. In France, Indian products are subject to duties averaging 5 per cent. as against an average of 34 per cent. paid by British products."

My noble friend did not actually say that this was due to the supposed freedom enjoyed by India, and I believe he would not say that it was, but he has been so understood, and I suppose he does maintain that her so-called freedom gives India a substantial advantage.

Now, my Lords, I entirely deny, first, that India enjoys any freedom which Great Britain does not enjoy, and secondly, that her fiscal system has given her any such advantage. We are just as free as India to put on or remit any duties we please. Indeed, I think the noble Marquess the Leader of the House will admit that the real difference is not that India has any freedom which we do not enjoy, but that while the Government of India can modify duties by its own authority, the Government of the mother country can only do so with the consent of Parliament. It is not that India is freer, it is the Government of India which is freer; it is not that any power has "been takne away" from this country, but that the Government are not permitted to alter duties without the consent of Parliament; it is not our hands that are tied, but that the Government cannot act without the assent of Parliament. Parliament is as free as ever; the country is as free as ever; and it is quite misleading, then, to say that we have given up any freedom. If I might, I would ask my noble friend to tell us when he replies whether he really proposes to give the Government power to alter duties without the consent of Parliament. Lord Goschen has asked that Question more than once, but has not yet received any clear Answer. If the Government do not propose to ask for power to alter duties without the consent of Parliament, what becomes of the imaginary freedom which India is supposed to enjoy?

Then I come to the question whether India has any advantage over us. The noble Marquess referred to the case of the negotiations which took place between India and France in 1903—

> "This," he said, "was a clear case of a transaction highly beneficial to India, and which India would not have been able to accomplish had she not been in a position to offer something in exchange for what she required from a foreign country."

What are the facts of the case? France has two scales—a minimum scale and a general or higher scale, and she proposed to place certain Indian products on the higher scale. India, in order to induce her not to do so, made a certain concession which amounted to only £300 a year, and France gave way, but in their Blue-book the Indian Government explain that the real reason that France did so was not on account of that minute concession, but because the French Chancellor of the Exchequer would have gained little or nothing if he had insisted on making the proposed change. Therefore, this transaction, so far from being one of any great importance, was really one of very small magnitude.

But this is not all. I was surprised to find when I looked into the matter that this advantage which India secured by a concession to France we already enjoyed, without any concession, in consequence of our free-trade policy. We are already on the minimum scale under the most-favoured-nation clause, and what India secured by her concession were only advantages which we already enjoyed. In fact, our goods are all on the lower scale, while some of the Indian products have to pay at the higer rate. We are, therefore, better off than India. We are told, however, that we are paying on an average 34 per cent., while India is only paying from 1 to 11 per cent. on her exports. But I am sure my noble friend the Leader of the House will admit that this has nothing to do with the fiscal system of India. The rates of the foreign and colonial duties on Indian produce are no lower than those on British produce. The reason of the difference in the rate paid is that the exports of India are mainly raw materials, while ours are mainly manufactured articles. The difference is not in the duties, but in the character of the goods. If we exported the same goods as India we should pay only the same, and, in some cases, lower duties, and if India exported to France the same goods as we do, the duties charged would be the same, and in some cases higher than those we have to pay. I think I have shown the House, therefore, firstly, that India enjoys no freedom which we do not possess; and secondly, that so far from having infinite fiscal advantages—as stated by the Secretary of State for India—she has no advantage whatever which we do not ourselves enjoy, while in some cases she is actually liable to pay heavier duties, for whereas all our goods are admitted on the minimum scale, India is in some cases charged on the higher scale. India, therefore, with all her supposed freedom of retaliation, is in a less favourable position than we are under our free trade. Freedom of retaliation, in fact, has obtained for India less than free trade has secured for us. I submit, then, to the House that there is no ground to suppose that a return to protection on our part would have any effect in breaking down the duties imposed by foreign countries; that duties raise prices and are paid by the consumers; that protectionist countries place themselves at a great disadvantage in neutral markets; and that a protectionist policy would be injurious, and, if the duties were high, disastrous to our commerce and manufactures.

Lord GRIMTHORPE: My Lords, I venture to ask your indulgence on this, the first occasion on which I have ventured to address you. I do not propose to claim your attention at any great length, but it might be thought that some explanation was necessary as to why, after sitting on the benches of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons for twenty years, I should speak from these benches on the present occasion.

Were it not for the fact that we have no constituents to consider and are responsible for nobody but ourselves, the need for a personal explanation would be almost entirely eliminated. But from the first I have been a consistent, and, as far as I could be, a strenuous opponent of the tariff policy put forward by Mr. Chamberlain. For two years I have hoped that that policy, which from the first received some countenance from the Prime Minister, would, as the folly and mischief of it became apparent, be thrown over by the Prime Minister, and that the poison with which it had contaminated the Tory Party would in course of time be eliminated. I confess that that fond hope has turned out to be a vain delusion. So far from the Prime Minister, as I had hoped would be the case, swallowing Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Chamberlain seems to have swallowed the Prime Minister, and in the alliance between them he seems to be emphatically the predominant partner. Under these circumstances I think it becomes necessary for every Tory free-trader to consider his position. Personally, I think it has been a great misfortune that the Prime Minister, instead of giving countenance to Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, did not stamp them out at the offset. As he failed to do that, those proposals have grown and spread until they have leavened the entire Conservative Party.

It is true, as has been pointed out by the Duke of Devonshire and others, that there are differences between Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain. Men of such widely divergent characters must necessarily differ, and differ widely. At the same time, what do those differences amount to? We all know that parallel lines may continue indefinitely without ever meeting, but if those lines run in the same plane, in the same direction, and towards the same object, it does not matter very much whether or not they overlap. In the same way it seems to me that, at varying paces and in different ways, Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain are running strongly in the same direction. They are both engaged in the attempt to undermine the cause of free trade, Mr. Chamberlain by open, strenuous, and forcible methods, and the Prime Minister by what I may call more subtle and sinister methods. Still, both of them, as it seems to me, are engaged in the attempt to undermine the integrity of free trade in this country.

But even if the leaders differ, to what extent do their followers differ? Leaders, such as they are, even with their authority and power, have still, to a certain extent, to follow their own followers. How do their followers differ? The Duke of Devonshire has pointed to some most remarkable instances which seem to show that neither leaders nor followers differ very much. If you are to define their difference I think it may be described as a difference of key rather than of tone. One may say that Chamberlainism is Balfourism screwed up to concert pitch, and that

Balfourism is Chamberlainism toned down to a minor key.

I need not dwell upon the illustrations given by the Duke of Devonshire, but there is one other which seems to me to be rather a significant one. I have no doubt that Members of this House receive—certainly Members of the other House do—a monthly pamphlet entitled *National Gleanings. National Gleanings* is a somewhat ambitious title, considering that the gleanings come from only one-half of the nation. *National Gleanings* is a compendium of wit and wisdom collected from the utterances of the leaders of the Tory Party, and I have observed with some interest from month to month that these national gleanings are gathered up only in the broad acres of protectionism, and that the utterances of the leaders of the Tory Party in favour of free trade, such as there are of them, are absolutely ignored. I think that points to the fact, either that the utterances in favour of free trade are so few as to be practically negligible, or that the Tory Party are permeated with protectionism and do not care to receive any other opinions.

I think it is pretty well admitted—I do not know what Members opposite think of it—that the Tory Party at this moment is protectionist at heart. [" No."] It has been captured by Mr. Chamberlain, and although, for electoral or other purposes, especially when they are addressing large popular audiences, the members of that Party may think fit to tone down and dilute their protectionism, and therefore to call themselves by other names —perhaps because they think that protection under the name of retaliation will smell sweeter in the nostrils of the electors of this country—nevertheless it seems to me that in spite of this they must be protectionist. It defies the wit of man to draw logical distinctions to show how a policy of retaliation or of colonial preference can possibly be carried out except through the medium of a protective tariff. It cannot be done. It is all very well to say that Mr. Balfour's policy of retaliation differs from Mr. Chamberlain's policy of protection, but retaliation cannot be imposed except by a penal tax, and colonial preference cannot be imposed except through the taxation of raw materials in some shape or another, and when you begin to impose a penal tariff it becomes protection, call it by what name you will. Lord Minto in his interesting speech practically admitted that, and I think it is a great admission for him to have made. Referring to the noble Duke's Resolutions he said that they were akin one to another, and that the machinery overlapped. What does that mean? It means that the policy of colonial preference is akin to the policy of a penal tariff, and that the machinery of the two overlap. The noble Lord let out the truth, whereas candidates in the country try to disguise it. It is the fact that the two are akin and overlap. The policy of protection is recommended to the country through the medium of colonial preference, and colonial preference lends itself to fine phrases and fervid apostrophes. It lends itself to appeals to the patriotism of the country, and it hopes to stir the hearts of the people by recalling the possible glories of the Empire. But, after all, what does it mean? You must bring it down to the bed-rock of business. Colonial preference seems to be on the part of those who talk of it preference for the interests of the Colonies rather than preference for the interest of the mother country.

*The Earl of MINTO: During the whole time I was in Canada there was never the slightest inclination displayed to disregard the interests of the mother country. Everything that was put forward was in the interests of the Empire, with a full regard for the interests of the people at home.

Lord GRIMTHORPE: I believe that entirely on the part of the people in the Colonies, but I am talking of the people who speak for the Colonies at home. The noble Lord himself said he was speaking from the colonial point of view, and so do most of the people who get up on the platform and talk in large terms about the glory of the Empire and the duty we owe to our brethren beyond the seas. That is all quite right. We all feel the same about that. But I think we owe some duty to our people at home as well, and it seems to me that too often the interests of the people at home are forgotten. Look at the comparative numbers, to go no further than that. Canada does not contain more people than Lancashire, and Australia does not contain more than Yorkshire. Why should Canada and Australia be considered in preference to Yorkshire and Lancashire? I confess I do not see it. You talk of the high hopes and proud ambitions of the Colonies, but have not the people at home hopes and ambitions too? Surely it is not a wise policy to gratify the Colonies at the expense of the people in this country? You may say that you do not wish to do so, but if you are going to put up the price of the things the people here buy it is obvious that the conditions under which they live will be made harder than they are at present. You cannot get away from that fact. I have been both to Canada and to Australia and seen how the people live there. Life is much easier for the people of those countries than for the toiling millions in the slums at home, who I think, therefore, are entitled to the first consideration. Anyhow, they are entitled to some consideration. I regard it as one of the most unfortunate features in this movement that you are setting one against the other. You have on business to contrast one with the other. This movement makes for division and not for union, and that is one reason why we oppose it so strenuously.

What is colonial preference? Lord Minto has told us what the Colonies have done and what they are prepared to do. There is no wonder that they are in favour of preference, because for them preference is a case of "Heads I win; tails I do not lose." They have given England a preference of 33⅓ per cent. and the trade of England has expanded to some extent. But it has not expanded to the same extent as the trade of the United States, to which country they have not given that preference. They take precious good care that they do not injure their trade with the United States, and that this preference to England should not injure the interests of their manufactures either in Canada or in Australia.

*THE EARL OF MINTO: I beg pardon for interrupting, but I hardly think that statement is strictly accurate. The trade of the United States in raw materials which come free into Canada has increased very largely indeed, but I am not aware that imports of manufactured articles from the United States have increased at all.

LORD GRIMTHORPE: I wish I could quote the exact figures, but when I last looked at them I observed that there was a great increase in the import of manufactured goods from the United States. I think I am correct in that.

*THE EARL OF MINTO: I do not think so.

LORD GRIMTHORPE: Very well. Another point on which I join issue with my noble friend is when he says that the Colonies have spoken with no ambiguous voice on this question. He says there has been no decided expression of opinion at home. I should have thought it was just the reverse. I do not know where the Colonies have expressed so decided an opinion in favour of preference, and I should say that in every way in which we can gather it the opinion of this country is being expressed in the most decided terms against the reversal of our tariff policy at home. I do not know what more is wanted, but possibly we may have a still more decided opinion next year.

As I say, I am glad to have had this admission, that preference is bound up with a penal tariff, and that the two cannot be separated. What is a penal tariff? According to Mr. Chamberlain, a penal tariff is to be imposed against those countries which treat us with outrageous unfairness. Now what countries do treat us with outrageous unfairness? If there is one country which does so more than another I believe that, according to figures, it is America—because "outrageous unfairness" is understood to mean the dumping in this country, under cost price, of surplus goods which other countries are unable to sell at home. I was in America last winter, and I heard a good deal about dumping, and all I can say is that I have heard dumping denounced in this country in language that could not be described as mild or moderate, but the denunciations of dumping in America are in language certainly less mild and less moderate than that which we hear at home. From the point of view of the Americans they say that it is an outrageous thing that they should be taxed in order that England may get her goods cheap, and they say that if they had to choose they would willingly change positions with England in that respect, and would be only too delighted if Europe took to dumping goods in America. That is outrageous unfairness from the other side of the question. I think we are pretty well agreed that dumping, so far from being a disadvantage to this country, is in many respects of the greatest possible benefit.

Another point that struck me in America was this. The protectionists say that by some extraordinary ingenuity you can compel a country to pay duties if you put on duties against the import of their goods. I do not think that argument will hold water. An interesting illustration of it came to my notice in America. The import of mineral waters into America is not very large, but Apollinaris water and some other mineral waters from Europe are imported to some extent. But there is an excellent water in America largely used for the dilution of whiskey called lithio white rock water. That water can be sold for five cents a bottle, but owing to the fact that a comparatively small amount of Apollinaris and other waters is imported it is sold at twenty-five cents per bottle. That shows the effect of duties on the price of articles at home. In view of this fact, what would become of the position of this country if we were to do what Mr. Chamberlain advised in the quotation read out by the Duke of Devonshire ?

Mr. Chamberlain said that if foreign countries would not make terms with us we should refuse to exchange goods with them. I should like to know how we are to live if we refuse to exchange goods with foreign countries. It would be almost like a householder in London who tried to live upon his own resources without the assistance of the butcher and the baker. We cannot afford to refuse to exchange goods with foreign countries, because if you diminish the amount of goods you exchange you must diminish the amount of employment in this country. Mr. Chamberlain said—

> "I am not thinking about prices; what I want is increased employment."

I confess that it seems to me a very strange way of getting increased employment to curtail your foreign markets and put up prices of goods to your home consumers. I cannot understand how increased employment is to arise out of a state of things like that. In my opinion the more you inquire into this question the more you will find that this cry of increased employment rests upon no foundation whatever. It seems to me that Mr. Chamberlain has raised a great issue, and that great issue is before the country at the present moment. I think it is an issue which everyone will agree ought to be thrashed out in Parliament. We were all in favour of an inquiry at one time, and the inquiry took place, but the facts elicited were dead against Mr. Chamberlain's programme. In my view, if there is one place more than another where this question ought to be thrashed out it is in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords. But what has happened ? The Government have done all they can to stifle discussion in the Houses of Parliament, and they have done their best to evade the decision of the country upon this question. In order to accomplish this the Government have adopted the old familiar device of moving the previous Question. We all know that previous Question ; it comes from Manchester.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN : I beg the noble Lord's pardon ; it comes from the rules of this House.

LORD GRIMTHORPE : If I may be allowed to say so, I think the idea of moving the previous Question in the Lower House was originated by the Prime Minister.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: I do not think that is correct. At any rate I had no idea that the Prime Minister ever moved the previous Question.

LORD GRIMTHORPE: I am afraid that the noble Earl has not followed the proceedings in the House of Commons with very close attention, but I congratulate him upon having hit upon the same solution of the difficulty as the Prime Minister. What does the moving of the previous Question mean? It means that these tariff reformers who are so bold and so anxious to fight this question out, when the chance of fighting it is given to them run away. I am reminded very much of the familiar lines—

> "He either fears his fate too much
> Or his desire is small,
> Who fears to put it to the touch
> To win or lose it all."

That is the case with the tariff reformers. They always shrink from clear issues. The representative of the Government got up and congratulated himself, apparently, because from nothing he had said could they tell whether he was in favour or was not in favour of Mr. Chamberlain's policy. This ambiguity does not seem to me to be a thing to be proud of. What is the position of the Prime Minister? It is that he is—I will not say of *malice prepense*—in fact deceiving one part or other of his Party. One side believes that eventually the Prime Minister will come out on the side of free trade, whilst the other side believes that he will come out on the side of protection. Therefore, he must be deceiving and misleading either the one side or the other. Now is that a position which any man would wish to occupy who holds the high position of Prime Minister.? The position of Prime Minister itself imposes upon him the obligation of making his policy clear to the country, and of giving a clear lead to the Party. I have the greatest respect for the noble Earl who leads this House, and I would gladly have been a follower of his, but in view of the fact that the Prime Minister has taken up this position; in view of the fact that Mr. Chamberlain makes claims which are not repudiated by the Prime Minister; in view of the fact that Mr. Chamberlain says the policy of tariff reform is to be the policy of the Tory Party, and the Prime Minister allows that statement to go by and does not repudiate it or contradict it, I feel bound to conclude that the intention is that the Conservative Party must accept the *dictum* that the policy of tariff reform is to be adopted and acted upon at the next election. I feel, therefore, that it is impossible for any free-trade Conservative to continue to follow the Prime Minister without putting himself into a position of impotence, if not into a position of ignominy.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL AND PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (The Marquess of LONDONDERRY): I had no intention whatever of taking part in this debate, but I could not allow the noble Lord's uncalled-for attack upon the Prime Minister to pass unnoticed. I differ entirely from my noble friend upon this question. I think there has been no ambiguity whatever about the speeches of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister fully explained the policy of the Government of which he is the head at Sheffield, Manchester, Edinburgh, and at the Albert Hall, and he declared in his first speech that the policy of the Party which he leads was that during the life of the present Parliament there should be no tax whatever upon food. To that the Prime Minister has strictly adhered. He has also declared that it is the duty of any Government to endeavour to make the best terms they can for the general good of this country in regard to bargaining with other countries. To that statement Mr. Balfour has adhered. In his speech at Edinburgh the Prime Minister declared—and his statement received the approval of all the members of the Unionist Party—that it would be well that a conference should be held to consider how we could find a closer union with those Colonies who are so dear to us, and to whom we are so dear. But in making that statement the Prime Minister pledged himself to nothing.

To-night, my Lords, a fresh issue is raised. [Cries of "No, no!"] Oh, yes, it is. We are now being asked by noble Lords to bind the conference to a certain course of procedure. [Cries of "No, no!"] I venture to say that if you ask the colonials to meet us they must be allowed to have a perfectly free hand and be able to tell us freely and unreservedly what in their opinion is for the benefit of the Colonies they represent. Of course, it does not follow that we are bound by their recommendations. The Government maintains that the more openly the members of the conference are allowed to speak the better it will be for the whole country and for the whole Empire. The Prime Minister has said that the recommendations of the conference will not become the law of the land until the country has had an opportunity of declaring in favour of those recommendations. Upon this point there is absolutely no ambiguity with regard to the policy of the Prime Minister.

It has been stated by those who endeavour, I think very unjustifiably, to create a split in the Unionist Party, that Mr. Balfour one day plays up to the Tariff Reform League and another day he plays up to the free-fooders. In my opinion he has done nothing of the sort. He has distinctly stated that he will be no party to a tax upon food. I myself have the privilege of being a colleague of the Prime Minister, and if I thought there was any question of taxing the food of this country I would not remain a member of the Government for another day. But there is no such question about the matter. The country has to decide the question, and if the people decide that preference should be given by a tax upon food in this country, then I must bow to the opinion of the country; but, until that opinion is stated, I, for one, am opposed entirely and unquestionably to any tax upon food. I apologise for intervening in the debate, but I could not sit here and listen to an attack of this kind upon the Prime Minister without saying something in reply, although that attack might come from the most humble of his followers.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: I confess that to me the most deplorable feature of this debate is that we are compelled to revise our Parliamentary opinion of my noble friend who has moved the previous Question. I always believed that my noble friend Lord Camperdown was a very courageous politician, and I have had the honour of sitting with him in this House for nearly twenty years. The first time I was associated with him politically was when I had the privilege of sitting with him on a Private Bill Committee of which he was the Chairman, and it was then that I noticed the courage with which he was accustomed to speak, and how he used to roll over like ninepins the most experienced Parliamentary counsel. Ever since that time I have regarded my noble friend as a man of strong opinions, by no means averse to the strong expression of those opinions, and now I find it is my noble friend above all others who is to be found shivering and sheltering behind the ramparts of the previous Question. If this Motion had been moved from the Front Bench opposite none of us would have felt any surprise. What has happened here and in another place has enabled us to appraise pretty correctly the standard of Parliamentary courage of His Majesty's Government. That standard is, in fact, like that of the foreign gentleman who declared that he was afraid of nothing in the world except danger. His Majesty's Government, when the attack has been sounded, have only had one word of command, and that is "right about face." They have adopted the white feather as their permanent and authorised badge. I am sorry to see my noble friend on the Cross Benches wearing that badge, and we regard his collapse upon this occasion rather with sorrow than with anger.

I should like to appeal to the impartial people in this House— and I suppose that in this Assembly there are more impartial people than in most other political Assemblies— as to whether there is anything unreasonable or unfair in the noble Duke's desire to obtain from the Government a clear opinion upon this perfectly plain issue. After all, my Lords, what is the situation as it stands? On the one hand you have a section of the Unionist Party led by Mr. Chamberlain, whose views are perfectly well known, comprising colonial preference founded upon the taxation of food, and also comprising a general tariff and a penal tariff. Belonging to the same Party you have another body of men, of whom Lord Hugh Cecil is perhaps the type, who are not altogether opposed to the notion of employing retaliation, but who on the other hand are totally opposed to the views expressed by Mr. Chamberlain. Those two parties are not merely antagonistic, but they are to all appearances absolutely irreconcilable. They are, in fact, the two straight lines which will not meet. It certainly is a very remarkable fact that both those parties, owing to the nebulous character of the declarations made by the Prime Minister upon this question of free trade, are able to follow him side by side just as the Children of Israel followed the Pillar of Cloud through the wilderness. This particular pillar of cloud is certainly bound to land one section or the other ultimately into a morass. I do not want to dwell upon the moral aspect of the situation, but because something was said upon this point a night or two ago in this House, and I know it offended the susceptibilities of the noble Lord sitting on the Woolsack. Upon this point I will only repeat what was said by Lord Robertson, that it is marvellously clever of the Prime Minister to have induced two parties holding irreconcilable views upon this fiscal question to follow him side by side. I think it is quite as clever as though in 1886, Mr. Gladstone—I apologise to his memory for making the suggestion—had been able to make declarations which would have caused the noble Duke opposite to believe that he was an ardent Unionist, and at the same time to cause Mr. John Morley to believe that he was an ardent Home Ruler. On that point I will only say that if Mr. Gladstone had done so, and had obtained two or three more years of power by so doing, the eulogies and appreciations which, when his career was summed up, were expressed about him from both sides of the House would, I venture to think, have been modified in some very essential particulars.

But amid all the mists of the Prime Minister's speeches he has made one perfectly clear declaration, and that is, that he is not a protectionist. In fact, he has said that if the Conservative Party became a protectionist Party, although he might not leave it, he certainly would not lead it. Now how far does that declaration take us? Does that necessarily involve any difference between his views and those of Mr. Chamberlain? Is Mr. Chamberlain a protectionist? I believe he says that he is not. I am bound to say that while he has travelled about the country, I have read utterances of Mr. Chamberlain in which, for instance, he has spoken of the decay of the watch trade at Prescot or the button trade at Birmingham, and those utterances lead me to suppose that he desires tariffs to be imposed in order to maintain small industries which otherwise might perish. There is also the fact that Mr. Chamberlain is never tired of alluding to the comparative prosperity of protectionist countries, apparently because they are protectionist. In spite of that I am quite willing to admit that protection is not the main object of Mr. Chamberlain's campaign. The main object of his campaign, I firmly believe, is to establish colonial preference. Still, I feel that if by introducing colonial preference and a general and penal tariff Mr. Chamberlain was to cause certain trades to be protected, thereby instituting a system of something like protection in this country, he would not regard it as a matter for regret, but as a matter for rejoicing. Mr. Chamberlain has never concealed this fact from the country. Have we any evidence that the Prime Minister would not do the same? Is there any evidence that if under the guise of retaliation and preference something like a preferential system was set up in this country, Mr. Balfour would regard it as a matter of serious regret, provided that it was not nominally and specifically called a system of protection? I think he would rather rejoice at this by-product of protection. It must also be remembered that the form of retaliation which, according to Mr. Chamberlain, uncontradicted by any member of the Government so far, is the only one which may be reasonably debated, that is to say, of a general tariff accompanied by a penal tariff, is undoubtedly a form of retaliation which must, if it is carried out, involve a very large measure of protection. For this reason, that it is certain in a great many cases that the foreigner would sacrifice some portion of his foreign trade to keep his home trade protected. If you come to a contest between two Powers in this matter of retaliation, the Power which is expressly protectionist and wants to keep up its duties in order to protect its own industry has a great advantage over the other Power which only wishes to retaliate in the name of free trade. That appears to me to be perfectly clear.

I will say one word as regards the question of the conference which was raised in the speech of my noble friend Lord Minto. I confess that I have never entirely understood what was the meaning of the phrase "free and unfettered conference" which is used so glibly by a number of speakers on this subject. If you can conceive a number of people meeting in conference with their minds absolutely blank on every subject which they could be called upon to discuss, it is evident that the conference must be simply inefficient and unbusinesslike. Surely it is a fact that whenever a number of people meet to confer upon any subject they either confer on preconceived lines, or else they have the authority of some other person or body who have delegated to them definite and explicit instructions; and, therefore, if this conference is to meet, one is bound to presume that the representatives of this country must have some explicit instructions upon which to go. If, for instance, the conference is to be held before the present Government leaves office, it is impossible to conceive that Mr. Lyttelton, who I imagine would represent the Government, could come before it and state that he was absolutely without instructions upon any question connected with preferential trade. The Colonial Secretary's opinions are well known, for he has stated them freely in public, and to imagine that he can be treated as having an open mind on this subject seems to involve a parody upon the whole business which really takes it out of the domain of practical politics altogether.

It is my opinion that this conference under no circumstances should be held before a general election has taken place. I have such confidence in the statesmanship of the men who hold high Ministerial office in the Colonies that I look forward with something like certainty to their suggesting that in view of the political situation at home they will not be prepared to join in a conference in the course of next summer, assuming that His Majesty's Government are in power at that time. But if the conference is to be held while the present Government is in power, it does not seem too much for us to ask that a preliminary declaration should be made that, so far as it is possible to gauge the opinion of the people, this country is not now in favour of the taxation of food. I say this for two reasons. In the first place, my Lords, that is the system under which we are living at the present time, and the system of no preferential taxation upon food holds the field. Until the country expresses its opinion to the contrary it seems to me quite reasonable that the existing system should be put forward as that which the country at the present time favours. That is my first reason.

The second reason is that the trend of public opinion shows that by-elections, which though they may not be considered a forcible argument for a change of Government, are forcible as showing the trend of public opinion. These by-elections have shown that the principle of the taxation of food by way of preference is not one which is accepted by the people of this country. Of course, if after a general election the country chooses to reverse its present fiscal system, it can do so. I may say that those of us who are in favour of free trade will, I am sure, fight up to the last ditch for its defence, but if the country chooses, after consideration, to say that protection is not a bad thing and that colonial preference is a desirable thing, then we must resign ourselves to becoming a country under a system of protection. On the other hand if, as all the indications go to show, this country means to adhere to a system of free trade, surely it must be a very dangerous and unwise thing to invite a discussion upon the one subject which has to be decided by the electors at the next general election, and which then will be ruled out of Court as improper for discussion altogether. Nobody was more strong upon this point than Mr. Chamberlain himself, for he said at an early stage of these discussions that it would be a great misfortune if after a Colonial Conference the country were to turn round and say it would not entertain the conclusion at which certain people might arrive. Mr. Chamberlain foresaw that it would be a distinctly damaging thing to our colonial relations that this conference should take place, and that under the presidency of a protectionist Colonial Secretary certain conclusions might be reached which the country would desire to reverse. I hope by your votes to-night your Lordships will agree to state it as your reasoned opinion that it is unwise to submit this question to a Colonial Conference until the opinion of the country has been taken at a general election.

VISCOUNT GOSCHEN: I think that the real point that is before your Lordships this evening is whether it is desirable in the interests of the country that not only Parliament, not only the Unionist Party, but the country should have a clear idea of what is the view of the Prime Minister and his colleagues upon some of the most important parts of the fiscal question. It is probable that an election is near, and I should have thought that those who are in favour of the Prime Minister's policy would have preferred before it is referred to the constituencies that it should stand out clearly by itself without the patronage of another policy which is not the same policy, but which seems likely to overshadow the Prime Minister's policy at the election. As one who is far more in favour of the Prime Minister's policy than of the other policy which is its rival, I regret that reticence and obscurity should give the opportunity to the rival policy to make progress in the country and, above all, in the Party itself. Noble Lords opposite may not be sorry if Mr. Balfour and his friends are tarred with the brush of being in favour of the taxation of food. It may be to the political interests of a Party that it should be thought that Mr. Balfour holds the view that a tax upon corn might fairly be brought into the discussion at the next Colonial Conference. That may be to the advantage of those who wish to weaken Mr. Balfour in order to have a better chance at the election, but it is certainly not in the interests of the friends of Mr. Balfour himself, and I think that he would do better for himself, better for his own prestige, and better for his own followers if he would let the country know distinctly by a plain declaration not only how far he goes, but how far he is not prepared to go. It is upon the latter part that the country is so ignorant.

I have placed before your Lordships what I consider to be the most important point that is before your Lordships to-night. It is the question of how far Ministers go, and how far they are prepared to give the limits of their policy so that it can be understood by the people at large. Before I enter a little more fully but briefly into that question, let me say a word or two on that part of my noble friend the Duke of Devonshire's Motion which refers to the Colonial Conference. It is, according to the Government, to be an unfettered Colonial Conference; that is the view which is held by His Majesty's Government, and there are to be no declarations which would fetter their representatives or which would at all limit the discussion at such a conference. Then I presume the conference is open to discuss taxation upon raw material. I would ask my noble friend the Leader of this House whether he assents to that view? Why should there be a distinction between food and raw material? I should like to hear from my noble friend a statement upon that point. Why should there be a distinction between food and raw material? If the conference is to be entirely unfettered, and that is the belief, then it is to be unfettered as regards raw material and the taxation of such articles as wool equally as it is with the taxation of food. I should be glad if my noble friend would signify even by a word whether I am right or not in my contention that the conference will be unfettered as regards either of these two subjects. I have no reply on that point from my noble friend, but perhaps I shall have a reply later in the evening. Meanwhile I assume, in fact I am bound to assume, from the language which has been used, that the conference is to be unfettered as regards raw material. And why? Because no declaration, no positive declaration, has been made to the contrary. But if there has been a declaration as regards raw material and if that is the view of the Government, why should they not make a parallel declaration about the taxation of food. That is a serious question. Are our fellow-subjects, the Colonists, going to enter this conference, when it takes place, equally unfettered with ourselves? Are their public men going equally to declare that every subject is open for discussion? I have read many declarations of their public men, but I have not found one of them favourable to the admission of British manufactures into their colonies to compete on equal terms with their own manufactures. They are prepared to give us a preference, but they are not prepared to give us equal terms. That is to say, they fetter their representatives in advance by such declarations. If that is so, why should not we take the same course, and by a frank and unreserved declaration of our views put our representatives as regards the taxation of raw material and food in the same position as the colonial representatives will be as regards the admission of British manufactures on equal terms with colonial manufactures. Let there be reciprocity in this case. Let the representatives from both sides come on equal terms. From all that I have read of the views of our fellow-subjects across the sea I am perfectly certain that they will recognise the fairness of the contention which I have put forward; and I believe that they would prefer now to know what are the views of His Majesty's Government with regard to the taxation of food. I think it would be much fairer that they should know.

But who is to decide this? It is said that it is to be decided by the next election; but is no lead to be given to the electors with regard to the taxation of food? Or is the lead only to come from Mr. Chamberlain and not from the Leader of the Conservative and Unionist Party? Does the Prime Minister not consider now, after the discussion that has taken place, that the time has come when he can frankly declare for himself that he believes it is worth while taxing food for the purpose of colonial preference. I believe myself that he holds that view, and I have come to this conclusion after a careful study of his various utterances. A careful study of those utterances points to this conclusion, that intellectually he would be in favour of that course, and he would be glad if the mandate of the people were to be to the effect that he might hold out to the Colonies that there should be taxation of food in this country. My Lords, I do not think we are here to-night to discuss the merits of the question of the taxation of food. I do not propose to enter for a moment into the question of whether corn ought to be taxed or not, or whether there ought to be a general and penal tariff. My noble friend the Duke of Marlborough entered into the question of the merits of the taxation of food, and whether or not it ought to be taxed. But that is not, so far as I can judge the matter, the main point to-night. Our object to-night is to elicit, if we can, some declaration from His Majesty's Government as to the policy they hold.

My noble friend Lord Camperdown has moved the previous Question, and, if he will permit me to say so, I do not think that he realises the importance of the present position, as it was put before your Lordships in the striking speech of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire. The Duke of Devonshire showed the importance of arriving at the truth, and I should like to impress upon your Lordships, if I were able to do so, the importance of distinguishing between the policy of the Prime Minister and the policy of Mr. Chamberlain. The Duke of Marlborough stated that there were few differences, in fact he said that he was not aware of differences between Mr. Chamberlain's and Mr. Balfour's policy. Now let me remind the noble Duke that Mr. Chamberlain is for "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," and he will hear nothing of anyone who does not agree with him. Therefore, if there are no differences, it follows that Mr. Balfour also goes for the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill. I do not believe that that is so. I think my noble friend the Duke of Marlborough, in his effort to minimise the differences between Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour, uttered a sentence which it would be difficult to confirm by evidence, and which Mr. Balfour himself would be sorry to see confirmed by evidence, because I feel positively certain, notwithstanding all the evidence that can be produced—and it is strong evidence—to the contrary; notwithstanding all the evidence that has been produced, I hold that there is a striking difference, a fundamental difference, a difference in essentials, and a difference in spirit and tone, between the policy of the Prime Minister and the policy of Mr. Chamberlain.

Evidence has been produced to this effect by the Duke of Devonshire, and I could produce further evidence if it were necessary. I am absolutely convinced that I understand Mr. Balfour, and I believe that he is not in agreement with the great scheme, the fine plans, and the magnificent structure of tariff reform which is the favourite theme of Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Chamberlain has got a vast plan, by which he sees that hundreds of thousands of British workmen are to find employment, and he is in favour of a plan by which foreign goods are to be excluded to the extent that employment on a vast scale is immediately to be ensured in this country. Mr. Chamberlain wishes to recast fundamentally the whole of our trade, and he draws splendid pictures of the future of the country which is to ensue. I find nothing of that kind in the half-sheet of notepaper of the Prime Minister. That tiny document is not included in the great programme of Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Chamberlain may fairly see—and I wish to be perfectly fair in this respect—that the greater includes the less, and as retaliation would fit in to a certain extent with his plans, he can, therefore, fairly say that he is not at issue with Mr. Balfour, because the greater includes the less. Consequently the tiny document may in that sense fit in with the magnificent prospectus. But the lesser often includes the greater, but I do not think that the half-sheet of notepaper includes the vast plans of Mr. Chamberlain. The Duke of Devonshire has given your Lordships evidence to that effect, and I will not endeavour to produce any special direct evidence in the same direction.

I wish, however, to put this before your Lordships, that the whole spirit of the speeches of the Prime Minister is utterly different from the spirit of the speeches of Mr. Chamberlain, not, I admit, as regards the Colonial Conference, but as regards tariff reform. I maintain that Mr. Balfour is not near Mr. Chamberlain in this respect and the whole of his speeches are different Here is one small piece of evidence. Mr. Balfour never alludes to the Tariff Reform Commission. The Tariff Reform Commission consists of a number of amiable and capable gentlemen who are sitting together and endeavouring to work out with great pains and at great expense a scientific tariff. Now I have searched in vain in Mr. Balfour's speeches for any reference to the labours of this Commission or any appreciation of the work they are performing, or any desire that that work should ever be concluded. There is no evidence whatever that Mr. Balfour appreciates the construction of a scientific general and penal tariff. I never see him using the arguments of Mr. Chamberlain and drawing those magnificent pictures of how by enormously increasing employment he is going to change the whole face of the industrial character of this country. Mr. Balfour says nothing of the kind. Mr. Balfour does not say that if we only exclude certain imports the working men will have so much more in wages per week themselves; in fact, his tendency is far more to endeavour to open the door of foreign countries to our merchandise than it is to shut our doors against the merchandise from abroad. Mr. Balfour is not so anxious to exclude all foreign manufactures, but he wishes by the power of negotiation to be able to force the door of other countries wider open.

Lord Grimthorpe stated that he saw no difference between the two, but I can see a vast difference between them, and I expect that a great number of the supporters of Mr. Balfour also see a great difference between them. The evidence in favour of this contention is very substantial evidence. I have no time, my Lords, nor have I any desire, to increase the volume of evidence in that direction, but nevertheless I maintain that Mr. Balfour is not in sympathy with Mr. Chamberlain on the penal and general tariff. I go further, and make the assertion that Mr. Balfour is further removed from Mr. Chamberlain and his policy at the present moment than he was at the beginning; that he has not gone nearer but is more alarmed than he was at the dimensions of Mr. Chamberlain's programme. As a matter of fact, I believe Mr. Balfour has been shocked to a certain extent by the economical phantasies of his right hon. friend, and in that sense he is more careful now against being carried away by Mr. Chamberlain. I feel certain that intellectually Mr. Balfour has not surrendered. As regards his will and other portions of his character, I am not sure how far the fascination of a strong man may not have affected him to a certain extent. I do say, however, that Mr. Balfour's silence when Mr. Chamberlain desires to annex him, and when he has declared that they are both agreed in essentials, is significant, and it is in my judgment absolutely deplorable. It is a silence that has done immense harm to the Party and has led to much mystification and confusion in the country. That silence, if it is maintained too long, will have the effect that his more moderate programme will be swept away by the mightier programme of his right hon. friend. I do not think Mr. Balfour is sufficiently bold in his illustrations and he confines himself too much to the half-sheet of notepaper.

As regards retaliation, Mr. Chamberlain gives great instances to illustrate his own position. He speaks of cement, straw-plaiting, glass, and tin-plates, and whatever industries he mentions he puts forward his case in a manner which is "understanded of the people," as he says himself. Mr. Chamberlain himself says I make myself plain and I am understood. Mr. Balfour, on the other hand, has refrained on every occasion from giving any significant illustration of his policy of retaliation. He is too timid and two cautious, he does not place before his countrymen and his followers a clear case, and he remains too abstract, and, therefore, they do not follow him. Consequently you have on the one side Mr. Chamberlain with his clearness of utterance and his distinctness, and on the other side Mr. Balfour, who will not explain his views except by means of the half-sheet of notepaper and who, as we were told by the Duke of Marlborough, has got other things to do than to explain his speeches or to be cross-questioned with regard to the interpretations which other people have put upon those speeches. The result is, that Mr. Chamberlain is understood by everybody and Mr. Balfour is not. It would be to the advantage of the country and to the advantage of the Unionist Party if Mr. Balfour were understood, but he is not. On the one side you have the clear transparent speech of Mr. Chamberlain and on the other side you have the ambiguity of silence. On the one side you have the flaring poster that everybody can read, and on the other side you have the half-sheet of notepaper. On the one side you have the very lust of battle, and on the other side a leaning towards tactics and manœuvres. Under these circumstances how can we be surprised if it seems as if the annexation of Mr. Balfour and his Party would be carried out.

Above all, the country desires to have plain utterances, and in this particular the clear policy will have an advantage over the obscure policy. What does Mr. Chamberlain say? He says, "We cannot afford to be obscure." Can the Prime Minister afford to be obscure? If he has been obscure, he has been called upon to pay a very heavy penalty. What has been that penalty? It is the obscurity of the Prime Minister that has helped to shatter the fortunes of his own Party. What are we to say of Mr. Balfour's supporters in the House of Commons, who sit silent while Mr. Chamberlain, justly or unjustly, makes an audacious annexation of their chief? They see the embarrassing embrace take place without a remonstrance. If they believe in the cause of the Prime Minister, do they believe in the half-sheet of notepaper and do they believe that the policy of the Prime Minister is a safer policy and more adequate to the requirements of this country? Do they believe that Mr. Balfour's policy is superior to the policy of Mr. Chamberlain? If they do why do they sit silent, and why do they not spring to their feet when they hear Mr. Chamberlain say that there is no difference between his whole Bill and nothing but the Bill and the half-sheet of notepaper of the Prime Minister? It is inconceivable that they remain silent with a kind of chuckle of Party satisfaction because they are still able to show a majority in the division lobby and because their Party has been so managed that they still maintain a majority of about seventy. These heavy-hearted legislators issue from crowded lobbies to victories which are of no use to them whatever. I must say that these supporters of Mr. Balfour, who will not speak, and who do not show that they prefer his policy to that of Mr. Chamberlain, deserve the scolding and the scornful scolding which they received at the hands of Mr. Chamberlain the other day. Politicians he called them. He said—

> "Pioneers we are, but they are politicians."

This has been quoted to you already, and a more insulting phrase seems to me never to have been uttered in reference to the numerous followers of the Prime Minister. He told them that the time would come when they would creep round in order to claim part of the victory in which they had had no share. Whom did Mr. Chamberlain mean? He did not mean the free-fooders, he did not mean the Elliots, the Hugh Cecils, and the other free-fooders who have had the compliment paid them by Mr. Chamberlain that he was anxious that they should leave the Party; but as for Mr. Balfour's supporters, who had the cause of the Prime Minister in their keeping and custody, he is determined that they are to be dragooned into his camp. That has come in consequence of the silence of the Prime Minister, and how much longer is that silence to last? Is it not time that the nation should know clearly what the Prime Minister's views are upon this question? I shall be glad if the Government will take this late opportunity of giving us some light.

I think the Duke of Marlborough need not fear that a vote upon the previous Question in favour of either of the propositions of the Duke of Devonshire would be a rebuff to one of their valued supporters. I think the Prime Minister's followers have received sufficient rebuffs from Mr. Chamberlain himself that they need not be so very tender about rebuffs. We are told that Ministers should not speak to-night because it is unconstitutional for a private Member to put Resolutions of this kind upon the Paper. I think the noble Duke said we were a body for revision, and ought not to take these leaps into future policy. I think, however, that our Notice Paper shows that there frequently are such leaps into the future. There is, nevertheless, this reply to be made: that if this is an unusual course it is a course forced upon us, and forced upon those like myself who do not enter upon this question in a Party spirit, and who are only anxious that the nation and the public should be fully informed upon this question. This is a course which has been forced upon us by what has happened in another place. If in the House of Commons these Motions cannot be discussed, surely it is right and wise and opportune that an opportunity should be given in this House for Questions being asked, and if possible for those Questions being answered.

I feel certain that my noble friend the Leader of this House, if it were open for him to do so, would answer one of the Questions which my noble friend the Duke of Devonshire has asked at once. The question I refer to is, Is the Government in favour of a general and penal tariff? Would any harm be done by answering that Question? Let us leave the Colonies for a moment out of the question. I ask again, would any harm be done by the Government telling us straight whether they are in favour of a general and penal tariff? If they will not tell us that, what is the country to think? The country will go to an election, but what are the unfortunate followers of Mr. Balfour to say when they are tackled in their constituencies? They will be asked Is the Government in favour of a general and penal tariff?" They will reply, "I cannot tell you at all; they will not give us an Answer, in fact, they evade the Answer through the previous Question." What will they think? These refined excuses will not be acceptable to the country at large, because they desire that a straight Answer should be given. I will not say that my noble friend the Leader of this House holds the view that a general and penal tariff is possible, for, whatever he may think on other questions, I hold him guiltless of such a view. Nevertheless, it would be far better for himself and for his friends if he would give a clear Answer to that Question on behalf of the Government. Remember what Mr. Chamberlain has said. He has said—

> "We cannot afford to be obscure."

I say that the Government cannot afford to be obscure. By this obscurity the Government are driving a number of their followers into Mr. Chamberlain's camp, and this will be the inevitable result if they do not cease to be obscure. I am apprehensive that, if they do not break this silence, they will lose their hold upon their own Party and also their hold upon the country, and I will add that they must take care that they do not lose their hold upon themselves, and that they are not swept beyond the point to which they are ready to go by the strong tide of a mightier will than their own. Let them take care that they do not lose hold of themselves. I wish that it were possible, even at this last moment, for the Government to emerge from that region of silence and shadowy mist in which they have dwelt too long, and come out into the light of day. I hope the Government will come forward and clearly and plainly pronounce their policy and take the consequences like men.

VISCOUNT RIDLEY: Having moved the Motion at the Albert Hall to which the Duke of Devonshire has called attention, I should be lacking in courtesy to this House if I did not offer a few observations upon that point in the course of this debate. I am a little in doubt as to what branch of the two parallel lines I should address myself to. The Motion of the noble Duke contains some economic propositions to which we are invited to say "Yes" or "No," and to which economic propositions a certain number of the speeches have been directed. On the other hand, the noble Duke himself, and a great number of the speakers who followed him, devoted themselves to an attempt to confuse the policy of the Government, which, although I would wish to carry it further, is perfectly clear to me, and which, after all, the Government has no need to pronounce upon at the present moment, because that policy is not before Parliament. Let me be frank at once with the House. As regards the economic propositions put forward by the noble Duke, I see no reason why they should not be met by a direct negative. I would controvert every proposition which is contained in the Motion before the House.

What are the circumstances? Perhaps your Lordships will forgive me if I dwell upon some economic arguments. We are faced with a situation in which foreign tariffs increase and our own country remains without a tariff. We are faced with the situation whereby our own Colonies are developed on similar lines. At the same time we are constantly being told, and have been told for years, that the fiscal system of this country needs revision, if only from the economic need for broadening the basis of existing taxation. In short, my Lords, when we look upon what free trade has brought us during the period we have enjoyed the so-called blessing of free trade, I am tempted to ask what is the real meaning of free trade in the mouths of those who use those phrases. Have we really enjoyed the blessings of free exchange of goods with other countries, or are we going to enjoy it with our Colonies? What is free trade if it does not mean some extension of the area upon which our merchants can have free trade? I would ask Lord Grimthorpe, who said that Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain were indulging in an attack upon free trade, to tell this House what free trade has brought us, and how we have extended the area of free trade. Is it not a fact that Germany and the

United States enjoy a greater area of free trade for their manufactures than we do? They not only enjoy a great area in their own country but they very often penetrate into our own Empire and enjoy our markets as well as their own. I submit that some kind of a preferential system involving some kind of tariff will do more to extend our real area of free trade.

Lord Goschen dwelt much upon the point that we found that our policy would not admit goods into our Colonies any more than into other nations, and that is perfectly true. Can the noble Lord, however, point to any countries which would admit our goods on fair and equal terms? He might be able to point to Turkey but to no other country. Neither he nor any other Member of this House can point to a single possibility of extending our area of free trade except under such a reform of the fiscal system as is now proposed. That is an analysis of the situation in which we are placed, and an analysis in which, let it be observed, Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain have never deviated one jot from each other, and which practically the whole of this House will agree to, whatever they may say as to the methods by which the situation is proposed to be changed. That being the case, the policy of the Government is to proceed by means of retaliation and by a Colonial Conference. Those who, like myself, belong to the Tariff Reform League have throughout accepted that policy. It is perfectly true that we have a larger and more complete scheme, but we see no reason to differ from the remedies which are proposed by the Government. I may say that I, for one, accept that policy whole-heartedly, and I accept it frankly for the reason that I do not believe you can apply retaliation or hold a Colonial Conference without its resulting in the practical application of some such tariff as that for which we are asking. I am perfectly frank with the House in that matter, and I will give one or two broad reasons for that view.

In the first place we are to a certain extent discussing the economic situation without the book. There ought to be in the Government Departments of this country a bureau which would constantly and thoroughly be investigating the conditions of trade between this country and foreign nations, and examining the current of trade. I may be told that the Board of Trade does a great deal in this direction, but it does not do anything like what similar Boards do in other countries. We have therefore very little evidence to go upon. We have got the statements of politicians and of economists each investigating from their own point of view. A considerable amount of evidence has been brought forward before the Tariff Commission. I do not pretend to say that that Commission has been arranged by the Government, or that it has the same opportunities of investigation as a Government Commission would have. Let me here point out that the Tariff Reform League and the Tariff Commission are separate and distinct bodies, and have nothing to do with each other. The Tariff Commission is composed of a number of manufacturers, and not politicians, who are distinguished in their own branch of the subject, and whose interest it would not be to suggest a Colonial Conference or colonial preference unless it was their genuine belief that it would be beneficial, and they do not consider it from a Party point of view. They have collected evidence not from one quarter but from every quarter of the country, and the conclusion which they have unanimously come to is that the system which ought to be established is one involving a general tariff and not a large tariff. They consider that there should be a tariff for bargaining with foreign nations which would admit our goods upon fairer terms, and also a tariff for preferential trading with our Colonies.

If your Lordships will deign to turn up the Report of the Tariff Commission, and there are few more valuable pieces of work that can be studied, you will find that only the iron, steel, and cotton trades have been reported upon, but they say that on general lines the system they have recommended should be pursued, and they say that unanimously. That is some evidence upon which to go. I admit this evidence will have to be carried further, and noble Lords would doubtless like to establish their own Commission. At any rate, the evidence of the Tariff Commission Report is better than the unsupported word of politicians, however eminent, and they have decided in favour of a general tariff. A general tariff is not a new thing in this country. It is not exactly on the model either of protectionist countries like America and Germany and so forth, but it is practically the same system as is now being pursued by the Dominion of Canada. In Canada there is a general tariff with a lower scale for countries that admit its goods on favourable terms, and a still lower scale for British and colonial goods. If we institute a similar system we are only falling into line with the Colonies, we shall only have to assimilate our tariffs to the same general system, and there will not be half the difficulties which a great many noble Lords anticipate. So much for the evidence.

I will now come to further reasons for my views in regard to retaliation and colonial preference. What, after all, is retaliation? I hold that it will be impossible for many reasons to put retaliation into practice without a general tariff. I will give one reason which seems to me to be absolutely conclusive. To my mind retaliation is far more protective than any system which we suggest. Retaliation is intended to protect a particular industry at a particular time against a particular country. What can be more protective than that, Perhaps some economists can explain how you can put into force a particular duty upon a particular article against a particular country so long as the most-favoured-nation clause exists. We can put on a general tariff without infringing the conditions of the most-favoured-nation treatment. If we are to have closer union with our Colonies it must result in some kind of system involving lower duties upon the goods they send us, and preferential duties in consequence upon foodstuffs which they send to this country. Therefore, I for one agree entirely with the Government and the method they propose to deal with the situation, and I am absolutely confident that those methods can only have one practical issue. That being so, I feel that there are other arguments to be considered besides the purely economic position. I do see, as the noble Earl of Camperdown observed, that there are a number of people to whom this question is by no means so clear as to some of your Lordships. Some noble Lords are perfectly certain of their views. One noble Lord (Lord Robertson) was so perfectly certain of what would happen that he drew a vivid picture of what would follow.

*Lord ROBERTSON: I said that that was one of the large and looming dangers of the situation.

Viscount RIDLEY: The noble Lord said it was one of the great dangers of the situation, but why should it be a greater danger now than when we had a protective system. I do not remember that we were a very corrupt country in our protective days, or believe that France and Germany are more corrupt than we are in this country, but admitting that there may be a danger of that kind, I cannot admit that that is the final argument against the adoption of a policy which can be proved, if properly carried out, to be good for this country. The noble Lord seems to be equally certain that the shadow of a certain Gentleman stood between the Prime Minister and his Party and he called that statesman an interloper. I fail to see why Mr. Chamberlain should have earned that title from anyone belonging to the Party to which the noble Lord and I belong. It is perfectly true that Mr. Chamberlain and the noble Duke who moved this Motion allied themselves with the Tory Party not very long ago, but I should have thought that the services which Mr. Chamberlain and the Duke of Devonshire have rendered to the Tory Party would have prevented any member of the Unionist Party from calling either of those two statesmen interlopers in the Tory Party. Whatever divergence of opinion there may be upon the fiscal question I think we should be all agreed in recognising their services to the Party in the past.

I will not delay your Lordships longer with economic arguments, but I wish to say that there are at this moment many noble Lords and others who are not so certain of their views as Lord Robertson, or perhaps my humble self, and there are a great many who are not so certain that the principle of the taxation of food is so absolutely repugnant to this nation. The noble Duke grounded his objection to a Colonial Conference on the fact that under no circumstances and under no set of circumstances could we consent to the principle of imposing a tax upon food, a principle which more than one noble Lord, and even the noble Duke himself, violated whilst a member of the Cabinet. Let me make one observation with regard to the taxation to which the noble Duke so violently objects. Are those who agree with him of opinion that a tax of 2s., even if it tells upon the consumer at all, which is denied, would absolutely ruin and impoverish the working classes of this country. Do they realise that on July 1st this year wheat was 5s. 3d. a quarter more than it was last year. Do they maintain that that rise in the cost of a quarter of wheat has brought ruin and pauperism upon the working classes of this country. Are they aware that in many of the big towns the working classes pay one penny per loaf more for bread than in some other towns, and do they know that the people of Middlesbrough and Dundee pay one penny per loaf more than is being paid in Manchester and Oldham? Do they maintain that the working classes in Middlesbrough and Dundee are impoverished and living in hovels, whereas those in Manchester are prosperous through the blessings of free trade.

I think in regard to this 2s. tax upon corn you cannot deduce from a small tax upon food the inference that it is going to impoverish the working classes of this country, more especially when it is very likely that they may derive great benefits from it. I know there are noble Lords to whom this tax is objectionable, but there are others who are not bound to economic principles of that kind, and who are ready to say, "If you show us an advantage in a change of system; if you prove to our satisfaction that there is something to be gained notwithstanding the risk of making the change, we do not care particularly for economic laws, which after all must be guided by the circumstances in which we live. If you will show us these advantages and prove that we have something to gain by the change then a great many of our objections to your proposals disappear." Lord Camperdown, in moving the previous Question, has got some title to do so. There are those who would prefer to wait until a Colonial Conference has shown them in concrete proposals what can be gained. We have been told that there is nothing to be gained, but let the conference tell us. We are told that there are thousands of difficulties in the way but let the Colonial Conference decide those things. Let us bring the Ministers of our various Colonies together and allow the conference to decide, and if that conference proves that we can get nothing from a change then I confess I shall be disappointed in my hopes and ambitions. Why should those who disagree with us not be equally ready to submit their views to a Colonial Conference and confess they were wrong if it can be shown that something can be gained.

There are other questions besides the mere questions of political economy in this matter. I do not think we have at this moment any particular need to consider the situation in which the Government has been placed. I only wish that this Resolution could have been met by a more direct contradiction, but that would be contrary to the pledges which the Government have made, and I feel bound to recognise that. That being so, I do not see what could be gained by committing this House for or against a Resolution which cannot be carried into effect by any possibility, and at a moment when there are quite a number of noble Lords who for one reason or another have found it difficult to satisfy themselves as to their decision in regard to a change which I myself consider would be beneficial.

EARL SPENCER: My Lords, before I enter on the general debate I wish to refer to the speech we have just heard. It is remarkable that there have been very few speakers to-night who have taken the view which the noble Viscount has. There have been only two Members of your Lordships' House who have taken this particular line. I at once admit that I understand the position of the noble Viscount. He made a speech clearly in favour of a protective tariff. I thoroughly understand that. I recognise the manly, straightforward manner in which Lord Ridley put forward his views in favour of a protective tariff, though I cannot agree with those views, believing that the many years of prosperity the country has enjoyed dates from the initiation of a free-trade policy.

I can assure your Lordships that we on this side of the House take up this question, not as a purely Party question, but with all our heart and strength, believing it to be one of the most momentous issues before the country on which clear and definite statements from the Prime Minister and the Government of the day are essential. Otherwise we might have left the debate in the hands of the noble Duke. We might have been satisfied with one of the most powerful speeches I have ever heard in attack upon a Government from the noble and learned Lord opposite (Lord Robertson), who never speaks in this House without impressing it with his powerful arguments and his eloquence. I have seldom heard a more scathing denunciation of the Government than that of Lord Robertson this evening. I say that the debate might have been left in those hands, although I welcomed the first appearance of the noble Lord behind me who has lately come to this House, and who made a very clear and able contribution to the discussion. But I rise to say that we feel it is our duty to strenuously and strongly support the noble Duke and to insist on having clear declarations upon the great issues involved in his proposition.

Mr. Chamberlain's speeches, policy, and meaning we understand, but we do not understand the policy and declarations of the Prime Minister; and recently Mr. Chamberlain has placed interpretations on the Prime Minister's speeches, the correctness of which interpretations must be tested. The noble Duke said he was not going to ask any Questions, but relied on the vote of the House, and he said that that vote would show what was the opinion of His Majesty's Government on the two important questions which he has put before them. But since the noble Duke's Motion was moved the noble Earl below the gangway has moved the previous Question, and we understand that His Majesty's Government are going to vote for that Amendment. The urgency for Ministerial explanations is increased by their acceptance of the previous Question in this debate.

The position of Mr. Chamberlain, confirmed by the noble Viscount, is that retaliation cannot be carried out without a general tariff. That is what I have held. I have never understood how you could carry out retaliation without a general tariff. Mr. Chamberlain, therefore, says he wants a general tariff, a scientific tariff, and even a penal tariff. History has shown that retaliation has never been successful, and a very interesting Paper recently issued on this subject shows how ruinous tariff wars have been to countries abroad which have engaged in them. The joint loss to France and Italy through the tariff war is given at £120,000,000. That is an enormous sum, and I think far outweighs any benefits those countries may have received. The same may be said with regard to France and Switzerland. My view is that retaliation has never been a success, but has cost the countries much more than any slight gain that may have been received.

Mr. Balfour has repudiated in the most definite manner the idea that any general tariff is to be set up. That is in direct opposition to what Mr. Chamberlain said, and yet Mr. Chamberlain declares that Mr. Balfour's views and his own on that question do not differ in any respect. Then with regard to preference we have exactly the same thing. Mr. Chamberlain admits that it cannot be carried out without imposing a tax on food. Mr. Balfour, on the other hand, has declared most distinctly that, in the present state of public opinion, a tax on food is not within the limits of practical politics. I want to know are those the views which Mr. Balfour and His Majesty's Government hold now on retaliation and preference, or are their views identical with those of Mr. Chamberlain? In a debate last year Mr. Chamberlain said—

> "From the beginning of this matter I believe the Prime Minister and myself in all essentials have stood on exactly the same platform. Hon. Members know well that although they are engaged in picking our speeches to pieces they will not find any substantial difference in point of principle between the Prime Minister and myself."

It is of the utmost importance, not only for those who belong to Mr. Balfour's Party, but for the country at large, on great grounds of national policy, to know whether the Prime Minister and the Government agree in these matters with Mr. Chamberlain, or whether they adhere to the views put forward by Mr. Balfour in his speeches. As the Government have apparently resolved to support the previous Question, I feel the extreme necessity of pressing strongly and earnestly on the noble Marquess opposite to answer with clearness and candour the questions that have been put to him—namely, does he desire a general tariff, agreeing with Mr. Chamberlain, and is he willing, in order to obtain preference for the Colonies, to impose a duty on food? Those are two very simple questions which the noble Marquess could easily answer to the satisfaction of the whole House, and no doubt it would be greatly to the satisfaction of noble Lords opposite to know the views of the Government upon them. I would only add that it is of the utmost importance to the country to have direct and precise replies to those questions.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, this debate in some, though not in all, respects, bears a resemblance to those other fiscal debates which have preceded it. We have had the same laborious examination of the speeches delivered by members of the Government and by supporters of the Government. We have had the same exacting criticism, I mean the kind of criticism that expects, not only correspondence of language between one member of the Government and another, but also correspondence between the language of members of the Government and those who give the Government their support.

But, my Lords, we have travelled beyond that this evening. The noble Duke at the very outset of his remarks announced to us that he did not desire merely to detect discrepancies between the views of His Majesty's Ministers and those of Mr. Chamberlain, and that his desire was, not to attack the Government, but directly to attack the Tariff Reform League. He went on to argue that because the Tariff Reform League has gone further than we have, we should denounce its doctrines by means of these two Resolutions, and that we should pass a kind of sentence of political outlawry on Mr. Chamberlain and those who act with him. I do not think that is exactly how we have been in the habit of understanding political life in this country. I am under the impression that within both the great political Parties there has hitherto been found room for divisions of opinion, room for co-operation between men differing, perhaps differing fundamentally, on certain points, but who are yet agreed upon broad and general lines of policy. An expression was once familiar to us which attributed a special amount of comprehensiveness to what used to be called Mr. Gladstone's umbrella; and I must say that it seems to me to come with rather bad grace from those who inherit the traditions of the Gladstonian Party that they should attack the Unionist Party because upon certain points of fiscal policy we are not entirely agreed.

The noble and learned Lord (Lord Robertson) spoke of our ignoble alliance with Mr. Chamberlain. I cannot help thinking that upon reflection the noble and learned Lord who used that phrase will regret the epithet. Even those of us who differ, as many of us may, from some of Mr. Chamberlain's views, must at any rate recognise the splendid service which he has rendered to the Empire during the last few years. Those who sit round me, at any rate, will never regard co-operation with Mr. Chamberlain in any great national cause as deserving of the epithet "ignoble."

*LORD ROBERTSON: I referred to the alliance not with reference to Mr. Chamberlain personally but with reference to the terms which he exacted from those who entered into alliance with him—that they should accept the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill.

*The Marquess of LANSDOWNE: I am not sure whether I grasp the noble and learned Lord's explanation. The expression is evidently to be taken in what is sometimes called a Pickwickian sense. To my mind the arrangement which has so long obtained in this country under which each of the two Parties finds room for men of various opinions is far preferable to the only alternative system of which I am aware, that under which politicians are subdivided into a number of groups which occasionally combine and come together and sometimes conspire against one another with results not by any means advantageous to political stability or the continuity of national policy. We, at any rate, intend to stand by our supporters so long as they stand loyally by us, even though some of them desire to go a little further and some of them not to go quite so far as we do. The noble Duke asked whether it was our intention to stand shoulder to shoulder by those Unionists who do not agree with Mr. Chamberlain and who go less far even than Mr. Balfour. I say we do desire to stand by any of our supporters who will stand by us. I think the condition is a relevant one. There must be reciprocal loyalty, and where that loyalty is shown to us we shall exhibit a corresponding loyalty on our side. I must remind the noble Duke that, unless we are very much misinformed, he was, if not the first, at any rate very early in the field in declaring war against staunch supporters of the Government because upon the fiscal question they went considerably further than he was prepared to go.

My Lords, we are confronted by various statements made by Mr. Balfour and by Mr. Chamberlain, and the noble Earl opposite appeals to us to say whether we are with Mr. Balfour or with Mr. Chamberlain. Let me say this, that wherever the ingenuity of noble Lords is able to find a *varia lectio* in the statements of these distinguished men, it is the text of the Prime Minister that must, in our opinion, prevail, and it is by that text alone that we consent to be bound.

Lord TWEEDMOUTH: What is it?

*The Marquess of LANSDOWNE: The Prime Minister's statement has been perfectly distinct. He has told the public that this question of colonial preference is to be referred to a conference, that that conference is to be a free and unfettered conference, and that the conclusions of that conference are to be placed before the constituencies of this country; and he has asked that, in the meantime, we should suspend our judgment with regard to some of these debated points. But the noble Duke suggested to us this evening that if once these questions are placed before the Colonial Conference it will be too late. He draws a picture of a conference which shall come to what I think he called unsound conclusions upon these questions, and he told us that, when those conclusions have been arrived at, it will no longer be possible for us to extricate ourselves from them. My Lords, does the noble Duke really believe so little in the strength of the cause which he pleads so eloquently? Does he believe in it so little as to suppose that a verdict upon these great Imperial issues could be snatched in such a manner, and could be incapable of being reversed by the mature and deliberate expression of the opinion of this country.

The noble and learned Lord told us that we must enter into this conference with a definite idea of the direction in which we were going; and my noble friend Lord Crewe told us that it was absolutely necessary that such a conference should receive instructions, and he wanted to know what the instructions were going to be. Lord Goschen asked more particularly whether the conference would be in a position to discuss the taxation of food and raw materials. My Lords, let me interject the remark that it surprised me a little to notice the extreme solicitude of noble Lords opposite as to the precautions with which the conference is to be fenced in. They scarcely ever address us in this House without telling us that public opinion has declared so strongly against us that the result of the next appeal to the constituencies must inevitably be to deprive us of the offices we now hold. Well, if that is so, need we so greatly concern ourselves at this moment as to the precise conditions under which the conference when it is assembled will undertake its labours? But whether that conference is held under the auspices of the present Ministry or not, we are of opinion that it would not be proper to intimate now and in advance that we intend to rule out certain questions as being of a kind which the conference should in no circumstances be allowed to discuss. Lord Minto told us something of the opinions which prevail in the great Dominion of Canada, with which he and I have had some acquaintance. Do you suppose that the Canadian statesmen, who have led the way in the matter of giving preference to this country, will care to take part in the deliberations of a conference of this kind if it is to be explained to them that there are certain subjects which are absolutely tabooed, and the very mention of which will render them liable to be called to order?

The timidity of the noble Duke, I must say, greatly surprised me. We know that conscience makes cowards of us all, and the Cobdenite conscience seems to me to produce a greater amount of cowardice than any other variety of conscience. Why, I am under the impression that the noble Duke was a member of the Government which allowed the conferences of 1897 and 1902 to meet in this city. I am not aware that the noble Duke objected to these meetings, and those who have studied their records are aware that at both of those conferences the question of colonial preference was discussed. I do not remember that while the noble Duke was a member of the Government he ever took exception to the giving of preference by the Canadian Government to this country, nor can I recollect that he was ever a violent opponent of that 1s. duty on corn to which reference has been made. My disappointment at the attitude of the noble Duke is the greater because we all know that he really deserves the credit of having been one of the British statesmen who have really been pioneers in the cause of Imperial union.

Let me remind your Lordships of an interesting association called the British Empire League. The noble Duke was its first president; he is even now one of its vice-presidents, and I notice amongst the names of the vice-presidents the names of Lord Aberdeen, Lord Crewe, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Haldane, and other distinguished Liberal statesmen. What are the objects of the British Empire League? Amongst them I find these—

> "To promote trade between the United Kingdom, the Colonies, and India, and to advocate the holding of periodical meetings of representatives from all parts of the Empire for the discussion of matters of general commercial interest and the consideration of the best means of extending the national trade."
>
> "To consider also how far it may be possible to modify any law or treaties which impede freedom of action in the making of reciprocal trade arrangements between the United Kingdom and the Colonies."

That is a splendid and striking platform, but when the noble Duke comes to act up to his professions, and to consider what means should be taken for promoting these reciprocal trade arrangements which the British Empire League advocate his courage forsakes him, and he will not even allow the discussion of a 1s. duty upon wheat or anything having about it the smallest trace or flavour of a protective tariff.

I will turn for one moment to the subject dealt with in the first of the noble Duke's Resolutions—I mean the proposal which has been put forward by Mr. Chamberlain that in order to facilitate retaliation there should be a general tariff. Mr. Chamberlain, in referring to that subject, announced to his audience that he had for the moment appropriated the weapon which, I believe, I am supposed to have invented, the big revolver; but he also explained very distinctly that the ammunition was his own. And I have to say that in no speech or statement made by the Prime Minister, or by members of His Majesty's Government, are there to be found any proposals pointing in the direction of such a penal tariff as was described in Mr. Chamberlain's speech. I believe I may go further. I believe in one of the Prime Minister's speeches he went out of his way to express doubt as to the wisdom of any proposal of the kind. I think the noble Earl had the extract in his hand and did not read it. Therefore, my Lords, I cannot see why we are to be called upon, simply because a proposal of that kind has been put forward by a supporter of His Majesty's Government—no matter how distinguished—I do not see why we are to be called upon to ask the House of Lords to support a Motion condemning in the abstract any suggestion of this kind.

I observe that in the speech in which Mr. Chamberlain put forward this idea, he was careful to explain that, in his view, any tariff of the kind should be a moderate tariff, that it should be mainly for revenue purposes, and that the articles essential for the commercial prosperity of the country should be placed upon the free list. These seem to me to be very sensible and important reservations, and, if we were at closer quarters with this question, I should certainly be inclined to ask—What is meant by a moderate tariff? What do you mean when you say it is mainly for revenue purposes? And I should like to have a look at this large free list which is to include the articles most necessary to our commercial preeminence. But I confess I see no object in pursuing inquiries of that kind at this moment; no proposal of the kind is ripe for discussion, and no such proposal is likely to be before us for a long time to come.

That being so, I suggest to your Lordships that these attempts to impose unanimity upon us are attempts to be resisted, and that they come with very indifferent grace when put forward by noble Lords opposite, who belong to a Party which has been far from being a unanimous Party in the past, which, so far as I am aware, is at this moment very far from being a unanimous Party, and which will, so far as we are able to gather, in the future not be likely to be successful in clothing the whole of its supporters with that kind of sealed pattern orthodoxy with which they desire that we and our supporters should be invested. For these reasons we shall object to the Motion of the noble Duke as one which tends to bind the conference before the conference can take place, as one calculated to limit without sufficient knowledge of the facts the exercise of that right of retaliation which we desire to maintain, and as inviting us to pass judgment on an issue which is not yet before Parliament, and on which, therefore, there is no occasion to take a vote of the House.

Lord BALFOUR of BURLEIGH: My Lords, I hope your Lordships will not think that I am guilty of an act of personal presumption in asking leave to say a few words at this hour of the night, even although it is later than your Lordships usually sit. I believe it is acknowledged that those who propose a Motion, when an Amendment is proposed to it, have, in all the circumstances, the last word in the discussion. I can assure your Lordships that the duty which I shall endeavour to discharge is not one which I myself would have sought for. I should not have presented myself to it at this time if it had not been that a request was made to me by those with whom I am proud to act in this matter that I should undertake what I regard as a difficult but an important duty.

We have heard a great many curious things said in the course of this debate, but I venture to think that none of them have been more curious than the reasons which have been advanced in favour of the Amendment for the previous Question. Some of those who have spoken in favour of that Amendment seem not dimly conscious that it is rather a course which requires a considerable amount of defence. The noble Earl who moved it said there was no precedent for such a Motion as the noble Duke's. I always think that when anyone is reduced to an argument that there is no precedent for a course he is opposing he is very nearly at the bedrock of any arguments which he can find. Again, it is said that there is no Bill before us. Are we never to discuss an abstract question in this House? This is an financial question, and one which, if embodied in a Bill, would probably come before us in a form which it would be extremely difficult for us effectively to discuss. For these reasons I venture to think there is nothing in the argument put forward in favour of the previous Question, and, after all, whatever may be the advantages for some people of voting for the previous Question, the previous Question is not in itself a policy.

This is a definite and distinct policy put before the country by an eminent statesman. It has been described in this House to-night as a fiscal revolution. Well, my Lords, are we at this time of day to have no opinion, or, if we have an opinion, are we to be afraid to express it, upon a matter which is described as a fiscal revolution, and which is, as many of your Lordships who have spoken to-night have said, now exciting interest throughout the country, and on which, without doubt, in no mean degree the approaching general election will turn. The noble Earl opposite, Lord Minto, suggested that to pass that part of the Motion which deals with colonial preference would be a rebuff to the Colonies. I am wholly unable to understand that argument. After all, it is a matter which concerns us at least as much as any of our Colonies. The course proposed, if taken by this country, would involve a greater departure on our part than would be involved by the acceptance of it on the part of our Colonies. Their fiscal policy is, almost without exception, in its nature protective, and therefore it would not be any great fiscal revolution if they were to adopt a policy of protection; but, as has been universally admitted, it would be for us a very considerable departure from our existing practice.

The noble Duke the Under-Secretary for the Colonies tells us that the Prime Minister means to lead. It is part of our case, it is part of the case of the noble Duke who moved the Motion now before the House, that we desire that the Prime Minister should lead. It is because we cannot get a definite lead from him that this Motion has been put on the Paper. The noble Duke went on to say that he was not aware of any difference of opinion in the Unionist Party. The noble Marquess the Leader of the House was, I think, more discreet and more nearly accurate when he admitted differences of opinion. He seemed to express the hope that they could be minimised, and to suggest the policy of what I think he called co-operation and comprehension. I do not know whether the noble Marquess thinks that if he ultimately does not accept the Bill, the whole Bill and nothing but the Bill, of Mr. Chamberlain, there will be any co-operation or comprehension for him. I venture to suggest that if the policy indicated in the speech at the Albert Hall meant anything at all it meant that the orator would not regard even members of the Government as loyal members of the Unionist Party unless they accepted the whole policy of the general penal tariff, colonial preference involving the taxation of food, and all the rest of it, without any reservation at all.

It may be said that those of us who cannot accept this policy are not loyal members of the Unionist Party. But in a debate in which the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Goschen, Lord Robertson and Lord Ridley have spoken I think it will be a very bold thing to say that at any rate on this matter those who represent various sections of the Unionist Party have spoken without any evidence of differences of opinion. No one denies the importance of the question. No one in the abstract denies the obligation on all men who aspire to lead to make their lead absolutely clear. But in spite of that I think there can be no doubt that obscurity does exist. The object which the noble Duke had in putting this Motion on the Paper was to make one more effort to clear up that obscurity. I am afraid I must say, after the two speeches which we have heard from the Front Government Bench, that the object for which this Motion was put down has failed.

The noble Marquess said that he and the Government will stand by all those members of the Unionist Party who stand by them, but I am left in as much doubt now as I was when this discussion commenced as to what it is that I am expected to stand by. Am I to stand by a general penal tariff, or am I not? Is, or is not, that penal tariff a part of the policy of His Majesty's Government? To that Question we have not had the shade of a shadow of a reply. We have not had an attempt to grapple with it, and we shall go away, if no other speech is made, in as great a state of ignorance on that point as if this discussion had never taken place. The noble Marquess asks us to suspend our judgment. May I suggest to him that that is a piece of advice which might be given to the noble Viscount behind me (Viscount Ridley) and even to Mr. Chamberlain himself? Are they suspending their judgment? Are they not from the housetops and on every possible opportunity proclaiming that they have made up their minds, and that all those who do not agree with them must go from the Unionist Party. I am finding no fault with them, although I do not agree with their views, for their honesty and directness of statement; but when we are appealed to stand by the Government we are entitled to ask what it is that we are expected to stand by, and what is the policy that we are to defend.

There is no doubt that there are two policies before the country. The noble Marquess himself has borne eloquent testimony to that fact. In the debate on the Address last year he told us that the policy of Mr. Chamberlain was not the same as that of the Government, that if it led anywhere it led in the opposite direction to that of the Government policy. Many of us claim to be at least as loyal members of the Unionist Party as Mr. Chamberlain. We understand his policy, and what we want to know is whether, under any circumstance, the Government, as a Government, are prepared to accept it and stand by it.

We have had a perfectly frank and candid speech from the noble Viscount the chairman of the Tariff Reform League. I should have liked to analyse that speech at some length, but at this hour of the evening it would be manifestly out of place, and I am not sure that it would be entirely germane to the point before us. But when the noble Viscount says that the countries of Germany and America are examples for us, and seems to imply that they are object-lessons to which he and his friends want to lead us, I think they forget this very important difference—that over both of these countries the Imperial taxing authority is one; and whatever you may hope for, I think you are sanguine indeed if you think that our colonial dependencies and ourselves will ever come under one uniform taxing authority. That at once seems to me to differentiate the two cases and to do so in a way which invalidates any analogy. The noble Lord said there could be no retaliation without a general tariff. It is for that very reason that I, and those with whom I have the honour to act, look with doubt and suspicion on this so-called policy of retaliation.

I do not understand how it is possible to reconcile the policy of a general penal tariff with the maintenance of the most-favoured-nation clause. The noble Viscount (Viscount Ridley) says that the Tariff Reform Commission has been doing very excellent work, and that when the further volumes come out if we study them with attentive interest we shall all be converted. I am afraid I am bound to say that I think most of those on the Tariff Commission are more or less interested parties. They are in the main producers; their interest lies rather in the direction of dearness and the exclusion of other manufactures than in that of general free trade, and at any rate it is a significant fact that without exception, I think, the members of the Tariff Reform Commission are supporters of Mr. Chamberlain's policy. I think I am entitled to say that I shall not be inclined to attach a very much greater weight to any Report which they may produce and any conclusions which they may draw than the noble Viscount would attach to the Report of a Commission wholly composed of those who devote their allegiance to the cause of free trade.

There was one point in the noble Duke's (the Duke of Devonshire's) speech to which the noble Marquess the Leader of the House gave absolutely no attention at all. I have no doubt the omission was entirely through inadvertence, but the first Question the noble Duke asked the Government was this—Whether in the circumstances as altered by these events it was intended that the ordinary Colonial Conference due next year should or should not be held? That question was discussed some little time ago, and the noble Marquess returned an Answer, but I do not know whether it was clearly understood what was the policy of His Majesty's Government in the matter. Assuming that the Government intend to propose a considerable scheme of redistribution to the other House next year, then it follows that they believe that they will be in office in the summer of next year, at the time when the ordinary conference is due. The Question the noble Duke asked, and to which he received no Answer, was whether it was intended to take any steps before the assembling of Parliament next year to summon such a conference. We are entitled to have an Answer to that Question.

There is one point I wish to put distinctly to the House. What I want to know is this—Whether we have really got any light upon the important question of whether the policy of colonial preference, involving, as it is universally admitted to do, the taxation of staple articles of food, is or is not the policy of His Majesty's Government? I understood the noble Marquess the President of the Board of Education (the Marquess of Londonderry) to say with great emphasis that he was not in favour of that policy, that he did not intend to support it, and that it was very unfair to the Prime Minister to state that he had ever committed himself to it. But we know on high authority that unless you tax food there can be no colonial preference, and therefore I want to know whether in making that declaration the noble Marquess was speaking for himself or for the Government as a whole. The point was emphasised both by the noble Duke (the Duke of Marlborough) and by the noble Marquess that their idea of policy was wrapped up in a notion of what they call a free and unfettered conference. One speaker—I think Viscount Goschen—asked whether, if it was to be a free and unfettered conference, there was to be any bar in the case of raw material. To that very pertinent Question the Leader of the House made no response, but it seems to me a very reasonable Question. If the conference is to be free and unfettered, why is there to be a bar against raw material and not against wheat? Wheat is a raw material in many industries, and it seems idle to draw a distinction between wheat as a raw material in one industry and wool or cotton in another. I personally do not think that this policy of a free and unfettered conference is worthy of the name of a policy at all. It is a means of finding out a policy, but it is not a policy.

Let me develop that a little further. If we who doubt the wisdom of a tax on food enter into this free and unfettered conference and support it, are we to be held by the Government as accepting the taxation of food? If the Answer is in the affirmative, it would be better and wiser and fairer to say so at once. We should then know where we are, but of course it would put an end to the idea of a free and unfettered conference, because those who go into the conference would have to give some instructions to their representatives. But if the Answer is in the negative, and at present His Majesty's Goverment do not accept the policy of colonial preference involving the taxation of food, then just look at the danger which may befall us, the risk we run. To develop my point, I must make one or two assumptions. The probability of those assumptions does not seem to me to matter, but let us assume that the approaching general election upon the so-called policy of a free and unfettered conference results in the return of His Majesty's Government. Let me assume that the conference is held, that in that conference the decision is come to to recommend a scheme of preference which involves the taxation of food. What is the position of those of us who object to it in principle? We shall be deprived of the argument on broad general grounds from which we do not shrink that it is an unwise policy for this country to embark upon. I do not develop that argument at the moment, because it has been said that is not the point we are here to discuss; but suppose the conference results in such an agreement, it will be argued with great force that we are confined to the narrow ground of saying that the bargain made was not good enough, and we shall be debarred from entering on the general policy of whether it is wise to tax food or not. I understand the broad fiscal policy of the country at present is that it is unwise to lay any burden, however slight, on staple articles of food. Noble Lords thought they had made a point when they taxed us with having supported a shilling tax on corn. I was responsible for that, I supported it, and I do not believe that it materially raised the price of grain. I believe that the sole result was this, that to some extent it might accentuate a rise of price and to some extent it might retard a fall. But that is a wholly different policy from one which is avowedly intended to restrict the market of this country as to staple articles, and to turn the market into certain channels to the exclusion of others. If that is not what is intended, what is the object of the policy? I believe it is to be one of the cardinal points of the policy of this country that we should draw our supplies of food, just as of raw material, from the best markets of the world, and object to the ruling out of Argentina or other corn-growing countries in order that certain colonies may gain the benefit.

The noble Marquess made some play with the programme of the British Empire League. He stated that the noble Duke had been the president and was still a vice-president, and that I and others had the honour to be vice-presidents. But he will not find in the objects of that association any suggestion that this country is to depart from its well-considered free-trade policy. There may be other ways of drawing the Colonies to us in commerce, as in other matters; but he will not find the slightest suggestion that this country is to depart from its free-trade policy. I end as I began. I apologise for venturing to speak at this time at all, but I do say that it is unfair —I say that it is grossly unfair—that those of us, whose whole lives have been spent in the service of the Unionist Party, are to be banned by one individual because we cannot conscientiously accept a new departure, which we believe to be unsound in principle, to be delusive in the promise it holds out, and to be fertile not in things which will draw us closer together, but, as history has proved in the past, and as we believe history will prove in the future, in things which will contain the seeds of difficulty and danger from which our free-trade policy is wholly free.

On Question, "Whether the said Question be now put," their Lordships divided:—Contents, 57; Non-Contents, 121.

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House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before One o'clock a.m., till half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 27th July, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

BOOTLE CORPORATION BILL.

On the order for the consideration of the Lords Amendments to the Bootle Corporation Bill being read,

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.) objected to the order being proceeded with.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich): In the interest of many workmen who are dependent for their work on these Bills getting through during the present session, may I respectfully appeal to hon. Gentlemen from Ireland to withdraw their objection and allow these Bills to proceed?

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Within the last few days I have received representations from many quarters of the country with regard to the action of my hon. friends in blocking the passage of these Bills. Amongst others, I have received communications from representatives of labour, both in and out of this House, to the effect that if some of these enterprises are stopped now vast sums of money that would be spent in the coming winter in the employment of workmen will be hung up, and that thousands of working men will be kept out of employment during the winter. Whatever cause of quarrel and resentment we have with political Parties in this House, and with the Government at the moment, we have none with the working men of the country. In the course they have taken my hon. friends never intended to inflict any injury on workmen. In these circumstances I appeal to my hon. friends to withdraw their opposition to these Bills. I am all the more pleased to do so in response to the appeal of the hon. Member for Woolwich.

MR. MACVEAGH said that after that appeal he would not think of pressing his objections. He wished it to be understood he was responding to the wish of the leader of his Party and certainly would not have allowed himself to be influenced by the vulgar denunciation heaped upon him and his colleagues by the daily Press. They had been told that much public money had been spent in the promotion of the Bills which would be wantonly wrecked if the objections were persisted in, while much employment might be withheld from the working classes in the coming winter, but all those objections applied with equal force to the Tramways Bill promoted by the London County Council, and rejected by the House of Lords without the slightest consideration for the loss and inconvenience inflicted on the public. The action of his colleagues and himself had been denounced as a public scandal, but there was a much greater scandal, and that was a Government holding on to office years after the country had got sick of it and in spite of an adverse vote of that House.

Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway (No. 1) Bill; London Gas Bill; Rhondda Urban District Council Bill; Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Blackpool Improvement Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time.

North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Nottingham Corporation Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time.

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill (by Order); Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill (by Order); Edgware and Hampstead Railway Bill (by Order); London and North Western Railway Bill (by Order); Metropolitan Electric Tramways Bill (by Order); Dublin United Tramways Bill (by Order); Midland Railway Bill (by Order); Skegness Water Bill (by Order); Woolwich Borough Council Bill (by Order). Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Formby Township Bill [Lords] (by Order). Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Workington Harbour and Dock Bill [Lords] (by Order) (King's consent signified). Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council Bill [Lords] (by Order); Matlock Bath Improvement Bill [Lords] (by Order). Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District) Bill [Lords] (by Order). Read the third time, and passed, with an Amendment.

Sheffield University Bill [Lords] (by Order). Third Reading deferred till to-morrow.

South Lancashire Tramways Bill [Lords] (by Order). Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Littlehampton Urban District Council Bill [Lords] (by Order). As amended, considered; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time.

Shepton Mallet Gas Company (Electric Lighting) Bill [Lords] (by Order); Bristol Blind Asylum Bill [Lords] (by Order); Corbett Estate Bill [Lords] (by Order)

As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP K).

Sir JAMES KITSON reported from the Committee on Group K of Private Bills; That, for the convenience of parties, they had adjourned till Monday next, at half-past Eleven of the clock.

Report to lie upon the Table.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—London County Council (Money) Bill, without Amendment.

Amendment to—Gas and Water Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, " An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to the M'Callum Celtic Lectureship in the University of Glasgow." [Glasgow University Order Confirmation Bill] [Lords.]

Glasgow University Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Ordered, under Section 7 of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1889, to be considered upon Monday next.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CIVIL SERVICES (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1905-6).

Estimate presented, of the Further Sums required to be voted for the Service of the year ending 31st March, 1906 [by Command]; referred to the Committee of Supply, and to be printed. [No. 268.]

CHURCHES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Copy presented, of Extracts from the Proceedings of (I.) the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; and of (II.) the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BISHOPRICS ACT, 1878, AND BISHOPRICS OF SOUTHWARK AND BIRMINGHAM ACT, 1904.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of the 11th July, 1905, approving a scheme of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners with respect to the Bishopric of Birmingham, and for other purposes [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY.

Copy presented, of Statement of sum of money granted, in pursuance of Royal Warrant of 1st March, 1856, as compensation to the son of an officer killed at the Battle of Abu Klea, [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES (INTELLIGENCE DIVISION).

Copy presented, of Annual Report of Proceedings under the Sale of Food and Drugs Acts, 1875 to 1899, the Merchandise Marks Acts, 1887 to 1894, and other Acts for the year 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3460 to 3462 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Fining and Imprisonment of Chinese Coolies in the Transvaal.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state what are the numbers of Chinese coolies in the Transvaal who have suffered imprisonment, and the number who have been fined, classified according to offences.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The following is the information desired:—

	Imprisoned.	Fined.
Desertion or absence without leave	675	43
Travelling without permit	79	12
Refusing to work	88	12
Theft or forgery	25	
Assaults of various kinds	146	1
Indecent offences (2)		
Riot	184 } 237	
Inciting to Riot	53	
Total	1,250	68

Applications to English and Welsh Local Authorities for Loans under the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he can state separately for the years 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, and 1904, how many applications in each year have been made to local authorities in England and Wales for loans, for the purpose of acquiring the ownership of small dwelling-houses, under the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act of 1899; how many such loans have been made in each year; and what amount has been advanced in each year.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) As regards London, I am informed by the London County Council that the total number of applications received by them during the years 1900–1904, inclusive, was thirteen, and that the total amount advanced was £1,500. As regards the rest of England and Wales, the only information in my possession relates to cases of applications made by local authorities to the Local Government Board for sanction of loans. The total number of these applications for the years referred to was eighty-two, and the total amount sanctioned was £74,244. The figures for each year separately I shall be happy to send to the hon. Member if he desires it.

Rates of Wages Paid to Chinese Coolies on the Rand.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can state what are the rates of wages now being paid to the Chinese coolies employed on the Rand; and whether there are any coolies who have been employed for a longer period than six months, whose average wage is less than 1s. 6d. a day.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The coolies are, I understand, being paid as provided in the contract. The great majority of them do not draw the 1s. 6d. after the expiration of the six months, but enter into the agreement for piece-work contemplated in Article 6, paragraph 1, of the contract.

Number of Wives and Children of Chinese Coolies in the Transvaal.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state how many Chinese coolies and how many of their wives and children are now in the Transvaal.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The number of Chinese coolies at the end of June was 41,340. No families were introduced during the quarter ended 31st March last, and the number, so far as I know, remains as at the end of December, two wives and twelve children.

Repatriation of Chinese Coolies.

Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state how many Chinese coolies in the Transvaal have terminated their contracts and been repatriated at their own expense, as provided by the regulations under the Labour Importation Ordinance.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) None, so far as I am aware, have taken advantage of the provision.

Mosquito Nets for Railway Employees in West Africa.

Mr. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he is aware that railway employees in West Africa are constantly stricken with fever through old and defective mosquito nets; and if he will give instructions that the nets in use shall be constantly reported on; and that any employee refusing or neglecting to use the same shall be liable to instant dismissal.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I am not in a position either to corroborate or to deny what the hon. Member alleges as to the causing of fevers. I cannot, however, undertake to direct the holding of inquisitions as to whether railway employees use their nets or not. These employees are adult skilled workmen, and must be regarded as having some personal intelligence and responsibility.

Reduction of Duty on Scotch Herrings Imported into Russia.

Mr. HARMSWORTH (Caithness-shire): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will take steps to obtain from the Russian Government a reduction of the duties imposed on Scotch herrings imported into Russia.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) The matter referred to has received the careful consideration of His Majesty's Government, but it does not appear that any useful purpose would be served by any representations to the Russian Government.

International Fisheries Conference—The Three-Mile Limit.

Mr. NOEL BUXTON (Yorkshire, N.R., Whitby): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to raise the question of the three-mile limit, with regard to sea fisheries, at the next international conference which may be called for the discussion of such matters.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) There is no intention on the part of His Majesty's Government to propose any general extension of the three-mile limit, nor does the information at present in our possession suggest that such an extension would be consistent with British fishery interests. Some further light on the subject will doubtless be afforded, however, by the the inquiries now being made by the International Council for the Investigation of the North Sea.

Cheap Cottages—Modifying of Model By-Laws of District Councils.

Mr. NOEL BUXTON: To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether, in view of the favourable opinion held by competent authorities of the cheap cottages now being exhibited at the Garden City at Letchworth, he will take into consideration the question of further modifying the model by-laws issued for the guidance of district councils.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) It is, I think, desirable that in the first instance an officer of the Department should visit the exhibition and report on the subject, and arrangements are being made for this purpose.

Report of Salmon Fishery Commission —Proposed Legislation.

Mr. NOEL BUXTON: To ask the President of the Board of Agriculture what circumstances have arisen to induce His Majesty s Government to postpone proposing legislation on the lines of the Report of the Salmon Fishery Commission of 1902.

(*Answered by Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.*) I do not think that any pledge has been given by His Majesty's Government to propose legislation on this subject, but I quite concur in the view that it might with advantage be undertaken. I propose during the recess to communicate with those who are interested in the matter, and I hope it may be possible to arrange for the presentation of a Bill next session, either by a private Member or as a Government measure. The subject is one, however, which can scarcely be dealt with successfully unless a general agreement can be arrived at as to the necessity of legislation and as to the form which it may most advantageously take.

Suggested Increase in the Salaries of County Court Judges on Account of Increased Work.

Mr. BROTHERTON (Wakefield): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will see that, when the Estimates for the Home Office are prepared for next year, some increase in the salaries for the County Court Judges is made, considering that since 1865, the last occasion when their salaries were fixed, an increase of work has been given to their Courts which has lengthened their hours of attendance, and in the case of provincial County Court Judges increased their travelling.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) The salaries of County Court Judges are not provided in the Estimates. They are charged on the Consolidated Fund, and cannot be increased except by Act of Parliament. The County Courts (No. 2) Bill now before Parliament proposes an increase of the salaries of a certain number of the Judges under certain conditions from £1,500 to £1,800. I see no sufficient reason for going any further at present.

Interest on Money Borrowed under the Naval Works Bill.

Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL: To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will state approximately what will be the total amount of interest payable on £1,000,000 borrowed in accordance with the Naval Works Bill of this year from the time the loan is contracted until the last instalment of it is repaid.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) The terminable annuity required to repay an advance of £1,000,000 in twenty-nine years with interest at 3 per cent. is between £52,000 and £53,000. The exact amount of the annuity would depend upon the interval between the dates of the instalments of the advance and the date of commencement of the annuity. The aggregate amount of interest included in the annuity payments would be approximately £525,000.

Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces—Appointments for Indian Natives.

Mr. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 10th May last it was announced that in the office of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, 30 per cent. of the appointments carrying pay of forty rupees and upwards per month would be reserved for Europeans and Eurasians; and will he state whether arrangements can be made for the apportionment of a larger proportion of appointments to the natives of India.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) I beg to refer the hon. Member to the Answer I gave to a Question on this subject by the hon. Member for West Denbighshire on the 6th instant.† The persons described as Europeans and Eurasians are presumably in most cases born or domiciled in India, and, as at present advised, I see no reason for interfering with the arrangements made.

Application of Lieutenant General Pakenham for Advance under Land Act.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether an application has been lodged with the

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† See (4, *Debates*, cxlviii., 1317

Estates Commissioners by Lieutenant-General Thomas Henry Pakenham, of Langford Lodge, Crumlin, county Antrim, for an advance of £650 as the purchase price of a farm of land at Craigarogan, county Antrim, from which Martha O'Beirne was evicted in June, 1903, for non-payment of one and a-half year's rent, and which she held at a rent fixed by the Irish Land Commission of £13; whether, seeing that the amount applied for would represent fifty years purchase of the said rent, will he say what the Estates Commissioners intend doing in reference to this application; and is he aware that the former tenant has offered to the landlord on several occasions for the purpose of redeeming the lands all rent due on the farm and all costs incurred by the landlord, and that the landlord has refused to accept the same.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) An application for an advance of £650 for the purchase of the farm mentioned has been lodged by John G. Reid. An application for reinstatement in the farm as evicted tenant has been received from Martha O'Beirne. When the estate comes in due course before the Commissioners for consideration, the evicted tenant's claim will be fully inquired into.

Delay in Construction of Poulduff Pier, County Wexford.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the contractor has signed the contract for the construction of Poulduff Pier, in county Wexford; and, if not, what is the reason of the delay.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The contract has not yet been signed. The Department are in communication with the contractor on the subject.

Turbary Rights on Mr. Barrett's Holding at Parke, near Castlebar.

DR. AMBROSE (Mayo, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the fact that Lord Norbury, in March, 1903, took his tenant, Mr. Martin Barrett, of Parke, near Castlebar county Mayo, into Court with a view to raising the rent from £6 15s. per annum to £10 per annum; that the Court fixed the rent at the original figure, viz., £6 15s., carrying with it the right of turbary; and that, notwithstanding the decision of the Court, the tenant is prevented by the bailiff, Mr. Thomas Moran, from exercising his right of cutting turf; and will he say whether he proposes to take any, and, if any, what, action in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) This case is the subject of an appeal from the ruling of the County Court Judge by both the landlord and the tenant, and, pending a decision on the appeal, I must decline to discuss the matter through the medium of a Question.

Salary of Teacher of Mohorough National School.

MR. KENDAL O'BRIEN (Tipperary, Mid): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what were the several sums paid to the teacher of Mohorough National School, Roll No. 5097, for the yearly period ended 31st May, 1900; and why did not the total amount for this period equal his consolidated salary of £85.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The sums were:—

	£	s.	d.
Class salary - - - -	44	0	0
20 per cent. increase thereon	8	16	0
School grant - - -	9	5	2
Equivalent grant - - -	15	15	5
	77	16	7

The consolidated income was based on payments made to the teacher during the three years ended March 31st, 1900, and this income would not necessarily correspond with payments actually made for the twelve months ended May 31st, 1900.

Native Government Hospital at Calabar

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the High Commissioner of Southern Nigeria acted on his own initiative in inviting at the beginning of the present year a sisterhood of French nuns to Calabar to take charge of the Native

Government Hospital, where the inmates are non-Catholic; if he can say for what period have these nuns been engaged; whether it is intended to retain the services of these nuns in preference to nurses who are not connected with religious orders.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The proposal that two Roman Catholic sisters should be employed as nurses in the native hospital at Calabar (which is a separate institution from the European hospital) was originally made to the Protectorate Government by the head of the Roman Catholic Mission at Calabar in September, 1903. There had previously been no women nurses at the native hospital, and, as the proposal received the support of the principal medical officer and of the Acting High Commissioner, it was accepted on terms, which were referred to and approved by me. It was stated in the terms of agreement that no undertaking could be given that the sisters would be employed for any stated period, but if the system is found to work well, I see no reason, on the information before me, why it should be changed.

Death Rate of Indentured Indians in Northern Australia.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been drawn to the statement recently made by the chairman of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines, and printed on page 62 of [Cd. 2563], to the effect that the death-rate of indentured Indians in the northern districts of Australia has been lately officially reported to be 23 per cent.; whether he has any official reports as to this death-rate; and, if so, whether he will make inquiry into the matter.

(*Answered by Mr Secretary Lyttelton.*) I have no information on the subject, but will make inquiries.

Contracts for Supply of Military Badges —Machine and Hand Labour.

MR. MOON (St. Pancras, N.): To ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether, in the case of military badges, etc., made of other materials than metal, the War Office is willing to abandon any conditions stipulating that a given article should be made by hand or by machine, or partly by one method and partly by the other, so that conformity to the sealed pattern may be the sole criterion.

(*Answered by Mr. Bromley Davenport.*) The matter has been carefully considered and the reply is in the negative.

The Unemployed Bill.

MR. LEVY (Leicestershire, Loughborough): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he can now state whether he intends to proceed with the Unemployed Bill this session; and, if so, when.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) I think the best Answer to the hon. Gentleman is to refer him to what fell from me in the House this afternoon upon this subject.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Proposed Expenditure at Rosyth.

MR. AINSWORTH (Argyllshire): I beg to ask the Civil Lord of the Admiralty what are the items of the £49,320 proposed to be expended at Rosyth during the years 1905–6 and 1906–7; why this expenditure is required before the final contract for the works is decided upon; and in what respect it differs from the expenditure intended to be hereafter placed upon the Estimates.

*THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ARTHUR LEE, Hampshire, Fareham): The expenditure which it is anticipated will be incurred on this item during the period 1905–7, covered by the Naval Works Bill, 1905, is on account of the following services:—(a) Making connection with North British Railway Company's system; (b) Diversion of roads. (c) Miscellaneous preliminary works and contingencies. It is necessary that these services should be carried out before the final contract for works is let, as the Admiralty, being in a position to offer contractors the facilities which these services afford, will be able to make a more advantageous contract. In reply to the last part of the hon. Member's Question, this expenditure is of a general and preliminary character such as was contemplated when the Naval Works Act of 1903 was framed, and for which a "token" sum of £200,000 was authorised therein. The expenditure intended to be hereafter placed upon the Estimates is for the prosecution of the main contract.

MR. AINSWORTH asked for the exact figures of the expenditure on water supply, railway communication, etc.?

*MR. ARTHUR LEE: The hon. Member had better put another Question down.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Is this £49,000 included in the £200,000?

*MR. ARTHUR LEE: Yes, Sir.

School Cadet Corps and Rifle Clubs.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if the Department of the Director of Auxiliary Forces, or other branch of the War Office, can be designated to assist school cadet corps and rifle clubs in obtaining on payment rifles and ammunition and military drill instruction, in the sense suggested by Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, and others; and if, further, officers commanding districts and sub-districts may be instructed to visit, so far as invitation may be extended to them, the schools in their several areas, and to encourage drill and rifle practice in the same way as in the United States and in the Eastern Command of Great Britain, without regard to the wearing of uniform or any particular dress by the pupils.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): Military training in schools has for some time past been encouraged by the War Office. In January last, instructions were sent to general officers commanding to make further efforts in this direction, and it is not intended that these efforts shall be in any way relaxed. It is hoped, also, that the headmasters of the schools will in their turn co-operate to the best of their ability in furthering matters.

Volunteers and the South African War.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if the records of the War Office bear out the statement obtained by individual inquiry from corps that out of 204,000 Volunteers on the muster roll on November 1st, 1899, of 263 corps no less than 71,758 volunteered for active service over sea, and that 29,049 actually took part in the South African Campaign (17,344 with Volunteer service companies, and 11,705 with other corps); or, if not, what figures does the War Office put forward in that connection.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: There are no records at the War Office showing the number who volunteered for active service over sea during the South African War. The numbers of Volunteers that are known to have served in South Africa in service companies and the City of London Imperial Volunteers amounted to 19,856 of all ranks. Besides these, 6,209 of all ranks were struck off the strength of Volunteer corps with a view to their joining the Imperial Yeomanry.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: Does that include the number of Volunteers who joined the Regular Army?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: No, Sir.

Bengal Excise Bill.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether he has received from the Government of India a summary of the views expressed by the district officers in reply to the despatch of the Government of India, dated the 30th September, 1904, with reference to certain Amendments in the Bengal Excise Bill as passed by the Select Committee; and whether he can give an assurance that the Bill will be reintroduced in the Bengal Legislative Council during the ensuing session

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the negative. There is no intention of dropping the Bill, but I will inquire as to the possibility of proceeding with it during the ensuing session.

Macedonia—The Mürzsteg Programme.

MR. CORBETT (Glasgow, Tradeston): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what steps have been taken to enforce the Article of the Mürzsteg programme providing for a modification of the territorial boundaries in Macedonia.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.): Article 3 of the Mürzsteg scheme provides for an eventual modification of the boundaries of administrative areas in Macedonia, but no steps were to be taken in the matter pending the pacification of the country.

Chicory.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what were the total receipts in the last financial year of the Customs and Excise duties, respectively, on roasted or ground chicory and raw or kiln-dried chicory; what was the quantity of each kind of chicory produced in this country and imported from foreign countries in the same period; and what does he estimate, as the effect on the chicory revenue, for a full financial year of the proposals included in his Revenue Bill.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): The total receipts in the last financial year on roasted or ground chicory were £1,017; and on the raw or kiln-dried article £50,392. The quantities imported were 177,263 lbs. of the first and 89,776 cwts. of the second. The only receipts from home-grown chicory were £1,449 on 2,398 cwts. of chicory in the raw or kiln-dried state. I do not anticipate that the proposed change would have any considerable effect upon the revenue.

The Telephone Purchase Agreement.

MR. LOUGH: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General when he expects the Report from the Committee to which the Telephone Purchase Agreement was referred to be presented; what day the Government have fixed, in accordance with his promise, for its discussion; and whether the agreement can become operative without the approval of Parliament.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): I beg also to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can now fix a day for the discussion of the Report of the Select Committee on the Telephone Agreement between the Postmaster-General and the National Telephone Company.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): I cannot say exactly when the Report will be received, but I am given to understand that it may be expected very shortly. The agreement could become operative without the approval of Parliament, but there is no intention whatever to go back from the pledge I have given that the matter shall be considered in the House and by the House. My right hon. friend the First Lord of the Treasury authorises me to say that he will undertake, before the end of the session, that time shall be given for such a discussion.

MR. LOUGH said the promise was for a day. Did the noble Lord not think that, as it was now so late in the session, it would be desirable to postpone the matter to next session?

LORD STANLEY: No, Sir, it cannot be postponed. There was no question of a day. The promise made was that an opportunity should be given for discussion, and that will be given.

MR. LOUGH: Will it be after twelve o'clock?

LORD STANLEY: Very likely.

MR. LOUGH: Will the noble Lord use his influence with the Prime Minister to secure an adequate opportunity of discussion before midnight.

LORD STANLEY: I will ask my right hon. friend to bring it on as early as is consistent with the demands of other business.

Subsequently,

MR. JOHN ELLIS asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether an opportunity for the consideration of the Report would be given at some sitting before midnight.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.) said he could not promise that the Report should not be taken after twelve o'clock; but he was most desirous of taking it at a more convenient hour if the state of business allowed him to do so.

MR. LOUGH: Will it be a fulfilment of your pledge if you only give time after midnight?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, I think so, but I will find time before midnight if I can.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: If it is brought on after midnight, I shall oppose it by all the means in my power.

The Motor-Car Inquiry.

MR. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he can yet state the terms of reference to the Royal Commission on Motor-Cars, and the names of the Commissioners.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): I am proceeding with the necessary arrangements in this matter; but I am not at present in a position to give the hon. Member the information for which he asks.

MR. SOARES: Can the right hon. Gentleman say when he will be?

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: I am afraid it is impossible to do that.

Housing Loans to Local Authorities.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he can state separately for the years 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, and 1904, how many applications in each year have been made to local authorities in England and Wales for loans, for the purpose of acquiring the ownership of small dwelling-houses, under the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act of 1899; how many such loans have been made in each year; and what amount has been advanced in each year.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: As regards London, I am informed by the London County Council that the total number of applications received by them during the years 1900–1904 inclusive was thirteen, and that the total amount advanced was £1,500. As regards the rest of England and Wales, the only information in my possession relates to cases of applications made by local authorities to the Local Government Board for sanction to loans. The total number of these applications for the years referred to was eighty-two, and the total amount sanctioned was £74,244. The figures for each year separately cannot conveniently be given in an oral reply, but I shall be happy to send them to the hon. Member if he desires it.

National Vaccine Institution, London—Carcasses of Calves Sold for Food.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board, in view of the fact that calves used in the Army and Navy Vaccine Institute for the production of lymph are slaughtered and subjected to a post-mortem examination in each case before the carcasses are sold to the public, will he consider the expediency of adopting a similar course with calves used for the production of lymph at the National Vaccine Institution, London, before the carcasses are sold for human consumption.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: I would refer the hon. Member to the reply which I gave to his Question of the 30th May † last, in which I stated that the carcasses are thoroughly examined by a veterinary surgeon before being allowed to be sold for food.

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(4) *Debates*, cxlvii., 221.

Workmen's Compensation Act—Leeds Case.

MR. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that three workmen who had met with accidents and been compensated under the Workmen's Compensation Act and had subsequently resumed work were dismissed by their employers, Messrs. Graham, Morton, and Company, of Leeds, solely because the Royal Exchange Accident Company refused to continue the risk of insuring the firm against further claims in their case; and whether he proposes taking any action to protect workmen against dismissal in such cases.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): I have no information with regard to these three cases beyond that which the hon. Member has been good enough to send me, but it appears that each of the three men had received a substantial sum by way of commuted allowance in respect of their continuing disability to work, and that the insurance company objected to their re-employment on the ground of this disability. In these circumstances, since the men have been compensated for the disability which, as I gather, was the bar to their further employment, I fear that I cannot see what action I could take in the matter.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich): Will the right hon. Gentleman refer the whole of this case to the law officers of the Crown to see whether it is possible to take action against the insurance company for intimidation and preventing the men earning their daily bread, notwithstanding the fact that the employer is willing to allow them to work. Surely what is sauce for the workmen is sauce for the insurance company.

MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS: I do not think that can be alleged against the insurance company. The company have paid for the disabilities suffered by these men, and I do not see that I can go so far as the hon. Member suggests.

MR. CROOKS: They interfere with all the workmen in the firm, because they say that unless the firm discharges these three men they will refuse to insure any of the workmen. Surely we have the right to protect our men better than that.

Cruelty to Children.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will state the number of cases of cruelty to children brought before Courts of summary jurisdiction for the month of June last; the number of offenders; the amount of fines struck; the imprisonment inflicted; the amount for which children dealt with were insured; and how many of these children had untimely deaths.

MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS: I regret that there are no means of obtaining this information for the whole of the cases of cruelty to children dealt with by the Courts. The annual Criminal Statistics give the total number of persons proceeded against in each year for this offence, the number convicted, the number imprisoned, with the terms of imprisonment imposed, and the number fined. The latest year for which figures are at present available is 1903. A statement of the cases dealt with by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children is published by the society every month. Their statement for the month of June will probably appear very shortly.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY: The statement was, as a matter of fact, published a fortnight ago.

Mine Fatalities.

MR. T. RICHARDS (Monmouthshire): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will state the number of persons who have been killed by explosions during the last fifty years, in the South Wales and Monmouthshire collieries, and in all other collieries in Great Britain respectively.

MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS: The figures are: in South Wales and Monmouth, 2,989; in the rest of Great Britain, 6,305.

Agricultural Labourers' Wages.

Mr. BLACK (Banffshire): On behalf of the hon. and gallant Member for St. Andrews Burghs, I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether, seeing that the average price of British wheat was 5s. 4d. per quarter, barley 4s. 6d. per quarter, and oats 2s. 6d. per quarter higher on July 1st, 1905, than on July 1st, 1904, he proposes to institute any inquiry as to why the rate of wages of agricultural labourers has not increased during the same period.

*The PRESIDENT of the BOARD of AGRICULTURE (Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes, Huntingdonshire, Ramsey): I do not know on what information the latter part of the Question of the hon. Member is based, but in any case it is certain that the wages of agricultural labourers depend upon many other considerations than the fluctuations in the prices of wheat, barley, and oats. Information as to the amount of those wages is collected periodically by the Board of Trade and published in the *Labour Gazette* and otherwise, and I do not think that any further inquiry on the subject could with advantage be instituted.

Irish Bee-keeping Industry.

Mr. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether he proposes to take any, and, if so, what steps to prevent the injury to the bee-keeping industry caused by foul brood; and whether he is aware of the extent to which the Irish bee-keeping industry has already suffered through the absence of legislation in this matter.

*Mr. AILWYN FELLOWES: We have prepared and issued a leaflet on the subject of Foul Brood in Bees, of which over 18,000 copies have been issued since November last in directions in which it seemed likely to be of service. I shall be glad to supply the hon. Member with copies, and to consider any suggestions as to the manner in which the leaflet can be further utilised. A considerable number of county councils give instruction in bee-keeping in one form or another, including directions as to the manner in which foul brood should be dealt with, and our inspectors are instructed to keep the matter constantly in view. With regard to legislation, I am afraid that so far as Great Britain is concerned none could be undertaken with much hope of success until greater unanimity prevails amongst bee-keepers as to its necessity and advantages, and as to the general form it should take.

Mr. BOLAND: Is the hon. Gentleman not aware that in Ireland we are prepared for any legislation that may be necessary?

*Mr. AILWYN FELLOWES: But there is not unanimity all over the United Kingdom on the subject.

Gomshall Railway Accident—Compensation.

Mr. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade if he will ascertain to what extent the four soldiers who were injured at the Gomshall Station on the South Eastern Railway on February 20th, 1904, through an engine becoming derailed, have been compensated; and, in view of the report of the inspecting officer, will he state what action has been taken by the railway company to prevent similar accidents.

The PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY to the BOARD of TRADE (Mr. Bonar Law, Glasgow, Blackfriars): I am informed by the railway company that the crossing at which the accident in question occurred, and which is referred to in the report of the inspecting officer, was at once replaced, and that the Reading branch of the railway has been and is now undergoing renewal. The compensation to the passengers injured in the accident is not a matter with which the Board of Trade have to deal, but I may say that the company have stated that each of the injured men was compensated to his satisfaction.

Veal and Vaccine.

Mr. WEIR: I beg to ask the hon. Member for West Essex, as Chairman of the Kitchen and Refreshment Committee, in view of the fact that calves used in the Local Government Board

National Vaccine Establishment for the production of lymph for vaccination purposes are sold in London for human food, will he consider the desirability of excluding veal from the House of Commons Dining Room menu unless it is well known that the supply has not been derived from vaccine stations.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping): As it would appear that after the animals are slaughtered their carcasses are thoroughly examined, I feel that no danger can possibly ensue to the hon. Member from the consumption of veal in the House of Commons.

MR. WEIR: May we rest assured that the manager of the refreshment department takes every precaution that the carcasses of calves honeycombed with smallpox virus shall not be brought into the kitchen of the House?

COLONEL LOCKWOOD: The hon. Member is doubtless aware that as most calves are popularly supposed to come from Essex, for the safety of the public they are properly examined.

Physical Exercises in Elementary Schools.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education if drill and physical exercises are now an obligatory subject of the Elementary Education Code, and what weekly period of school time has to be given to it; and if His Majesty's inspectors are instructed to be careful that no departure from the rule is permitted.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University): No subjects are obligatory under the Code, but physical exercises, which generally include drill, are prescribed as a subject which should as a rule be taught in all departments of the school, and are, in fact, almost universally taught. The Board consider that at least one hour's instruction a week should be given, the hour being divided into two or three portions. Recreative exercises should also be daily and constantly practised. The Board are shortly issuing a volume of Hints to Teachers in which the subject will be dealt with. Under the circumstances I do not consider that any special instructions to His Majesty's inspectors are needed.

Island of Lewis Schools.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate whether he is aware that the practice of carrying peats to school is still in force at several schools in the Island of Lewis, and will he say why the circular on the subject, which was issued by the Scottish Office some years ago, is not enforced.

THE LORD-ADVOCATE (Mr. SCOTT DICKSON, Glasgow, Bridgton): I am not aware that the practice referred to is in force in any school. A circular on the subject was issued in January, 1894, and the attention of the school boards in Lewis was again specifially directed to this circular in October, 1902. The matter can be further dealt with only on the receipt of specific complaints from parents or others.

The Schoolmaster at Lemreway.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate if he will state what decision has been arrived at in regard to the petition which has been forwarded to him from the parents of children attending the public school at Lemreway, Stornoway, urging that Mr. John D. Mitchel should be retained in his appointment as master of the school.

MR. SCOTT DICKSON: The petition in question has been remitted to the school board of the parish of Lochs, and is, I understand, to be considered at a meeting of the school board and managers to be held this week.

Galway Assizes—Treatment of Jurors.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland if he is aware that in the recent trials at Galway a number of the jurors were ordered to stand by by the Crown; that several of these gentlemen protested against their enforced attendance, alleging that they had been ordered to stand by twice a day for four days by the Crown; and whether this interference with the liberties of the subject will at once receive the consideration of the Government

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.): The Answer to the first inquiry is in the affirmative. As far as I have been able to ascertain, two jurors who had been ordered to stand by asked to be excused from further attendance. It was, of course, impossible to comply with that request, as these jurors might, after the panel had been perused, be required to serve. In this there is no interference with the liberty of the subject, and there is no intention on the part of the Government to alter a practice which experience has shown to be necessary for the impartial administration of justice.

Mr. VINCENT KENNEDY: But are the facts stated in the Question correct?

Mr. ATKINSON: My information is that several jurors were ordered to stand aside. I have no knowledge as to the number of times. I am also told that two of them asked to be released and were refused.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): Is there any fund out of which the expenses of these jurors can be paid?

Mr. ATKINSON: No, Sir.

Mr. T. HARRINGTON (Dublin Harbour): Seeing that there was a panel of 293 jurors, was there any likelihood these men would be called on?

Mr. ATKINSON: The hon. Member knows perfectly well that they might if there were an insufficient number of jurors.

Mr. T. HARRINGTON: Not likely with so big a panel.

Mr. CHARLES DEVLIN (Galway,): Is it one of the functions of a packed jury to pass resolutions denouncing the United Irish League as these jurors did?

Mr. ROCHE (Galway, E.): How many jurors were ordered to stand aside by the Crown?

Mr. ATKINSON: I must ask for notice of that.

Employment of Land Clerks by the Estates Commissioners.

Mr. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland how many land clerks have been employed by the Estates Commissioners in fulfilment of the promise made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dover during the passing of the Land Act, 1903; and will he communicate with the Estates Commissioners with a view of employment being given to specially qualified land clerks in the Estates Commissioners' office on terms approved of by the Treasury.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.): One such clerk has been appointed. The Commissioners are prepared to favourably consider the employment of land clerks to negotiate sales if names are brought before them by vendors.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I hope men will not be appointed who are bitterly hostile to the spirit and letter of the Act.

Dublin Metropolitan Police Force Finance.

Mr. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the chief items of expenditure in the sum of £62,590 which goes to make up the difference between the pay of the superintendents, inspectors, station sergeants, sergeants, and constables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, and the total cost of the entire establishment, which amounts to £162,960; and if in future he will cause these particulars to be inserted in the Annual Statistical Tables published by the Chief Commissioner.

Mr. WALTER LONG: The particulars asked for are set forth in the Annual Appropriation Accounts. Further publication appears to be unnecessary.

Teachers and Irish Training Colleges.

Mr. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether permission will be given to teachers of national schools to attend the Irish training colleges at Mount Partry and Ballingeary for the course of six weeks, without being compelled to provide a substitute; and whether he is aware that this permission is given to teachers who attend technical courses.

MR. WALTER LONG: The Answer to the first inquiry is in the negative, and to the second in the affirmative. Elementary science is a compulsory subject of the school programme, while Irish is an optional subject. Instruction in Irish can be obtained by the teachers after school hours in most districts.

Bartlemy Evicted Tenant.

MR. WILLIAM ABRAHAM (Cork County, N.E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state whether the Estates Commissioners have received an application for reinstatement from Mrs. Mary Eagan, an evicted tenant on the Nason Estate, Bartlemy, Cork County; and, having regard to the fact that her former holding is now in the landlord's possession, what steps, if any, will the Commissioners take to bring about the restoration of this evicted tenant.

MR. WALTER LONG: Yes, Sir; but in the absence of proceedings for sale of the estate, the Commissioners are unable to take any effective steps for the evicted tenant's reinstatement.

MR. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.): Where a landlord is willing to sell to the Estates Commissioners a holding, but not the entire estate, can the Commissioners purchase?

MR. WALTER LONG: I must ask for notice of that Question, so that I may communicate with the Commissioners.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): You are always communicating with them.

Dursey Island.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork County, W.); I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the tenants of Mr. Leigh White, on Dursey Island, have offered to pay two years more than the purchase value put on the island by the valuer sent down by the Congested Districts Board; that a number of policemen are located under canvas on the island; that a number of them have had attacks of illness owing to being exposed to the severity of the weather; that police constables who had no experience in the management of boats are compelled to engage in that pursuit; and that a crew of them narrowly escaped drowning, and were saved by the islanders; and whether, in view of the offer made for the purchase of the island by the tenants, the police force will be continued on the island.

MR. WALTER LONG: I have no information as to the first inquiry. Policemen are quartered under canvas on the island for the protection of the caretakers of an evicted farm. There has been no case of illness among the police owing to exposure to the weather. The constables employed as boatmen are competent oarsmen, and no narrow escape from drowning has occurred. The police will be retained on the island so long as their presence is necessary.

MR. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.): How many policemen became ill owing to the fact that the porter on the island went sour?

MR. GILHOOLY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that while one policeman was in hospital both his father and mother died?

MR. WALTER LONG: I do not see what that has to do with the Question on the Paper.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Is there no chance of settling this wretched dispute?

MR. WALTER LONG: I should not like to express an opinion.

Evicted Tenants on the White Estate, near Bantry.

MR. GILHOOLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state what steps have been taken by the Estates Commissioners to reinstate or provide for the evicted tenants on the White Estate, near Bantry.

Mr. WALTER LONG: The former holdings of these evicted tenants are occupied by other tenants, with whom the Commissioners had no power to interfere when the estate was being sold. In the event of the Commissioners acquiring untenanted land in the district the claims of the evicted tenants will be considered.

Mr. GILHOOLY: Have the Estates Commissioners made any offer to the grabbers of these farms with a view to the reinstatement of the evicted tenants? Have they exercised their powers under the Act to offer compensation?

Mr. WALTER LONG: I do not know whether they have power to do anything of the kind. No doubt they have exercised the powers they possess.

Mr. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Have they made efforts to reinstate these tenants?

Mr. WALTER LONG: Most certainly, they are doing their utmost to carry out the Act.

Mr. FLAVIN: In my constituency there are many untenanted lands which the Commissioners have not tried to purchase.

Irish Text-books in Connaught Schools.

Mr. O'MALLEY (Galway, Connemara): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Commissioners of National Education will add to their list of text-books in Irish additional books particularly suitable for schools in Connaught.

Mr. WALTER LONG: The Commissioners are prepared to consider the question of adding to their list of text-books any such books as may be submitted for sanction by managers through the Board's inspectors.

Clifden Harbour.

Mr. O'MALLEY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the money promised under the Marine Works (Ireland) Act for the construction of a pier in Clifden Harbour has not yet been expended on that work; and whether, in view of the importance to the proper development of the fishing industry of the construction of such a pier, he will, without further delay, carry out the intention and promise of the Act in respect to Clifden.

Mr. WALTER LONG: In March, 1903, the Government announced to the county council its intention to allocate from funds provided under the Marine Works Act a sum of £4,000 on works at Kinvarra, Salthill, or Clifden. Of this amount £1,100 have already been allocated to Kinvarra. The question of undertaking works at Clifden is at present engaging consideration.

Granard Labourers' Cottages.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that six labourers living in labourers' cottages in Granard urban district, have applied for an extension of their present allotments by half an acre each to the Granard District Council, but have been referred to the urban council by the former; and if he will direct that in holding an inquiry into any representations in the rural district the inspector will exercise the powers conferred by Section 4 of 54 and 55 Vic., c. 71, in respect of the failure of the urban district to take action in this matter.

Mr. WALTER LONG: The Labourers Acts do not apply to urban districts. Granard has become an urban district since the cottages referred to were provided by the rural sanitary authority.

Mulloy Estate, County Roscommon.

Mr. TULLY (Leitrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Congested Districts Board can state when they propose to have an official inspection made of the Mulloy Estate, Ballyfermoyle, county Roscommon, with a view to its purchase by them.

Mr. WALTER LONG: The Board will have an inspection made as soon as practicable. They cannot at present fix a date.

Alleged Outrage at Drumdoe.

Mr. TULLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the nature of the police report as to alleged shooting at the residence of Mr. E. Cole Magenis, of Drumdoe, near Boyle; and whether it is intended to prosecute any person in connection with the alleged occurrence.

Mr. JAMES O'KELLY (Roscommon, N.): I beg also to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has called for and obtained the reports of the district inspector of constabulary and the head constable of the locality in reference to the allegation that at a place near Boyle, in the county of Roscommon, the house of a man named Maginnis was fired into and a fight ensued for three hours, one man being wounded; whether inquiry into the matter has resulted in the discovery of any marks of the house in question having been fired into, or of the windows having been broken from the outside; and whether he will lay upon the Table the police reports.

Mr. WALTER LONG: The police investigation in this case has not yet been concluded, and I am, therefore, not at present in a position to make any further statement upon it.

Mr. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S.): Can the right hon. Gentleman say definitely whether there was any attack made on this house? Such a statement has been sent all over the country, and yet it is well known there was no attack.

Mr. WALTER LONG: I should hesitate to accept the latter statement as inquiries are being made. On the last occasion I said there were grave doubts whether an attack was made.

Mr. TULLY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that only one window was broken during this five hours fight?

Mr. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Is it not the fact that a long sensational report appeared in the English papers ten days ago of a serious attack by armed men upon this house, and of a fight lasting three hours, men being wounded and carried off? Does not the right hon. Gentleman know that this statement was incorrect, and ought he not to correct it without allowing a long interval of time to elapse?

Mr. WALTER LONG: The hon. Gentleman forgets that when I was asked a Question by one of my hon. friends immediately after the occurrence, I said there must be two parties to a quarrel, and we had only been able to find one in this case. Again and again I have expressed from my place here my regret at the circulation of such reports as these without their being properly verified. The inquiries by the police into this case are proceeding, and the House may rest assured I will lose no time in concluding them and publishing the result. If there has been no attack I will take care the correction is issued.

Mr. HAYDEN: It is a fortnight since the Question was first asked. How long are we to await the correction of this slander?

Mr. WALTER LONG: It is impossible for me to say how long the inquiry will take. Nobody is more desirious than I am that unfounded reports should not be circulated.

Mr. TULLY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware the local police say there are no traces of any gun shots having been fired?

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): Will the right hon. Gentleman try and identify the ruffian who sent this out to the Press? He is to be found in Boyle town?

Mr. WALTER LONG: I will do my best to arrive at the facts.

Boyle Ancient Monument.

Mr. TULLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners can explain the reason for their delay in obtaining a report from their inspector as to the recent malicious destruction of an ancient monument, their property, near Boyle; what steps have they taken to have it restored; and whether they have approved of any claim for malicious injury being lodged in regard to this affair.

Mr. WALTER LONG: I am making inquiry into this matter.

King-Harman Estate.

Mr. TULLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state in how many cases on the King-Harman Estate has Clause 2 of the regulations, made by the Lord-Lieutenant under Section 23 (8) of the Irish Land Act, 1903, been applied; and, if so, what are the names of the cases; and what has been the subject-matter of the complaints.

Mr. WALTER LONG: No case on this estate has been postponed under the regulation referred to.

The Termon Holding.

Mr. TULLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners can state the amount of the extra bonus that must be paid to the vendor for Termon holding as untenanted land as compared with its *status* as tenanted land on the King-Harman Estate, because they stopped the sale of the tenant's interest to ex-County Inspector Scott; is this holding a town park inside Boyle township; and how far is it situate from the congested areas on this estate.

Mr. WALTER LONG: The first inquiry cannot be answered until the allocation of funds takes place. A small portion of the land is situated within the township of Boyle. There are no congested areas on this estate.

Kerry Evicted Tenants.

Mr. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state whether the Congested Districts Board would be prepared to reconsider the question of their possession of the evicted farms at Cragg and Ardcrone, county Kerry, with the view of a satisfactory settlement of the claims of the evicted tenants, Mrs. Cronin and Mr. Lyne, in accordance with the local representations made to them.

Mr. WALTER LONG: The Answer to this Question is in the negative. The hon. Member has more than once been informed that it would be altogether against public policy to reinstate the ex-tenants, who are defaulting annuitants under the Land Purchase Acts.

Rosscarbery Evicted Tenants.

Mr. EDWARD BARRY (Cork County, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the farm in Castleventry, Rosscarbery, from which Patrick Donovan was evicted, is now in the Court of Chancery; whether the Court authorised the auctioneers to sell the hay by private auction; and, if so, to whom; whether the Court intends selling the farm privately; and whether any steps will be taken to restore the evicted tenant to the farm.

Mr. WALTER LONG: The case referred to cannot be traced in the Court of Chancery upon the information contained in the Question. If the hon. Member will communicate to me the name of the owner, further inquiry will be made.

Mr. EDWARD BARRY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, seeing the Rosscarbery section of the Carbery Estate has been sold to the tenants, any arrangements have been arrived at between landlord and tenants to restore Patrick M'Carthy, evicted tenant, to the farm at Carrigfaddean, Castle Freke; whether the farm is still in possession of Arthur Dearne, J.P., Clonakilty; whether the landlord offered him any compensation for disturbance; and, if so, how much; and what steps are being taken by the Estates Commissioners to assist the landlord in restoring M'Carthy to the farm formerly held by him.

MR. WALTER LONG: Proceedings for the sale of this estate have been instituted before the Commissioners, but the name of Mr. Dearne does not appear among the purchasing tenants. The Commissioners have no knowledge of the facts mentioned in the second and third queries. The evicted tenant's application will be considered when the estate has been inspected.

MR. EDWARD BARRY: Will the right hon. Gentleman take steps to have this evicted tenant restored?

MR. WALTER LONG: I have said that the tenant's application will be considered by the Commissioners.

Irish Agricultural Department—Staff.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in view of the fact that the Irish Agricultural Department have in their service a number of Catholic gentlemen of ten years service and upwards and with salaries of less than £100 a year, and that other gentlemen of less than two years service in the Department received positions carrying salaries of from £200 to £350 a year, and whether, in view of the dissatisfaction in the Department and of the fact that local bodies have expressed the opinion that the facts require independent examination, he will give an opportunity for such independent examination at an early date; and, if not, what steps does he propose to take in the matter.

MR. WALTER LONG: I have nothing to add to my replies to the numerous Questions already addressed to me in this matter.

Trinity College Estates in Kerry.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry. W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any, and, if so, what estates in Kerry either let directly by Trinity College to tenants or to middle landlords have yet been sold under the Land Act of 1903; what is the price to tenants and the price demanded of landlords for the redemption of their head rents; whether any steps have been taken for the sale of the Wren and Stokes Estates; and, if not, will he explain why.

MR. WALTER LONG: The reply to this Question is in the negative.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL: Have any steps been taken to enable this landlord to carry out the Act?

MR. WALTER LONG: I am fully aware of the importance of this Question. I cannot say when the Government will be in a position to make any recommendation on the subject.

Irish National School Plans.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the proposed new plans for national schools in Ireland have now been approved of; and, if so, can he state when they will be issued.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg also to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will explain the delay in extending the scope and powers of managers of schools in Ireland by increasing plan VI. (a) of the Board of Works for the erection of national schools in Ireland; whether he is aware that in consequence of the increase in the cost of materials and erection the specifications under this plan are now impossible of being carried out; and when the Board of Works intend to take action in this matter.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): I have as yet no statement to make on this matter, which is, however, I hope, on the eve of a final settlement.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that this matter has been under consideration at least six years.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: I know, but I hope it will soon be settled now.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Before the end of this Parliament? Is there any Statute of Limitations?

Irish Teachers' Pension Fund.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he intends to appoint a Committee of the House to inquire into the Irish Teachers' Pension Fund, with a view to suggest improvements or alterations of the present system.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: As I have stated on previous occasions, I consider the appointment of a Committee would be premature until we are in possession of the results of the quinquennial valuation, which takes place at the close of this year.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL: When I raised the question before, the hon. Gentleman promised to consider the appointment of this Committee apart from the Departmental Committee.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: Yes, but my decision must rest upon the Report of the Departmental Committee.

Purchases of Army Horses in Ulster.

MR. EDWARD MITCHELL (Fermanagh, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War how many cavalry horses have been bought in Ulster during the past six months by His Majesty's Government; and if he can state the numbers bought in each province in Ireland for a similar purpose during that period.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The total number of cavalry horses purchased in Ulster since January 1st, 1905, is eighty-one. In the other provinces in Ireland for the same period the figures are as follows:—Leinster, 409; Munster, 264; Connaught, *nil*.

MR. EDWARD MITCHELL was understood to ask why, if private dealers could buy in Ulster, the horses could not be obtained there for Army purposes as well?

[No Answer was returned.]

Belfast Postal Official's Trial and Acquittal.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if his attention has been called to the case of Robert M'Whirter, tried at the current Belfast Assizes, on July 18th, on a charge of embezzling £5; to the nature of the evidence given on behalf of the Crown by a man previously unaccustomed to the work of the Savings Bank Department; to the charge of the Lord Chief Baron; and to the fact that the jury promptly returned a verdict of not guilty; and, seeing that M'Whirter has been suspended from duty, and this unproven criminal charge renders it difficult for him to secure work elsewhere, and that his record of seventeen years has been hitherto unblemished, will he take steps to have him reinstated.

LORD STANLEY: I have just received a report of the trial and other papers relating to the case referred to by the hon. Member, and I will give them my most careful consideration. The whole thing will be gone into carefully.

Post Office Property in Dublin

MR. T. HARRINGTON: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether the houses, Nos. 101 and 102, Amiens Street, Dublin, are the property of the postal authorities in Dublin; whether he is aware that the condition in which they are kept is complained of by the business people of the city; and whether there is any intention of rebuilding them, or putting them in a decent state of repair.

LORD STANLEY: The houses referred to by the hon. Member belong to the Post Office and are used as a basket store. I find that representations as to the condition of the two houses have been made, and it is proposed to pull them down.

Crasdoney (Cavan) Railway Fatality.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade if he will state the result of the inquiry, if any, held into the death of John Brennan, who was accidentally killed at Crasdoney Station, near Cavan, in December, 1901.

Mr. BONAR LAW: No inquiry was held into the accident to John Brennan. I observe that it took place as far back as the 20th December, 1900.

Mr. VINCENT KENNEDY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the family dependent on this man are now in a terrible state of destitution? Will he make further inquiry with a view to getting them compensation?

[No reply was audible.]

Irish Provident Assurance Company.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade whether any, and, if so, what decision has been come to by the law officers of the Crown with regard to the position of the Irish Provident Assurance Company.

Mr. BONAR LAW: I am informed that the inquiries regarding the Irish Provident Assurance Company are not yet complete, and that the matter is still under the consideration of the authorities in Dublin.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL: As this is a matter which concerns a large number of poor men will the hon. Gentleman press it forward?

Mr. BONAR LAW: I can assure the hon. Member that it is being gone into very thoroughly both by the Board of Trade and the Irish Department.

Mr. FLAVIN: You have already taken more than three months over the inquiry.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Mr. JOHN REDMOND asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether the promise given when the Bill creating the Irish Development Grant Fund was passed, that each session an opportunity would be afforded for the allocation of the fund, would be redeemed, especially as the Estimate issued early in the session had been withdrawn and an entirely different Estimate substituted only two days ago.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, in reply, said that if the hon. and learned Gentleman would allow him to look into the facts and consult with his right hon. friend, he would then give him all the information he could on the subject.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES asked whether, this being in the nature of a new Estimate, it could be taken on one of the allotted days.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR did not think it came under that description.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: It is headed "Revised Estimate," and there is a note as follows:—"This Estimate is to be substituted for the Estimate presented for the same service earlier in the year." It is dated July 24th. I will put another Question down for Monday. May I further ask whether the Government really intend to introduce their amending Land Bill, which has met with hostile criticism from all quarters of the House. If it is introduced, I can tell the right hon. Gentleman that it will be treated as a highly controversial measure.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said the Bill to which the hon. and learned Gentleman referred was one which was as much in the interests of the Irish tenants, indeed more of the tenants than of the Irish landlords. [Cries of "No."] That was the intention of the Government; it might have been ill carried out in the Bill. In view of the explicit declaration made by the hon. and learned Gentleman, and in view of the period of the session, of course it would be impossible to proceed with the Bill if it was going to meet with determined and hostile opposition on the part of the majority of Irish Members.

FOREIGN SHIPS (STATUTORY REQUIREMENTS).

Report from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence, brought up, and read.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 269.]

WORKMEN'S TRAINS.

Report from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence and an Appendix, brought up, and read.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 270.]

NEW BILL.

LAND VALUES ASSESSMENT (SCOTLAND) BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to the Assessment of Land Values in Scotland," presented by Mr. Munro Ferguson; supported by Mr. Dalziel, Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Lamont; to be read a second time upon Saturday, 12th August, and to be printed. [Bill 298.]

SUPPLY [17th Allotted Day].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. Grant Lawson (Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1905–6.

Class II.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £28,920, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, including a Grant in Aid of certain Expenses connected with Emigration."

***Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON** (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) rose to call attention to the Transvaal Constitution. The Colonial Secretary the other day made a speech in which he taunted the Opposition with not having brought on this Vote earlier in order to discuss this particular question. He thought the taunt was very unworthy of the right hon. Gentleman, as there were very good reasons for not pressing it on. One was that the matter of time did not arise. The whole question had been practically taken out of the power of the House to deal with by the issue of Letters Patent. Then he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would allow him to say that, though they dissented from the proposals he made, hon. Members on the Opposition side desired as much as he did to avoid any action that might accentuate friction in South Africa, or tend to jeopardise the settlement of this very difficult question. They, quite as much as the right hon. Gentleman himself, desired the peace and prosperity of South Africa, and they equally desired with him a satisfactory settlement. He regretted very much that the question had been taken out of the purview of the House. He would have thought the Government would have welcomed the assistance and criticisms of the Opposition on that very important question. They had not been so singularly and uniformly successful either in their anticipation, or action, or results in South African affairs, as to justify them in arrogating to themselves omniscient wisdom with regard to South African matters. Moreover, this House had exceptional claims to consideration in this matter. Nobody could deny that the last election turned largely on the question of the settlement in South Africa, and that the Government were given a majority because it was supposed by the electors that they would be better able to bring about a rapid and successful peace and a good settlement after the war. The House ought under such circumstances to have had an opportunity of discussing this question in a friendly way.

Being now challenged he was bound to say that in two material matters the policy of the Government was not one in which he for one was able to concur. The first was the decision which the Government had come to in regard to the Orange Free State. There the problem was a much simpler one than in the case of the Transvaal; and if any forward steps were to be taken at all, it should, in his opinion, have been the Orange Free State that should have taken precedence, for there they had no complications in regard to mining or Chinese labour, and the State had for many years been accustomed to absolute self-government of the most constitutional description. While he was in office they never had any trouble of any sort or kind with the Orange Free State. In this connection, he regretted that Lord Selborne had declared that the Government could hold out no promise as to the time when the care of this colony would be taken in hand, and that reform might not take place for years to come. He did not think that would tend to the smooth or satisfactory working of the new Transvaal Constitution.

The other point in which he entirely dissented from the decision of the Government was that instead of giving to the Transvaal responsible government they were going to give it representative institutions. He and his friends were not in a position to say whether the time had arrived when the Transvaal was fitted for complete self-government. But it would have been far better, if necessary, to have waited for a further period in order to grant, as one step, complete self-government rather than representative institutions. The Government had always said that they intended to treat the Transvaal on the basis of a self-governing colony, and that the Colonial Secretary was bound by the pledges of his predecessor. But the only pledge given by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham was that at some time or other the Transvaal should have full responsible government. The Colonial Secretary had spoken of the risks of giving full responsible institutions to the Transvaal; but whatever steps were taken in this matter there were risks. The unfortunate thing about South Africa was that there were risks in any course of action which might be taken there. In his opinion, however, there was less risk in giving a full Constitution to the Transvaal at the proper time than in carrying this proposal of representative institutions and then subsequently granting a Constitution. He was glad to think, in respect of the racial difficulties, that a large section of British subjects in the Transvaal were in accord and in co-operation with the Dutch, and this agreement and co-operation would do a great deal to help the future government of the country. He feared, however, that the grant of a representative system, instead of reconciling the Dutch, might alienate the British, and thus there might spring up a common antagonism against this country, who, after all, would still remain responsible for the country. A good feature about the proposal of the Government was that it would not need any very revolutionary step to move from the present position to the next step of full self-government.

The substantial difference between a constitutional and representative government was that in the one case the Executive was under the control of the representatives of the people, and in the other case the Executive was irresponsible and could neither be made nor dismissed by the representatives. Having quoted from Sir Charles Bruce in condemnation of a system of hybrid Constitution which existed in so many Crown Colonies, he pointed out that there were drawbacks and dangers in the representative system as compared with complete self-government. Under it the Executive had the power of the purse, though in the minority, while the representatives in the majority had the power to refuse the proposals of the Government and to criticise the subjects brought before them. The minority could prevent the majority from having their way, and the majority could similarly block the proposals of the minority. On the one side there was power without responsibility; on the other responsibility without power. This position of affairs was not calculated to smooth the working of Government institutions as a whole. There was also the serious danger that such a Constitution must almost certainly lead to friction, justifying or even compelling delay in the granting of fuller powers. Finally, instead of self-government being given spontaneously and received gratefully, it would be given grudgingly, under pressure, and received without favour.

He hoped, however, that those interested in this question, would do their best to utilise the Constitution which had been granted to the Transvaal, to make it successful, and would take a share in its administration and control. He would advise them to do so for this very good reason—that the more they showed themselves desirous of taking part in their own government, the sooner and easier it would be to give full self-government to the Transvaal. Those who sat on the Opposition side of the House still retained a profound belief in the healing virtues of responsible government and liberty. They thought that when the time had arrived for a step to be taken in that direction it should have been the step of granting a complete Constitution to the Transvaal. Such a Constitution would have ensured that liberty, equality, and fraternity which was best calculated to bring peace and prosperity to the Transvaal.

*MR. PEEL (Manchester, S.) said that the hon. Member who had just spoken had indulged in gloomy prophecies as to the result of the Constitution now granted and the delay in granting full responsible government to the Transvaal, though at the end of his speech he seemed rather to regret the statements he had made, and had expressed the hope that the different races in South Africa would do all they could to work this Constitution in such a manner as would make responsible government possible in the near future. In the course of the hon. Gentleman's observations he had, however, omitted two considerations from his criticisms, one being that neither the Transvaal nor any of the colonies in South Africa were inhabited only by two white races. In the case of the Transvaal there was a vast population of a different character, which rendered all analogies based on the experience of other colonies, where that fact did not exist, entirely alien to the particular problem which had to be considered. The hon. Member made a useful and kindly admission which went far to dispose of the criticisms he had made, because he admitted that the Constitution as at present laid down would require very little change, and all that would have to be done in order to give full responsible government would be to alter the relations of the electoral to the Executive parties. But the hon. Gentleman went very far when he assumed to bring a general criticism against the whole system of what might be termed half-way houses to colonial Constitutions, and said that he would be willing that the present conditions should exist a little longer, if in the end responsible government was granted to the Transvaal. That was contrary to the chief precedents in colonial government. On questions of this kind they ought to be very careful how they departed from what was the usual course in granting a Constitution. The hon. Gentleman's criticisms seemed to imply that the system of half-way house representative government was likely to be permanent, but as a matter of fact it was introduced by his right hon. friend the Colonial Secretary as a temporary system; introduced merely to give these peoples in the Transvaal an opportunity to learn to work a responsible Constitution when it was granted to them; a Constitution which it might fall to the lot of hon. Gentlemen opposite to grant.

Although the hon. Gentleman had criticised the action of the Government in withholding from the elected body several great questions, notably that of the railways which were controlled by the Inter-Colonial Council, he should not suggest that the Inter-Colonial Council ought to be abolished. The advantages of that body were obvious; they had co-ordinated the railways of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, and they had stimulated other portions of South Africa in their desire to combine other railways and work them together in one general system for the country. That must eventually come. It was only a question of time. There had been some changes in the composition of the Inter-Colonial Council which dealt with these railways, and as the Constitution of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony broadened, a broader basis would be introduced into the control of these railways, and that broadening process would go on *pari passu* with that of the Constitution.

His right hon. friend the Colonial Secretary had laid it down that the natives should not have votes under the new Constitution, and that to safeguard the native races of the country special legislation was to be passed in the Colonial Legislature, legislation relating to native rights and interests. If he might venture to make a suggestion, he would suggest that that was not enough, because it might be that insufficient legislation, or legislation which was not of the proper kind, might be passed to deal with native interests. It had also to be remembered that there was a certain amount of native representation in Cape Colony, and although he would not say that it had worked well, there was a means of communication between the dark races of South Africa, and a certain feeling of annoyance might arise from the fact that while they had no voice in the affairs of the Transvaal, their fellow races in Cape Colony had some means of influencing the authorities of that colony. He would therefore suggest that there should be one or two gentlemen in the council itself to definitely represent native interests. They should ascertain what the wishes of the native races were, and influence, so far as they could, the council in those matters. That was a matter he ventured to press on his right hon. friend. He strongly deprecated many of the statements made that because of some technicality in connection with the guarantee, those who guaranteed the £30,000,000 would repudiate their guarantee when elected to the council. He believed that they fully recognised their obligations, and that their guarantee would be taken up. It would be, he thought, most unfortunate, if they were to suggest that these men, after taking advantage of a bargain or arrangement of that kind, would go back upon it. It seemed to him inconceivable that men who wished to start on a new representative career, shortly to emerge into full responsible government, should seek to repudiate the responsibility and obligations they had voluntarily taken upon themselves.

MR. FULLER (Wiltshire, Westbury) said that it was his last wish to approach the subject raised by his hon. friend in a controversial or Party spirit, but he wished to echo the opinion expressed by his hon. friend that a certain resentment was felt in certain quarters at the boast which the Colonial Secretary had made, that because his colonial policy in South Africa had not been challenged by the Opposition in that House that therefore that policy was approved of. He reminded the right hon. Gentleman that apart from the reasons given by his hon. friend for not raising the question before, there was a third reason which had not been given. The first reason given for not raising this question before was that there was no urgency, and the second was that the whole matter had been removed from the purview of that House. But the third reason, which had not been put forward, was their desire and endeavour to criticise these matters in such a way as not to prevent the peace, prosperity, and safety of South Africa being achieved by anything that might be said either in or outside that House.

While he agreed generally with the views expressed by his hon. friend, he thought the Orange River Colony would be fortunate if it was allowed to go by one step from Crown colony government to full responsible government. He was at a loss to understand why the Government had embarked on the policy embodied in the proposed Constitution. There had been no demand whatever for this "half-way house" policy from either Boer or Briton in the colony. There had been no great grumbling against the policy of Crown colony government. The Dutch population were accepting the inevitable in no unfriendly spirit, and were looking forward to the time when responsible government would be given, but as the result of the introduction of this proposed Constitution the white population of the Transvaal had divided itself into two hostile camps, and political agitation, which was practically unknown until November of last year, had greatly developed. He thought, therefore, that on all grounds it would have been better to have deferred the settlement of this question until some future date, and then to have granted full responsible government. If the future of South Africa was to be assured as an integral portion of the British Empire, it was absolutely essential that the active co-operation of the Dutch population should be enlisted in the government of the country. So far as could be judged, this Constitution would not secure the co-operation of the Dutch population, and he believed that if such a system of government were imposed upon the Transvaal it was bound to fail in the long run. The policy was not Lord Milner's, but had been imposed upon the Colonial Government in the Transvaal by the Government at home. That was evident from the speech of Lord Milner in reply to a deputation from the Progressive Party at Johannesburg on January 10th last, when he said—

> "Entirely apart from any personal opinion, I have received instructions from the Home Government to make what suggestions I can and to throw what light I can upon the execution of what is their settled policy—which is to introduce here a representative Legislature elected by the people, with an Executive which will continue for a time to be appointed by the Crown."

Whether or not the Government received advice from Lord Milner, they had no right to refuse to take the fullest responsibility in the matter. It was only necessary to read the Blue-books to see that both parties were in agreement on many matters, including the electoral areas, the basis of the franchise, and, in substance, as to responsible government being the only possible future government for the colony. Practically the only difference between them was as to when responsible government should be granted. He thought, therefore, the Government should have deferred the settlement of the question until the psychological moment, agreed on by both Parties, arrived, when full responsible government could be granted. The dangers involved in the proposed Constitution were very real. By setting up a nominated Executive, practically at the mercy of an elective Assembly, they were running the risk of bringing the whole Government to a deadlock. Mr. E. P. Solomons, at a public meeting in Johannesburg, said—

> "The result of the proposed Constitution will be that you will create ill-feeling amongst our personal friends; there will be disruption amongst the English section of this community, and there will be the alienation of the Dutch population. Once the disruption and alienation occurs, it will take years to bring them into the position which they formerly occupied."

Then, speaking of the Progressive Party, he said—

> "Are these men going to take this responsibility for the sake of one solitary year?——"

his point being that the Progressives were anxious, after a little delay, to grant responsible government. That being so, it would have been only sensible, wise, and statesmanlike to have deferred the settlement. It was too late to ask the Government to hang up the matter. The Constitution would soon be in operation; but, in the interests of peace and the future of the colony, he earnestly urged the Government to grant full responsible government at the earliest possible moment.

*MR. WORSLEY-TAYLOR (Lancashire, Blackpool) thought that all would agree that this matter should be treated as outside Party controversy, and that nothing should be said that would tend to jeopardise the harmonious working of the Constitution. It had been said that there was no demand for this proposed Constitution, but from the very first page of the Blue-book he found a reference to a most powerful association, containing the leading men in the Transvaal, the first two articles of which were the maintenance of the British flag, and the immediate fulfilment of the promise of the establishment of representative government on liberal and fair terms with a view to clearing the way for the granting, as early as might be expedient, of the freest and fullest form of responsible government.

MR. FULLER said he distinctly stated there was no agitation for that particular form of Constitution before November, 1904.

*MR. WORSLEY-TAYLOR did not think the date was very material. One of the sections of the terms of peace provided that military administration should at the earliest possible date be succeeded by civil government, to be followed as soon as circumstances permitted by representative institutions leading up to self-government. This measure of representative government was in accordance with the section. It was justified by the history of the case and by the Vereeniging Treaty, which was submitted to the burghers and ratified by them.

With regard to the general circumstances of the country, he wished to point out that there were two races in South Africa. Whether the Boers were in a majority as to population, or whether they would have a majority of voters he could not say; but even if they were not in a majority they would have a minority so powerful that by allying themselves with another party they would dominate the situation. Since the conclusion of the war they could not shut their eyes to the fact that some of the Boer leaders had shown themselves hostile, and many of them had abstained from co-operating in any of those measures which had been brought forward to restore prosperity to the country. Good work had been done under Lord Milner of a civil, economic, and municipal kind in which the Boers might very well have co-operated. That the new Constitution was very generous to the Boers nobody could deny, for although not long ago they were in arms and made war against us, there was not a single thing under the Constitution which was now being granted to our fellow-countrymen in the Transvaal which was not granted to the Boers as well. There was no other nation on the face of the earth which would have treated a community of that kind so generously.

There was another matter which to his mind was one of great moment, and that was the opinion of the Progressive Association. He did not want to go into names, or introduce comparisons, but nobody would deny that there were amongst the members of the Progressive Association men who were recognised as leaders of public opinion in the Transvaal. It included men of all shades of opinion, men who fought for us in the war, eminent constitutional lawyers, men who had done most useful municipal work, prominent commercial men, and leaders of the mining community. The members of the Progressive Association had declared against granting responsible government, and they asked that the terms of the Treaty of Vereeniging should be carried out in their entirety. He ventured to say that if the Government had disregarded an appeal of that kind from the people on the spot they would have been doing wrong.

Since the promulgation of the new Constitution there had been a greater advance towards co-operation on the part of the Boers than had been displayed during the whole of the time that had elapsed since the war. He noticed that in a speech delivered the other day, General Louis Botha said that they must show the Government of this country that they were loyal. For his part, said General Botha, he intended to turn over a new leaf and make a new start, and it was the duty of all Boers to do all they could to help Lord Selborne to carry on successfully the government of the country. He was glad to read statements of that kind from influential Boer leaders, and they ought to do all they could to encourage them to co-operate under the new Constitution, and not discourage them by adverse criticism of it. The Boers were now registering themselves as voters in order to be able to exercise their rights and functions under the Constitution, and for such reasons as these he hoped we might draw the inference that they intended to co-operate loyally with their fellow-countrymen under the new Constitution, which lent itself to a gradual approximation to that fuller form of responsible government which they all desired to see introduced at the earliest possible moment. It was so drawn that members of the Executive could be chosen from those who were elected. It was, therefore, possible under the new Constitution gradually to approximate very closely to the fuller form of responsible government. He hoped that before many years were over they would find all parties in the Transvaal joining together and saying to this country, "Now that we have proved ourselves able to co-operate with you under this Constitution in bringing prosperity to the Transvaal we ask you to grant us responsible government." Then, and not till then, would any Government be justified in granting that full measure of responsible government to which the new Constitution, which had been recently promulgated, was the stepping stone.

*MR. BLACK (Banffshire) said he was sure they all welcomed what the hon. Member had said in regard to the sincerity of General Botha's intentions, but if such evidence meant anything at all it ought to lead to quite a different conclusion to that which the hon. Gentleman opposite had drawn. Such declarations rather led to the conclusion that instead of introducing elements of difference and friction the Government should at once accept such professions of loyalty as real, and grant complete self-government to the Transvaal.

He had risen more to point out that the present condition of affairs in South Africa was a complete and absolute condemnation of the policy of the Government as stated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham whilst he occupied the position of Colonial Secretary. What did they find? The forecast made by the late Colonial Secretary had been completely falsified. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham stated that the real reason for embarking upon the war was that unless they did so and rejected the proposals of President Kruger it would be necessary to maintain an armed force in South Africa of 25,000 men with the inevitable result that our whole Army system would be thrown into confusion. As a result of the war they found that they were still maintaining an armed force of 25,000 men, for they were keeping up in South Africa a constabulary numbering 5,000, and 20,000 British troops. For what reason were they being maintained? Because they could not trust the people. In South Africa there was a white population of 250,000 men, women, and children; and out of that total about 50,000 were capable of bearing arms. Therefore, they had one soldier or policeman for every two men in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony. Not only this, but the expenditure upon the constabulary was about £1,000,000. What did that mean? That every man, woman, and child (outside the Rand) in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony was subject to a charge of £4 a head, or £20 per household. The total cost of Government in all its departments in this country was £3 10s. or £4 per head. Therefore, in South Africa they were subjected to as heavy a charge for police alone as the whole expense of governing these islands. In addition to this charge on the people of the new colonies, the people of this country had to maintain those 20,000 troops at a cost of £4,000,000, and that was a large proportion of the whole outlay upon our military establishments. They thus found that we had obtained no relief through the war from the burden of maintaining a large force in Africa, and he ventured to say that the form of Constitution now proposed by the Government would not give them relief. They would still require to govern by force and not by reason. The Government could not take their courage in both hands and go forward and trust the people. He, therefore, supported the hon. Member for Poplar in urging that every consideration of policy and economy pointed to an early grant of self-government instead of the intermediate stage, which almost, by universal experience, led to friction and to the delay of the consummation of self-government under the British flag which they all desired.

SIR ROBERT REID (Dumfries Burghs) said there was a certain degree of unreality in this debate, for the Transvaal Constitution had been promulgated irrespective of the opinion of the House, and without their having an opportunity of considering it beforehand and offering their judgment upon it. He ventured to say that the course which the Government had pursued for a considerable time in regard to the House of Commons had diminished the power of the House. However, they must say something in regard to the new Constitution of the Transvaal, because it greatly affected this country. He did not propose to refer to precedents, although the Colonial Secretary in his covering despatch to Sir Arthur Lawley had laid considerable stress on precedents. He believed it was true that in many, if not most cases, responsible government had been preceded by a form of purely Crown government. But in all cases—certainly in Canada, Cape Colony, and, he thought, in some of the colonies of Australia—friction had become extreme, because there was an irresponsible Assembly without the power of expressing opinons, while alongside of it there was a Government which was responsible, but responsible only to itself. He did not wish to dwell on these precedents, although some things had been said by distinguished statesmen in the past warning the Government of the danger of the course taken in this case, namely, the half-way course. After all, they should not be governed by analogy. What they had to do was to use common sense and to see whether partial self-government was advisable and what were the proposals of the Government which were now to be carried into effect.

The Legislative Assembly had four-fifths of elected members—he did not say anything of the franchise at the moment—and therefore they could carry, if they had a mind to do so, any vote they thought proper. But what had they withdrawn from it? They had withdrawn from it the salaries of all the servants of the State. In other words, they might object in the strongest possible manner to the conduct of one person or another, but they would not have an opportunity of discussing it on the Estimates because those salaries were taken out of the Consolidated Fund. They could not remove a single member of the Administration, however strongly they might disapprove of him. In that way they could not enforce any active administration at all. That was a very serious matter. That meant that the constabulary could act as it pleased. The power of criticising the constabulary was withdrawn from the Legislative Assembly. The revenue and expenditure of railways were withdrawn. The railways were the greatest source of revenue in the Transvaal, and the railway management had been giving rise to great dissatisfaction in recent months, as everyone who read the papers on the subject was well aware. In addition to that the Governor could not pass any law relating to Asiatics or natives without referring it home. There was an express power reserved which he thought was unprecedented. The power was reserved to the King in Council, notwithstanding the grant of this *quasi*-Constitution, to disallow any laws which the council thought fit to pass, over-riding the Legislative Assembly by the mere issue of an Order in Council. If that was according to precedent well and good, but, whether it was so or not, it was surely against the rule laid down more than a hundred years ago by Lord Mansfield, who said—

> "The Sovereign need not grant a Constitution unless he thinks fit, but once he grants a Constitution that Constitution is irrevocable."

That law had been abrogated by the form of this Constitution.

What could the Legislative Assembly do? They could discuss grievances, and they could point out the defects of Ministers. They could stir up dissatisfaction and discontent all over the country. He did not say they would do it. But they could not invoke a certain remedy for the purpose of removing grievances. That was a situation which must necessarily lead to friction. It was contrary to the interests of this country, and also to the real interests of the Transvaal, that this state of things should be set up. In the first place what were the interests of this country? Under the new Constitution we should continue to be responsible for the government of the Transvaal. He noticed that one of the planks of the Progressive Association was that Party politicians in this country were not to interfere in the affairs of the Transvaal. He was perfectly certain that nobody wanted to interfere in the affairs of the Transvaal, but we must look into them and prevent them from being a constant source of expenditure to this country.

He noticed that the Colonial Secretary, in a speech the other day, said in substance that almost all the millions which had been spent on the great works which were being carried out had come directly or indirectly out of the mines. The right hon. Gentleman could not have been correctly reported, or he did not mean it in a literal sense. The Blue-book stated that the expenditure which had been incurred for these very purposes came out of the guaranteed loan. He thought that was very likely what the Colonial Secretary referred to. That was money which was advanced by this country. They had spent £3,000,000, roughly, on new railways; £4,500,000 had been advanced by way of loans; £4,500,000 had been spent on charges in the way of repatriation; £2,200,000 had gone for land settlement; nearly £1,500,000 on other public works; and £1,500,000 on the improvement of railways. All that had come out of the guaranteed loan—that was to say, the money which was provided on condition that £30,000,000 would be contributed by the Transvaal towards the cost of the war. That was not all. There had been in addition to that, since the war concluded, a sum of upwards of £20,000,000 spent out of the pockets of the people of this country which was not to be repaid. The late Colonial Secretary, answering a Question which he put to him two years ago, said that between £15,000,000 and £16,000,000 would be spent, and he understood the present Colonial Secretary to say, in the debate last year, had been spent, to repair the mischief which had been wrought through the devastating war. He was making no complaint about that, for there were many things which we were under an absolute obligation to do for the purpose of repairing the mischief. But we were still paying about £4,000,000 a year for the garrison in South Africa which consisted now of 20,000 men. Ten years ago we had less than 4,000 men there. The present garrison of 20,000 men represented nearly one-tenth of the adult population of the Transvaal. We would have to keep up that garrison as long as there was not peace and goodwill in the country. That was one of the reasons why politicians in this country were bound to take an interest in the affairs of the Transvaal.

It would be a good thing to have responsible government in the Transvaal for the sake of that country itself. He said this because in this country and in the House they did not possess the necessary knowledge, and the information was not accessible to them, to enable them to settle the difficult questions which arose in the Transvaal. There was, to begin with, the matter of Chinese labour. That was a question of infinite difficulty. From some points of view it was a matter which should be settled in accordance with opinion out there. It was a question which could not be settled according to opinion here. So it was with regard to the Asiatic question. So it was with regard to railway rates and Customs charges, which made the cost of living out there three times what it was in this country. Were the gold mines to pay only 10 per cent.? That was a matter which had to be settled, as well as other kindred things, by opinion out there and not by us. Every one of the subjects he had referred to were withdrawn by the Constitution from the decision of the new Legislative Assembly. All these things were reserved for the Executive Government, and the consequence was that we should not get rid of the responsibility, and, what was much more important, the people of the Transvaal would not be able to settle these matters according to what they themselves thought was right. He had no doubt that Lord Selborne and other Ministers who might be sent there would desire to do their duty, but what was the use of having a Constitution which did not command the support of the people to be governed. Power should be bestowed on the people themselves, because they knew where the shoe pinched. That was an elementary fact in human government which had been forgotten. We should not satisfy these people until we gave them responsible government.

He had said nothing at all about the Orange Free State. What he was putting forward was the goal which was professedly aimed at by the Colonial Secretary. When he said "professedly" he did not say that the right hon. Gentleman was affecting it. It was the goal which was provided for by the Treaty of Vereeniging. Why was nothing to be given to the Orange Free State? He did not know whether it was a fact, but it was said that in the Transvaal there was not a majority of Boer voters, while in the Orange Free State there was a majority of Boer voters. It was said that that was the reason that nothing had been done for the Orange Free State. He hoped not. Let them think for a single moment what that meant. It meant that a great part of the manhood in the Transvaal at the present time was there by reason of the mines. He did not know how long the mines would last. Probably they would be temporary, but there was likely to be for a long time to come a preponderance of men who went there for the purpose—the legitimate purpose—of making their way in the world and returning home. They did not take their families there, and they did not rear families there. They were largely single men. The Boers had their families there. They were proverbially a prolific race. They were increasing enormously, and had been doing so for the last century.

It was essential for us to consolidate our position in South Africa and to follow out the old policy which was carried on before the misery came arising out of the Jameson Raid. South Africa could not be governed successfully except with the consent and goodwill of the population. It was true that the Boers had fought and had been beaten; but how long would the memories of their struggle last? There were a class of memories not likely to fade away in three, four, five, ten, or twelve years. There were memories on both sides which, so far as the combatants on both sides were concerned, they were entitled to be proud of. He was speaking not of the politicians, but of the men who fought in the field, and who risked their lives. Lord Kitchener himself had said that if he were a Boer he would be proud of these memories. Now, as he understood human nature, that was the frame of mind in which they could best approach the Boers, in a spirit of confidence and trust. And that was the reason why he said that when the Government was going to give the Transvaal a new Constitution they should have granted responsible self-government. That would have been the best for South Africa, for the Boers, and for all concerned.

THE MASTER OF ELIBANK (Edinburgh, Midlothian) asked if the High Commissioner had the power to appoint to the Executive Council men who had been elected to the Legislative Assembly? If so, he thought it would considerably facilitate business in the council if he were to appoint two or three of the leading citizens to the Executive Council.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington) said that the High Commissioner had the power to appoint elected members to the Executive Council, but that appointment by the High Commissioner would necessarily vacate the seats of the elected members of the Legislative Assembly, as in the case of Ministers here, and their re-election would, therefore, be necessary.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) said that he had very little to add to what had been said by his hon. and learned friend as to the Constitution granted to the Transvaal; but he had some Questions to ask as to the present condition of the natives. That was of very great importance, especially in regard to land and education. There had been a desire on the part of a large section of the whites to prevent the natives from having any permanent interest in the land—particularly on the part of the squatters and the leaseholders. In the Report of the Land Commission, two of the members were dissatisfied with the view of the other Commissioners, and held that it would be to the interest of the native population and of the country if a permanent land tenure were given to the natives on holdings which they could work for themselves, instead of being obliged to work on the farms of the white men. Now, there was nothing more to be desired than that in the Transvaal there should be a native peasant proprietary. Under such conditions they would acquire habits of industry and thrift. In that way there could be bridged over the necessary passage from tribal conditions to those to which they must ultimately come in order to take their place in the general social economy of the country. He was anxious to hear some statement of the policy of the Government from the right hon. Gentleman on that point, and he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would not accede to the wishes of those who desired that the natives should be prevented from acquiring land in their own country. His belief was that the natives were better off in regard to the acquisition of land under the old Boer Government than under the present Government.

Similarly in regard to education. He found from the Report of the

Commissioner of Native Affairs that the natives paid in direct taxation £280,000 a year. That was a large sum; it was more than they had paid before the war. Let him say, in passing, that the natives were worse off now than before the war. One of the flimsy pretexts for the war was that we were going to do so much for the benefit of the natives. So far from that being true, the natives were now, as he had said, worse off. While the natives of the Transvaal paid £280,000 in direct taxation, the sum expended on native education was only £5,000. That was a very much lower sum than was spent in the other colonies. In Cape Colony, with self-government, the amount contributed in direct taxation by the natives was £105,000, and the public expenditure on the education of the natives was £47,000. He put it to the Committee whether it was not dealing unfairly and unkindly with the natives of the Transvaal to spend only £5,000 a year on their education when they contributed £280,000 in direct taxation? The character of the education was of very considerable importance. It was desirable that that education should not merely be an education in the elements of reading and writing and some knowledge of English, but that the natives should be taught some industries. Nothing would do so much for a backward race as to give them industrial training. There should be a few places where that industrial training could be given—a training which had been found to be so extremely valuable in the Southern States of America. The natives were in a vast majority in South Africa; and when they began to learn to speak English or to arrive at a common dialect they would begin to realise their power and be a far more important element in the country than they were at the present moment. That was all the more reason why we should do more for them now, and endeavour to lead them by a friendly hand.

In regard to the Constitution given to the Transvaal, his hon. and learned friend the Member for Dumfries Burghs and the hon. Member for Poplar had pointed out that if they were to discuss that Constitution properly it ought to have been discussed before that Constitution was settled. They showed how very restricted was the scope left open to the Legislative Assembly and how little that Legislative Assembly could do with effect; how many opportunities there would be for friction; and how much temptation there would be to oppress the natives. That had been found to happen in other colonies where the same experiment had been tried. Let him recall a remark made by the hon. Member for Manchester in connection with the condition of the natives. He said that there would be a considerable advantage in having in the Legislative Assembly some person, not necessarily having a vote, but having a voice in the deliberations where native questions were concerned, and capable of giving expression to native sentiment. There were precedents for that in other colonies.

Although he did not intend to traverse the points of the Constitution which fell short of a system of responsible self-government, there were two points on which he must say a word. One was the provision for giving votes to British soldiers. Could anything be imagined more absurd than to give the electoral franchise to the British soldiers stationed in the Transvaal?

*MR. LYTTELTON said that he had stated, in answer to a Question, that the Letters Patent were not designed to give the soldiers a vote, and that the Transvaal Government had been instructed accordingly.

MR. BRYCE said he was very glad to hear what the Colonial Secretary had told the Committee. It, however, had been assumed both in this country and the Transvaal that the soldiers were to have votes.

*MR. LYTTELTON said that there were cases in which soldiers not living in official quarters would have a vote.

MR. BRYCE said that that was quite a different matter. That was the case in this country and was not open to the exception he had taken.

The other point to which he wished to direct attention, was the provision in regard to the use of language. The late Government in the Transvaal always permitted the use of Dutch in the Volksraad. What possible objection was there to allowing Dutch to be used in the Legislative Assembly? Was it not quite certain that the Lieutenant-Governor, if he was a man of sense, would give that permission? But why should it be thought necessary for a Boer to ask permission to speak in Dutch? The two languages were used in the Legislative Assembly of Cape Colony. There was nothing that had had more effect there in bringing the minds of the two races together, or in removing old jealousies, than in giving permission to use Dutch. It never did any harm. In point of fact, nobody supposed that this provision in the Constitution would have any possible effect in the way of preventing the use of Dutch for many purposes. This question of language was not new. It had existed in many countries: it had never put down the language of either race and had invariably produced friction. He had heard it said that the Danes would have secured Schleswig if they had not endeavoured to put down German.

Lastly, he could not understand why, when a Constitution was being granted to the Transvaal, a Constitution was not also granted to the Orange River Colony. The Colonial Secretary confined himself to saying that they could not do two things at once. The Orange River territory was simple compared with the Transvaal. It had a homogeneous population, there was no capital interest in it, the people were quiet and law-abiding, and the relations between the Dutch and the British, friendly before the war, were friendly now. There was, therefore, no reason to think that the same difficulty would occur there as in the Transvaal. Lord Selborne the other day intimated in a speech that the granting of a Constitution to the Orange River Colony would be a matter of a very short time. Did the Colonial Secretary think that if there were any difficulties and dangers now they would be less serious in four or five years? The concession of a Constitution to the Orange River Colony would have a healing and encouraging effect both there and in the Transvaal. It would be taken as a pledge of the *bona fides* of the Government, of their willingness not to do things by halves, of their belief that there was a desire both in the British and the Dutch element to come together and to work the Constitution in harmony. It would have been, moreover, an encouraging sign of the spirit in which the Government approached this problem. This spirit of timidity and distrust of the people would inevitably do harm, while the concession of a Constitution to the Orange River Colony would, he believed, have done good. However unsatisfactory might be the position in which this question had been left, he thought that the Colonial Secretary would recognise that it was the wish of the Opposition in making these criticisms to say nothing which would add to the difficulty of working the Constitution he had granted to the Transvaal.

Major SEELY (Isle of Wight) asked the Colonial Secretary to tell the Committee whether he would be able to take steps to see that all receipts signed by British officers were paid. The right hon. Member for West Birmingham had explained the view that the Government took of this question; but it so happened that there was evidence available to show that some of the receipts, no doubt accidentally, had not been paid, and it was desirable that, a definite pledge having been made to meet these receipts, they should be honoured.

*Mr. LYTTELTON: Some of the critics of the Constitution given to the Transvaal appear to think it never ought to have been granted at all, whilst some think it ought to have been granted, and others think it ought to have been granted in a different form to that proposed. It is not unnatural when hon. Gentlemen opposite hold these diverse views that the conclusion they have arrived at is not altogether cogent. But I desire to recognise that there has been no dissent at all from the proposition laid down by the hon. Member for Poplar when he expressed the hope that all the British representatives in the Transvaal would co-operate in working the Constitution in a generous and loyal spirit. I agree with the advice that the hon. Member has given that it would undoubtedly lead sooner to responsible government being granted if the present Constitution were worked in a cordial spirit. Having said that generally, I will deal in a few words with the Questions put to me.

The right hon. Gentleman who spoke last referred to the question of native policy. Let me say at once it is agreed on all sides that in the evidence and Report of the Commission appointed under the chairmanship of Sir Godfrey Lagden we have a document of the greatest possible merit and importance. It was the result of the most laborious and assiduous inquiry, and it has been welcomed by the Press of the country, Radical as well as Unionist, in a cordial and warm spirit. It would be very undesirable that Downing Street should dictate to the new Parliament, about to be created, the policy it should adopt, acting, as they probably will act, through the advice of that Royal Commission. I think the right hon. Gentleman has misunderstood the effect of reserving native questions to the Constitution. Unless an Act passed by the Legislature of the Transvaal dealing with native affairs was approved by His Majesty's Government in the course of two years it would not become law. Until it is disapproved it is the law, but unless it is approved it will cease to be the law at the end of two years. The provision does not reserve the subject from the consideration of the Transvaal Legislature, but it merely gives an opportunity to the Government to protect, if necessary the natives, for owing to the treaty the natives have no means of representation at the present time and of protecting themselves. The Royal Commission gave particular attention to the subject of the education of the natives as well as to representation. I am certain that both questions will be laid to heart by the Legislature. It would be premature on my part to express any view as to the policy of the Government until we know what is to be the policy of the Transvaal Government upon the subject and the report of the High Commissioner on it. With regard to this question of native races the right hon. Gentleman gave, I think, figures which would be misleading if it were not explained that he ought to have accompanied those figures with the statement that there are a great many more natives than white people in the Transvaal; that the proportion of natives to whites is very large indeed.

As to the use of the Dutch language, it was never intended for a moment to depart from the example of Cape Colony as to the permission to speak Dutch within the Assembly. I think that it is an extravagant and exaggerated anticipation to suppose that any Dutchman who wishes to use Dutch in the Parliament to be created will be prevented by any British Government from doing so. It is the intention of the Government that Dutch should be spoken by Dutchmen when they desire to address the Assembly, and there is not the least doubt that the rule followed in the Cape will be followed in the Transvaal, and that every facility will be given to those who desire to speak the Dutch tongue in Parliament.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): In Cape Colony permission is not needed; the right is conferred by a statute passed in 1882.

*MR. LYTTELTON: The hon. Member is quite right; but there is no difference in substance, in my judgment, between the statute and the permission given by the Speaker of the Assembly.

As to the Orange River Colony, it is the fact that the burden of passing this Constitution and of bringing it into operation is very heavy indeed. But I adhere to what I stated in my despatch, not that it is impossible to bring the two Constitutions forward at the same time, but that it is not an easy or desirable thing to do. I hope we shall get some experience from the criticisms which will necessarily arise on the new Constitution, so that the Orange River Colony may get the advantage of those criticisms, and if there are holes to be stopped up we may stop them in the Constitution when granted to it. But there is a more important reason than that. The Orange River Colony has not asked for this Constitution at all. There has not been a single petition or inquiry from that quarter at all. I have been advised that they do not require this Constitution, and that they would not be thankful for it if they got it.

MR. BRYCE: Do you mean that what they desire is responsible government?

*MR. LYTTELTON: I am coming to that. I agree that they wish there to be no interval before ultimate responsible government is given. His Majesty's Government have never for a moment swerved from their original policy that responsible government could not be given at the present stage. Therefore, if the majority of the Colony do not wish for this proposed Constitution, but are entirely satisfied for the time being as between the two alternatives before them, there is no reason why it should be given to them.

I come now to the justification of the course which has been determined upon. I ought perhaps to notice three or four points made by the hon. Member for Dumfriesshire. He complained that there had been no Parliamentary debate upon this Constitution. That is true, but no Parliamentary criticism has ever been allowed upon such a Constitution in the history of the Empire. It is not denied for a moment that there are certain important matters reserved from the jurisdiction of the new Parliament. We consider it right, prudent, and just that certain matters should be reserved. There has been no concealment of the fact, and I do not regret our decision. One of the points is with reference to the salaries of officials. It would have been absolutely useless to have had an Executive responsible to the Government unless it was placed beyond the power of the Parliament to withdraw their salaries. Then there was the question of the railways. The railways are common to both colonies, and it is hoped that in the future there will be an amalgamation of the trunk lines in the self-governing colonies as well as in these two colonies. It would be a deplorable and retrograde step to annihilate the power of the Inter-Colonial Council to deal with the question of the railways of the two States, and to disintegrate the whole question by placing each railway system under the control of the State in which it happened to be The object of Lord Milner from the first has been to create a system of railways throughout South Africa which would be under one board, and the Inter-Colonial Council is an admirable machine for inaugurating that policy.

Then let me reassure my hon. friend with regard to what he thinks is the utter powerlessness of the Assembly. They have the power of legislation and the power of Supply. They can refuse Supply except in the matters which are reserved, and they have the initiative and control in the matter of legislation. The hon. Member would be untrue to all his traditions if he did not think there was a substantial difference between the power of an Assembly, four-fifths of which is elected by the people and one-fifth nominated by the Executive, and the recent nominated council. The hon. Member for Westbury asked why this Constitution had been introduced at all. One reason is that there was a strong demand for it by the most influential people in the country. In the next place, there have been strong denunciations in this House of the nominated council which existed, I believe indeed that, had it not been for the disfavour with which that council was regarded by hon. Gentlemen opposite, and their strong expressions of that disfavour, that nominated council might have continued longer. With a large proportion of the Dutch in the Transvaal anxious to catch up any criticisms made in this House of the existing Government there was naturally produced a dissatisfaction and a withdrawal of confidence, which but for these criticisms would not have occurred.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: In what way was this nominated Council criticised by the Opposition?

*MR. LYTTELTON: I could give many instances, but one will suffice. All through last year His Majesty's Government contended that the majority of the nominated Assembly were in favour of Chinese labour, and that that majority represented the feeling of the country. That was not the opinion of the Opposition. They said the nominated Assembly was no test at all of public opinion. When such a position is taken up, whether it is right or wrong, it is expedient to replace the nominated Assembly by an elected Assembly if we desire to test beyond question the opinions of the country. It cannot be denied that an Assembly elected on a democratic franchise does represent the country.

Then there is another point. It would be a serious thing if the weight which might be placed on some of the words of the hon. Member for Dumfries were placed on them. The hon. and learned Member suggested that the great expenditure on the development of the Transvaal had been advanced by this country. I traverse that statement altogether. Where does he get his authority for saying that we have spent £20,000,000 in this way since the war?

Sir ROBERT REID said that two years ago the right hon. Member for West Birmingham said that £15,000,000 had been spent by this country on the Orange Free State since the war, and last year the right hon. Gentleman put the sum at £20,000,000 or £21,000,000. *Hansard* would doubtless bear out his statement.

*Mr. LYTTELTON: My memory is not the same as that of my hon. and learned friend. There has been a £3,000,000 grant to the burghers, £2,000,000 has been spent by the Transvaal itself, and £5,000,000 has been advanced out of the guaranteed loan for the purpose of repatriation. Altogether £10,500,000 has been spent in restoring our late enemies to their homes, reconstructing society, and enabling the burghers to procure building materials, stock, and so forth. But £5,000,000 of that has come out of the guaranteed loan, a considerable portion of which it is hoped may be recovered from the burghers themselves. My hon. and learned friend is really unintentionally using a misleading expression when he says that that money has been advanced by this country. The interest on that £5,000,000 is paid by the Transvaal Government; it is secured on one of the best securities in the world, viz., the railway receipts and the assets of the Transvaal; and it is an absolute illusion to suppose that this country will ever be called upon to bear a sixpence of that charge. As far as the British taxpayer is concerned, the alleged £20,000,000 over and above the £10,500,000 of which I have spoken is completely unsubstantial.

Now I come to the justification of the course we have pursued in reference to this Constitution. In the first place, the granting of the Constitution was a wholly natural course. It was in conformity with, and in pursuance of, the terms of peace, and these terms were emphasised by formal and distinct declarations made by my predecessor, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, and by myself. Those promises of a representative Constitution before a responsible Government was granted, were given, I think, on three separate occasions, and were received by this House with silence of unanimous assent, for not a dissenting voice was raised. Obvious prudence, I think, was recognised. From the first it has been the policy to grant this Constitution, in consonance with the uniform policy throughout the Colonial Empire. Canada had representative government for more than fifty years, the Cape had it for nineteen years, Natal for twenty-seven years, and the various States of Australia had it for different terms. If hon. Gentlemen were to look at the history of our own country, they would find that we had representative government, as distinct from responsible government, for many years. It is comparatively modern. I think, I am within the mark in saying that at any rate it was not until the eighteenth century that it was decisively settled that the Ministers of the Crown were not King's Ministers only but Ministers of this House. That is the Constitution, in substance, which is now given to the Transvaal. The Ministers are responsible to His Majesty; they are not necessarily responsible to the Transvaal Assembly. I think I am right in saying, though I confess it is a matter of opinion, that whilst this has been our invariable practice with regard to the Colonial Empire, whilst it was the practice for many years in England that the only method of influencing the Government and redressing grievances by the

British Parliament was by the refusal of Supply, no such generous provisions as I submit we are making in the Constitution of the Transvaal have ever been made by any other country. We, who are 7,000 miles away from the Transvaal, have granted them a Constitution on a far more liberal scale than has ever been done by other countries and one which is in conformity with all the precedents in the Empire.

If you take these facts, if you take the terms of the treaty of surrender and the specific pledges given by my right hon. friend and by myself, and if you take the history that I have ventured to set forth to the House, what reason is there to be found for departing from pledges so specific, or from a practice so uniform, and giving to the Transvaal straight away, as is argued on the other side, responsible government upon grounds of trust? So far from there being grounds for doing this, the reasons are all the other way. Society has scarcely been reconstructed there. You have had for nearly a hundred years friction between the races, culminating in a desperate struggle, which lasted for three years. You have in the Transvaal, in almost equal numbers, members of two races, different in language and different in history, you have further the most important and serious fact, absent in Canada and in every other of the great self-governing Colonies, a native population outnumbering many times the white population of the country. You have troops stationed in the country numbering some 20,000 men, and it would not be human nature—and it is really preposterous to neglect the fact—that the Boers should entertain very cordial feelings towards the Government of this country at the present moment. When you have a difference of race, and when you have had a recent war, with all the feelings naturally resulting from it, are these the conditions and is this the soil in which you ought to plant a novel and hazardous experiment? I venture to say nobody responsible for the government of that country would have given it responsible government. If right hon. Gentlemen opposite were responsible at this moment I feel certain that they would not have ventured as patriots to have done so at this time so near the great war, with confusion still existing, and with feelings of bitterness which necessarily must have been aroused if they were to gather together in two opposite camps the two races, the Dutch and English, who it is our great hope will ultimately settle down in peace and amity.

Is it fully realised what responsible government means? It means a struggle for the Treasury Bench. It means Party government. It means two Parties, one wishing to retain power and the other wishing to gain power. That is what Party government is in effect, and surely were this Party struggle to be facilitated by the granting of a Constitution such as hon. Gentlemen opposite require, the result would inevitably be a Party vendetta which would deepen and emphasise and stereotype the differences which exist. What has happened already? It is no use uttering smooth things. Let me tell the House what the truth is, earnestly desiring not to be the least provocative or to stimulate any angry feeling in the colony. What has happened there? Already an organisation which consists entirely of the Dutch, called the *Het Volk,* has been started. It is managed by a committee of seven. I think Generals Botha, Smuts, Delarey, Beyers, and Messrs. Esselen and Wolmerons are the members of it. The constitution is that all the members of it shall obey the regulations and obligations of the association, but the obligations are nowhere defined, and any district ward or association which differs with the central committee—and if these differences are deemed to be antagonistic to the general interests—can be dissolved by a stroke of the pen of the central committee. Of course, no Briton belongs to that association. I ought to mention that General Beyers, a member of the central committee, which has exercised what I call autocratic powers with regard to the management and control of the association, made a speech recently at Petersburg.

MR. FULLER: Is the right hon. Gentleman not aware that that speech was repudiated by all the Boer leaders.

MR. LYTTELTON: I think the hon. Gentleman should allow me to state the facts in my own way. I was going to state what I believe to be the fact. He said—

> "If things were not altered, his people would act like the man who threw himself down behind a big stone and used his rifle to defend himself. If the Government does not treat us fairly it will lead to another war in South Africa."

It is perfectly true that that was repudiated by certain gentlemen, but I do not observe that General Beyers has ceased to be a member of this autocratic committee. I do not read that speech in order to provoke any feelings of passion. I wish to say at once I think it would be very remarkable if in the Transvaal even at this date, three years from the war, generals who are not always prudent in the use of language should not allow their real feelings to escape them; but I do venture to think you must take note of those facts, not in any censorious or Pharisaical spirit, but as prudent men. You ought to think of these things before you gather into two separate camps the Boers on the one side and the British on the other. You ought to consider whether the members of these two camps are in such a mood as would be likely to lead to disastrous consequences. Somebody has asked if we are not in point of fact doing that by granting the Constitution which has been granted, whether there is not under that Constitution opportunity for the outlet of racial and Party feeling. I do not think so. The great object which everybody who is dealing with this matter should have is the obliteration of the racial spirit. I do not say it is possible for years from now that that racial spirit should be obliterated; but have the Government contributed towards the obliteration of that spirit, or have they increased it?

I will give the reasons why I think the granting of government, in the form of the Constitution we have granted, should tend to the obliteration of the racial spirit. You have already, in the agitation for responsible government, Dutchmen acting with Englishmen. If you give responsible government, Dutchmen would draw themselves up in a phalanx on one side and Englishmen on the other. [Cries of "No, no."] That is exactly what occurred in Canada for many years. In my opinion that would be the result. But there is a wonderful binding power in political co-operation. I often think of the surprise and pleasure which the noble Lord the Member for Ealing and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon must feel when they hear the constant eulogies which are passed upon them by hon. Gentlemen opposite at the present moment. We used not to hear those tributes a few years ago at all. But, as I have said, political co-operation leads to strange and warm friendships, and I am told that already in the co-operation which takes place between Dutch and Englishmen against the Government there is to be found the seal of friendship. But you want to take away that nexus. At present you have got a Government against which from time to time the vote of Dutchmen and Englishmen will unite, and in that very circumstance, in the free play of the political game, you will have, I am sure, fruitful opportunities for obliterating that racial spirit which we all deplore and which we wish to see obliterated. In my opinion if, instead of having a Government which would, in a certain sense, be independent of Party, you were to have a Government which was an ordinary partisan Government, either a Government of the British on the one hand, or a Government of the *Het Volk* on the other, so far from giving that opportunity for political co-operation to arise you will most inevitably accentuate the racial line which already exists. I think it is right to mention the difficulties and the obvious dangers which attend the granting of responsible government. I rejoice that no one opposite has for a moment carried the sense of criticism to the extent of saying that he thinks it desirable that that work should be undone, and I am entirely grateful for that attitude taken up by the Opposition.

Let me say that, having dwelt on some matters inauspicious for the future, there are matters which I am sure give us good ground for hope. A great work of material reconstruction is being done. A great work of education is being done. You have twice the number of

Boer children being educated that were ever educated before. You have got great systems of railways constructed, in course of construction, and arranged to be constructed. You have great public buildings rising up all over the country. You have municipal freedom already granted and in full operation. You have 1,300 miles of roads already made, and you have enterprises of experimental farming, afforestation, and irrigation. Each of these great works is employing Briton and Boer together in a common task of reducing the forces of nature. Far more placating and far more cohering in their nature are the peaceful pursuits of agriculture even than those of politics, and I feel that in those works which have been undertaken and on which the money of the country is being spent—on those topics men will get together and will forget the differences which in the past have separated them. But, whether that may be so or not, what I do hope for and look forward to is that, though it is now obviously impossible that our Dutch fellow-subjects shall ever recover isolated independence, they will have the opportunity in future alongside of Britons to prove which is the better man, to prove by natural and peaceful emulation who can do the best for the country and who can ultimately at any rate strike the most definite and the most successful blows in order to make this State which has been in the past, no doubt, the scene of great and deplorable disasters, in the future a prosperous State under the British flag.

Sir H. CAMPBELL.BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I do not think that in the whole course of my Parliamentary experience I have ever heard a more unfortunate speech than the one to which we have just listened, or a speech more gratuitously, more wantonly unfortunate in its necessary effect. The right hon. Gentleman is here to defend a certain Constitution which he is giving to one of our new Colonies. He has made a rather lame excuse for not giving it to the other as well; but in order to make things nice and easy in the Transvaal, and to induce that suppression and obliteration of racial spirit which he declares to be his main object, he led off by saying that it was not in human nature that the Boers should be well disposed towards us, and some of the proposals he was making were novel and hazardous experiments, and that probably there would arise in that country a political vendetta.

*Mr. LYTTELTON: If the right hon. Gentleman quotes me I hope he will quote me accurately. I said that if a Party Government were set up at this present moment and under these conditions, these things were likely to happen. I think so still.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It is most unfortunate that it should be said here that they would happen. You have your new colony in such a condition, apparently, according to the right hon Gentleman, that if you give them a fair and free Constitution, with responsible government, these are the things that will happen. And the right hon. Gentleman tells us that the way to avoid these dreadful consequences would be to have a restricted Constitution, which he is, apparently, reluctantly, and certainly timorously and hesitatingly, giving to the Transvaal. I take exactly the opposite view. I think there is only one way to gain the confidence of the population of the Transvaal, Briton and Boer, and that is to take the people of the country with you and to show that you trust them in all respects. And that is what is being demanded at this moment, not by the Boers only, not by this dreadful society to which he has referred, but by a large portion, if not the majority, of your own British fellow-subjects in the Transvaal. And when the right hon. Gentleman says that the way to get rid of all these feelings is to bring the two races into co-operation, they are in co-operation at this moment in denouncing the Constitution he has given. [Some Ministerial cries of dissent.] Yes, that is so, and therefore it is unnecessary to wait for that co-operation. The right hon. Gentleman thinks that he will satisfy the demands, I will not say of the Boers—put the Boers on one side—but of the British in the Transvaal by the sort of Constitution which he offers, a Constitution where the representatives of the people will be restricted, on the one side and on the other, as to their powers, and in which there will be nominated Government representatives who can do pretty well what they like with most things that men concern themselves with. And the right hon. Gentleman thought that that would satisfy the British in the Transvaal! If there is any truth whatever in the information which filters through to this country, not from sources prejudiced against the right hon. Gentleman, but even from those which generally support his policy, that is precisely what it will not do. And it never has done so in previous cases.

The right hon. Gentleman used the most extraordinary argument I have ever listened to. He says that we must go back through all the stages upon which full responsible government has been developed, and that it will not do to confer responsible government immediately upon a country which at present has no representation at all, except representation by grace and favour. What the right hon. Gentleman would like to be done with the Transvaal is exactly the sort of Government of which he is a member, permeated by the same spirit, following the same course, having a few representatives, of course, and a nice system of election—a very good system of election in many respects, with no plural voting, for instance, and based on the number of electors, and not on the population. Having got this Assembly, with this representation, take no notice of it, give it as little power as possible, let it discuss things, let it amuse itself with debates, but let the power remain in the hands of the Executive Government. That is precisely what the right hon. Gentleman and his colleagues have been seeking, and are seeking, to establish in this country. We need not go any further into that question, because we can deal with it on the occasion of our own affairs being discussed.

But the right. hon. Gentleman says that this intermediate form of representative government is necessary. It is as though you were to say that, when a grown man requires a suit of clothes, he should begin by wearing all the clothes that he wore when a boy. Then, when he has made himself comfortable in these, he would be gradually admitted to the larger and more suitable garments. It reminded me also of children in a nursery who are obliged to munch away through dry slices of bread before they are allowed to have any jam. It is an absurdity to go back in this way upon stages through which we have passed. It may be very well, in dealing with our Colonies, that we began our relations with them by conferring upon them this sort of half-and-half representation. But that was in days when there was only a half-and-half system of representation, in many senses, in this country. We had a limited franchise here, and the Colonies with which we were dealing had no representation whatever. But now that we know what representation is and what responsibility is, what is the reason for our doing the thing by halves if it is to be done? And has it been successful in past history? Is it a model that we should follow? Or is it an example to guide us in the other direction? Here is what Lord Durham said in his celebrated report on Canada on the application to Canada of the very system which the right hon. Gentleman thinks necessary and proper for the Transvaal. He says—

> "It is difficult to understand how any English statesman could have imagined that representation and irresponsible government could be successfully combined."

And in another place he says—

> "It was a vain delusion to imagine that, by mere limitations in the constitutional act of an exclusive system of government, a body, strong in the consciousness of wielding the public opinion of the majority, could regard certain portions of the provincial revenues as sacred from its control, and could confine itself to the mere business of making laws, looking on as a passive or indifferent spectator while those laws were carried into effect or evaded, and the whole business of the country conducted by men in whose intentions and capacity it had not the slightest confidence. Yet such was the limitation placed on the authority of the Assembly of Lower Canada. It might refuse or pass laws, vote or withhold supplies, but it could exercise no influence on the nomination of a single servant of the Crown."

That was the condemnation passed by Lord Durham on the experience of Canada. The state of things in those colonies to which this preliminary form of representative government was given may have justified that course being taken at the time. I do not say. But now that we are told that it is a danger to give in the Transvaal the full responsible government, which certainly a huge majority of the inhabitants, including, if not a majority, a very large proportion of the British inhabitants, demand—when we are told that that will be dangerous, and also that the present system, of setting up a few representatives and face to face with them men supporting the Government in all they do, and possessing power over the most intimate affairs of the community, would be a system of harmony and one likely to lead to the success and prosperity af the colony, that surely is a thing which this House, if it retains any atttachment to its old powers, of which it has been recently so greatly robbed, will surely not hold to be correct.

Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.): The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition began his speech by saying that in the whole course of his Parliamentary experience he had never heard any speech so unfortunate, so unnecessarily and wantonly unfortunate, as that of my right hon. friend. It reminds me of the time when I occupied his place, and when the right hon. Gentleman opposite and his friends continually found that the statements which I made were really of unheard of and unprecedented depravity. But the right hon. Gentleman opposite went on to explain that he applied this language to the speech of the Colonial Secretary, because he had pointed out that if responsible government were given at the present moment—which the Government are not prepared to do—it would lead, in his opinion, as indeed it would in mine, to an exaggeration of the racial feeling which must always prevail under such circumstances as exist now in the Transvaal. But that is a statement of fact, or, at all events, of argument which cannot do anything to provoke special irritation or anger either here or on the other side. But if it be wrong—I do not think the majority of the House will hold that view—permit me to say that then similar language ought to be applied to almost every Gentleman who has spoken on the other side of the House, because they have declared that this unfortunate result would follow if the Government policy is adopted. I do not object to their holding that opinion and expressing it; but I cannot possibly see why it may be right for them to say that racial differences would be provoked by a particular form of Constitution, and at the same time wrong for my right hon. friend to say they would be promoted by a different form of Constitution.

We are really engaged on a more than ordinarily interesting and important discussion. Under existing political circumstances, to which the Leader of the Opposition has so frequently appealed during the course of his speech, there is, I think, a particular interest felt here and in the country as to what is likely to be the policy of the right hon. Gentleman and his friends if he were to come back to office, and that feeling is evidently shared in the Transvaal also. Those who have read the interesting discussion of that association, *Het Volk*, to which reference has been made, must be aware that some of the leaders of that association, some of the committee which guides its whole deliberations, went so far as to say that indeed it was hardly worth while to discuss the questions which they had before them, and that they had better wait for the advent to office of a Liberal Administration. I say, therefore, that both in the Transvaal and here it is a matter of serious interest and importance to know what is the opinion, and what will be the policy, of hon. Gentlemen opposite, if their present ambitions are speedily fulfilled.

It is curious, as it seems to me, that even now there appears to be a division of opinion on the other side. It is true that I think everybody who has spoken on the other side has objected, as one would expect, to the particular proposal of His Majesty's Government; but the opener of the debate, the hon. Member for Poplar, and most distinctly the hon. Member for Wiltshire, who made a most interesting and moderate speech, said that they would desire that nothing should be said here and no argument used which would in the slightest degree interfere with the success of the representation now afforded to the Transvaal. Although they themselves thought it was not the best form which such representation should take, they would do nothing by word of mouth or argument in this House to introduce any obstacle to the success of that proposal. And I gathered from the speech of the hon. Member for Wiltshire that really his complaint was not that the Government had not given responsible government, but that they had given this substitute for it. The speech of the hon. Member was conclusive as to his opinion that it was hardly worth while to create what I think he called an interregnum, and that we had better wait till the time came when we could give full responsible government, and—here is the point—I gathered that in his opinion that time has not yet come. That is most important. There is a great deal to be said, in my opinion, for the view of the hon. Member for Wiltshire; but permit me to point out that his view, and I think that indicated by the hon. Member for Poplar, is quite a different thing from what we have had indicated in the clearest terms from the Leader of the Opposition—that in his opinion self-government in the shape of full responsible government ought immediately to be granted to the Transvaal.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I did not say so. [MINISTERIAL cries of "Oh."] What I said was that if you move in this direction you should not stop short at the kind of Constitution as now proposed, that that would probably give rise to friction and difficulty, whereas the proper course was to take the people with you and proceed with that responsible government which would avoid those difficulties and give contentment and satisfaction. I did not say that should be done immediately. [MINISTERIAL cries of "Oh."]

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Well, then, really, what was the meaning of the whole of the argument of the right hon. Gentleman to which the House has just listened? Will he explain his quotation from the Earl of Durham? Will he explain his statement about children and their clothes? Will he explain what was the force and meaning of the whole of his argument, if it did not point directly to an immediate grant? I have heard a great deal about the obscurity of the policy of certain leaders in this House. But I have never heard anything more obscure—[OPPOSITION cries of "Oh, oh!"] I do not object to hon. Gentlemen opposite emphasising the points of my speech, but I hope they will not interrupt me altogether—I say I have never heard anything more obscure than the policy of the Leader of the Opposition. He speaks one way, or what all the House understands to be in one direction, and then gets up and puts a totally different interpretation upon his words. I wonder what General Beyers will make of the policy which has been indicated to-night by the Leader of the Opposition? At any rate, I am glad to understand from the right hon. Gentleman that he did not intend to argue in favour of immediate responsible government. I understand now he is against immediate responsible government. The right hon. Gentleman shakes his head. Then he is neither for nor against it. Really I think I will leave the right hon. Gentleman and come to the hon. Member for Wiltshire, of whose meaning I have no doubt at all.

The hon. Gentleman said that, instead of now granting representative government, which does not entirely satisfy anyone—I think the words he used were that it was no use at all—it would have been better to wait for the time when we could grant full responsible government. To that I reply we were bound by our pledges. I admit there is something to be said for that line; but we could not take it, because it must be remembered one of the conditions of the peace made at Vereeniging was that civil government should take the place as speedily as possible of military government; that we should give some form of representative government which should remain until the time came for the full form of responsible government. We could not wait—we were obliged to substitute some form of civil government—and in our opinion we were justified in substituting representative, although not responsible, government. I confess that I should hesitate very much to criticise the action of the Government, for the reason that, having had a large experience of office, I know that outside opinion, while very often suggestive and useful, is very often ill-informed. I know exactly what I believe to have been the state of affairs in South Africa two years ago; but I do not know what has taken place there since then, and consequently I do not know how far a judgment that was correct two years ago would be correct now. Therefore it is with some hesitation I say that in my opinion the Government have gone too far.

The hon. and learned Member for Dumfries Burghs went so far as to say that there is nothing to choose between the existing form of government in the Transvaal and the form of government which it is now proposed to create. Why, under the new Constitution, the representatives, four-fifths of whom will be elected by popular vote, will have the power of the purse. Accordingly, if the Boers secure a representation in accordance with their numbers, and if even two or three of the British representatives who may be returned in accordance with their numbers join with them, they will have absolute power over civil Supply, save in regard to some matters, I admit, of considerable importance which are reserved. There is no doubt, therefore, that the power to be given to the population of the Transvaal is considerable. We must all hope that they will make good use of it. But it is not the fact historically that every population of the people to whom representative government of this kind has been given have made good use of it.

It is a curious anomaly that, while the arguments of hon. Gentlemen opposite tend in the direction that full responsible government is the specific remedy for every difficulty in a colony or possession, the moment this power or authority has been given to a colony the Liberal Party has carped at their abuse of it, and has asked this House to interfere. I remember in the case of the Constitution granted to Western Australia, that matter was discussed in this House and we granted to Australia full representative government. Again and again there have been debates in this House as to the treatment of the natives by the Government of Western Australia. But let us understand that it must be one thing or another; that if you give full responsible government to the Transvaal it would be absolutely useless and most dangerous or mischievous to interfere, either by speeches or action in this House, with their treatment of the native population, Chinese labour, or any other question on which you hold strong opinions, but as to which they differ from you. Therefore I consider that if you hold yourself bound—as I think we are bound to a certain extent—to protect the natives of these great territories against particular legislation, you must not give responsible government until you are prepared to surrender altogether that right of claim or pretension. That is one of the things which the Government have to consider when it is pressed upon them that they should at once give responsible government to the Transvaal. What we promised is that we should advance by stages. The next step will probably be full responsible government.

Objection has also been taken that the same government which is now being given to the Transvaal has not been given to the Orange River Colony. I think that the experiment—because, after all, every step of this kind is an experiment—might have been far better tried in the Orange River Colony. It is quite true that in that colony there is an enormous majority of the Dutch or Boer population. But they have shown by long experience that they are most capable and moderate administrators—under the admirable rule of President Brand they set an example to the whole of South Africa—and, although I think there is some danger in this experiment, it is in the Orange River Colony that I myself would have been inclined, in the first instance, to take the risk. The risk lies in this—you may give a Constitution to-morrow, but having given it it is almost impossible to take it away. If there should be a mistake you cannot go back. Look at what happened in Cape Colony in the early days of the war. What I believe to have been at that time a majority of the representatives of the colony came to me and asked me to suspend the Constitution which this country had given to them. I did not feel it possible to grant their application, and I incurred a very great deal of unpopularity at the time. I think experience has shown that I was right. But I only refer to the matter in order to show that those who argue in favour of the granting of a full Constitution may live to regret it, or, at any rate, that we may choose the wrong time to grant full responsible government which can never be recalled. I do not think my right hon. friend the Colonial Secretary had any alternative to introducing the Constitution which he has proposed. It is too early to give full responsible government. It was incumbent on us to keep our promise to give representative government. But there remains the question whether too much has been given, as I am inclined to think, or too little, as some speakers on the other side have suggested. I regret that a feeling has been introduced into this debate which was not there before the speech of the Leader of the Opposition. It is absolutely true to say that before the interposition of the right hon. Gentleman the debate was conducted without a spark of political or Party feeling on either side.

*MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland) said he rose not to continue the debate on the Constitution but for the pupose of moving a reduction of the Vote of the Colonial Secretary in order to draw attention to the present aspects of the Chinese labour question. It was six months since a word had been said in the House on that subject, which had attracted and was still attracting great attention in the country and among hon. Members in that House. If it had not been debated during that prolonged period it was not because the subject of Chinese labour had lost interest for them, or because their opposition had in any degree abated, but because they had not thought it right to recur again and again to a subject and take up the attention of Parliament until there were new facts to call attention to and new points to be made. There were now many new points to bring to the attention of the Committee, many matters, unforeseen by those who opposed the introduction of Chinese labour, had come to light, and very many which were not only unforeseen by the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary and his supporters, but the possibility of which occurring was loudly denied.

One of the things unforeseen by hon Gentlemen opposite was the increase in the supply of Kaffir labour during the last year. Whatever the cause might have been, the fact remained that the supply of black labour had increased by nearly 40 per cent., and there were now more Kaffirs employed in the gold mines of the Rand than before the war. Last year the Colonial Secretary persuaded that House by a Party vote to consent to the Transvaal Importation of Labour Ordinance, basing his case on the alleged fact that there was an overwhelming economic necessity, that the mines were suffering from a shortage of labour, and that that shortage amounted to 30,000 labourers as compared with the supply before the war. The whole of that shortage had now been made up, for in May of last year the number of Kaffir labourers in the mines was 77,000 and in May of this year it was 106,000. If the Colonial Secretary had foreseen that within twelve months the supply of Kaffir labour would have been equal to the supply before the war, would he have embarked upon an enterprise distasteful to the people of this country and repudiated by the almost unanimous voice of our colonial fellow-subjects? If he had only allowed the question to wait awhile, natural economic causes would have worked, the improvement in the treatment of the Kaffir labourers would have had its effect, and the mines would have obtained an ample supply of labour. Could the right hon. Gentleman see his way at least to suspend the further importation of Chinese coolies until the new Constitution was in force and in full working order? That surely might be done, since the main ground put forward for the importation no longer operated. The supply of Kaffir labour during the past twelve months had increased by 38 per cent.; adding the Chinese, the supply of coloured labour had increased by 87 per cent., but the supply of white labour had increased by only 27 per cent. Thus experience had shown that those who continually argued that with an increase of coloured labour there would be a proportionately increased employment for white labour were absolutely wrong.

The increase in white labour had not kept pace even with the increase in black labour alone. A year ago there were 175 whites employed to every 1,000 coloured; the number now was only 115, a reduction of nearly one-third in the proportion. The causes of this reduction were two: first, that the unskilled whites who were formerly employed in considerable numbers had been dismissed or employed otherwise; and, secondly, that machines which gave employment to whites had been discarded in favour of hand-drilling by Chinese labourers. It was true that a certain number of whites had been taken on as supervisors of the Chinese, but their wages had in many cases been reduced by about one-third. The substitution of hand-labour for machine-labour was one of the most important points in the whole controversy. Various reasons were given for the substitution. It was said that the machines caused dust, and that they were uneconomical. But by the elaboration of a system of spraying the unhealthiness caused by the machine-drills had been completely removed, and the drills were found quite economical so long as there was no Chinese labour available. The real reason for the change was to be found in the fact that the English population had a comparatively high standard of living, while the Chinese had a low standard; that English labour was comparatively dear, while Chinese labour was cheap.

The Colonial Secretary was wrong also in his prophecy as to the large field of employment which the Ordinance would open to English workmen who chose to emigrate. The right hon. Gentleman, speaking on March 21st, 1904, held out the prospect that if only they could raise the production of the mines to the point which it reached before the war a large field of employment would open for emigrants from this country. There were now a record number of stamps at work, and the gold production was larger than at any previous point in the history of the country, and yet, according to the Emigration Returns for last year, while there was a net outward movement of 127,000 persons from this country to British Colonies and the United States, to the Transvaal alone there was no emigration, and from South Africa there was a net inward movement. For the first time in the recent history of South Africa there was no emigration to that country. It was the only British colony to which there was no balance of British emigration last year, and in the Monthly Circular of the Emigration Information Office in connection with the Colonial Office, published this month, English workmen were strongly warned not to go to the Transvaal, whether as miners or in any other capacity, as there was no demand for them.

Then as to the position of the Chinese themselves. The House were told that they would have their contracts thoroughly explained to them both in China and in South Africa; that they would go of their own free will; that they would understand the conditions they would have to observe; that they would live in idyllic garden villages, surrounded by their wives and families; that they would prove themselves to be peaceable and industrious people, and that if they found themselves dissatisfied with their conditions of work they could terminate their contracts, and, paying their own passages both ways, return to China. He was perfectly convinced that large numbers of these coolies did not understand the contracts under which they made their engagements. According to information he had received, very many of them were completely ignorant as to the class of work they were undertaking and the conditions of life they would have to undergo. In proof he might quote from a private report drawn up by a Chinese gentleman, of the highest possible testimonials, who was connected with the Immigration Department in the Transvaal. In that report this gentleman stated that he was at

Durban when the first batch of Chinese arrived, and in the course of his duties he was careful to question the labourers. To his great surprise more than 50 per cent. of the men did not know what their work was to be. They understood that they were to do hard work, but the nature of the work was absolutely misrepresented to them by the recruiting agents in China. A similar report was presented with regard to subsequent batches. Then he had two letters giving the position from the point of view of the Chinese coolies themselves. One of the writers committed suicide and left the letter behind him; the other attempted to commit suicide but was prevented. One stated that they were helpless; to return to China was impossible; he pitied those who were to remain, and asked his compatriots at the conclusion of their three years service to take his bones back to China. The other said—

> "I expected to work under the sun, but I have to go into deep tunnels under ground. Three long years, foremen beating us right and left. Who would not die?"

Then as to the wives and children. At the present time there were 41,340 coolies in South Africa. The number of Chinese wives in South Africa was two and the number of children twelve. A riot occurred at a mine in April last because, as the right hon. Gentleman had explained, leave of absence from the compound had been temporarily restricted. No coolie had been able to avail himself of the benefit of the provision enabling him to terminate his contract and to go back to China, because, of course, it was beyond his power to repay the mineowners for their original outlay and for his passage home.

In one respect the mineowners had been in a considerable difficulty in regard to the employment of these coolies, because, in consequence of the assurances given in that House, there had been inserted in the contract of employment a definite minimum wage. In order to compel the coolies to do a definite amount of work for the minimum wage the employers had resorted to various methods. The white foreman was given the right to withhold the coolies' pay, but that practice was put an end to. Then the coolies were charged before the magistrates with not doing a sufficient day's work, and they were fined and imprisoned. The custom was to post up statements, in Chinese characters, of these convictions, just as in this country the names of people who were convicted of travelling without a ticket were posted on the stations by the railway companies. Another method adopted was the system of promiscuous flogging. The system had prevailed widely, and was resorted to constantly in order to induce the coolies to do what was considered a reasonable day's work. But the worst method of all adopted was in respect of the minimum wage. In the early debates the House was assured by the Colonial Secretary that this wage would be at least 2s. a day, subsequently altered to 1s., rising to 1s. 6d. He held in his hand a copy of a new contract, dated March 23rd, which the coolies had been required to sign. It superseded the contract signed by the coolies in China and on the faith of which they took employment in South Africa. It provided payment at the rate of a halfpenny per inch, or sixpence per foot, for drilling, and the minimum wage was neither 2s. or 1s. 6d., as the right hon. Gentleman had said, but a halfpenny.

*MR. LYTTELTON: Does the hon. Member say that this is a piecework contract?

*MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: Yes.

*MR. LYTTELTON: Does he say that the Chinese were forced to sign this piecework contract?

*MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: They were pressed to sign it, though not, of course, under the coercion of troops.

*MR. LYTTELTON: Do I understand him to allege that a halfpenny represents the minimum wage of 1s. 6d., or what does he mean?

*MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: Yes, that is what I say—a halfpenny per day. This contract was made in connection with the New Comet Mine. Some of the coolies refused to sign it, and a message was sent to the manager to say that the coolies must sign it. So much pressure was brought to bear on the Chinese that they at last signed the contract. It was this contract that had caused the first riots among the Chinese. He was rather surprised that the right hon. Gentleman thought that he ought to have given him some notice in regard to this point. He had no desire to be discourteous. He would, however, remind the right hon. Gentleman that not long ago he put a Question to him as to the cause of these riots, and he replied that this riot had originated in a difference with regard to wages and the terms upon which these coolies were to be put upon this work. The new contract which the coolies had been pressed to sign provided for a minimum wage of one halfpenny and a maximum of 3s.

*Mr. LYTTELTON: The hon. Member, I think, is rather misleading the House. An average day's work in the mine is thirty-six inches, and at one halfpenny per inch that works out at 1s. 6d. As a matter of fact, many coolies do much more. Therefore, so far from it being true or accurate that halfpenny represents 1s. 6d., in point of fact the coolie received 1s. 6d. for a fair day's work and many of them earned more.

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL: But what becomes of the guarantee as to the minimum wage being 1s. 6d.

*Mr. LYTTELTON: If the coolie does not care to accept the terms which the hon. Member has rèferred to, he is entitled to receive the minimum of 1s. 6d. per day.

*Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL said they practically had no choice. Their riots had been suppressed. 1,250 of them had been in prison for desertion, rioting, and other offences against the Ordinance. The riots at the New Comet Mine had not been isolated instances. Month after month there had been riots and disturbances on a large scale owing to the dissatisfaction of the Chinese coolies with their condition. He had received letters from the white miners' organisation vehemently protesting against the whole system of Chinese labour. A deputation of white miners had waited on Lord Selborne praying him for protection against the danger to which they might be subject in the mines from the coolies. These disturbances were the inevitable outcome of the system of attempting to govern people after depriving them of their liberty. The number of imprisonments was increasing. In April it was 378, a number equivalent to a rate of 4,500 a year. If such a method of employment were attempted in this country, however excellent were the buildings in which the miners were housed, however generous the diet, however great the economic necessity, and however powerful the financial interests concerned, the indignation of a freedom-loving people would sweep it away in a moment.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A (Salaries, Wages, and Allowances) be reduced by £100, in respect of the Salary of the Secretary of State for the Colonies."—(*Mr. Herbert Samuel.*)

*Mr. BRIGHT (Shropshire, Oswestry) said he was sure the Committee had listened with great interest to the exhaustive speech of his hon. friend. He himself approached the question on wider and different grounds. The introduction of Chinese labour in South Africa, influencing as it did the conditions of white labour and black labour, was equally disastrous to the interests of South Africa and of this country. As compared with the time before Chinese labour was brought to South Africa, he found that there were about 3,000 more whites employed now in the mines; coloured men had increased by 30,000; and the number of Chinese introduced was 35,000. Before the entry of the Chinaman in May, 1904, there was one white man to six coloured, and now there was one white man to nine coloured and Chinese. But if they took the newcomers who had arrived since the Chinese came, they found that there was one white man to about twenty-one coloured and Chinese. Sir George Farrer stated on 31st March, 1904, at Dreifontein, that for every seven Chinese employed there would be one white man employed. They now found that the prophecy had been entirely falsified, as the mineowners' prophecies always had been falsified. According to the Government's own labour journal for July the introduction of Chinese labour had not increased, but had tended to diminish the employment of white people in South Africa. The building trades in Johannesburg were in a state of stagnation, and—

> "In spite of the large output of gold the local supply of white labour was more than sufficient."

His hon. friend had spoken of how the Chinamen were recruited. They were what was called in connection with shipping "crimped." He would read an extract from a perfectly non-political source to show how Chinamen were decoyed into coming. It was from Reuter's correspondent at Hong-Kong under date October 22nd last year—

> "From information which I specially sought while in Kwangsi Province, there seems no doubt that the Viceroy of the two Kwangs has inquired whether captured rebels would be accepted by the emigration authorities. The reply was in the affirmative, providing that the men came voluntarily. The Viceroy has since issued a proclamation, but the Kwansi freebooters prefer to remain away from any possible chance of capture. They believe the action of the Viceroy is a ruse to take them prisoners. Some little time ago a number of men in chains were sent to one of the recruiting stations, but were refused admittance, and a strongly-worded protest was made to the Viceroy. Since then this official has refrained from despatching men, and it seems improbable that he will be able to secure any."

That was the sort of thing that had been going on. They were brought to South Africa under false pretences. He distinctly said that if the British public had known that the war was going to end in indentured labour in the mines for the benefit solely of the mineowners, there would have been no war at all. At the bottom of all this had been the attempt to get cheap labour. In April, 1904, *The Times* in its commercial supplement said—

> "With regard to Chinese labour, it is certainly unfair that the mining companies should be compelled to pay a minimum wage of a shilling a day, which is increased to 50s. a month after the first six months. Under the existing arrangement a Chinese coolie can do as small an amount of work as he sees fit, and the company by which he is employed must pay him his stipulated wage whether he has earned it or not."

The mineowners looked after their own interests and they wanted labour, black yellow or white, as cheaply as they possibly could get it.

His hon. friend had referred to the practice of flogging at the mines. Replying to a Question which he himself put on this subject, the Colonial Secretary declined to admit that there was flogging, but since then further information as to flogging had been furnished by his hon. friend the Member for Morpeth. Mr. Thomas Ratcliffe, representative of the South African Trades Councils, Chorley, Lancashire, had written a letter, from which it appeared that the practice was unfortunately pretty prevalent. There was no doubt that the introduction of Chinamen was gradually eliminating white men from the mines. The mineowners were now introducing black convict labour, and he wanted to know how that came about. In the last Blue-book it was said that the number given did not include 690 coloured convicts. He wanted to know by what authority and on what terms these convicts were employed, and how that entered into the idea of the good government and treatment of the natives. The fact was that this indentured labour, whether of Chinese or native blacks, was absolutely wrong, contrary to humanity, to Christianity, and to all our principles of liberty. All the great Empires of the past had fallen from their failure to deal fairly with the inferior races. It was that which destroyed the Roman Empire and the Spanish Empire, and which would also destroy out Empire, if that policy were continued to be pursued. He could quote the great authority of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham who, speaking in defence of the Majuba settlement, in one of the greatest speeches the right hon. Gentleman had ever made, said on July 25th, 1885—

> "Then as to slavery, he had no doubt that it would be put down. The indentureship, it might be admitted, was almost as bad as slavery, and they had made a stipulation that that should be done away with. But while they denounced indentureships amongst the Boers, they must remember that it had existed for years and still existed in some of their British Colonies. He had himself called attention to the fact that hundreds of children had been separated from their parents, and especially also to cases where the widows and orphans of men killed in the wars had come under the abominable system of indentureship, and with no guarantee whatever for their treatment or future liberty. It was a bad practice whether accepted in the Transvaal or in the Colonies;

they had tried to put a stop to it in the Transvaal, and they hoped that this example would have due weight elsewhere, so that the shame of the system might no longer attach to the British name in any of their Colonies."

He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman that the system of indentured labourers, wherever it had been introduced in our Colonies, was contrary to our ideas of liberty and was to the disadvantage of both the inferior and superior races. The superior race invariably abused its power and received as much damage as it gave to the inferior. It was one of the greatest curses from which this country had suffered. It was the apotheosis of might as against the rule of right.

***Sir BRAMPTON GURDON** (Norfolk, N.) said that he had never yet had an opportunity of speaking on this question, although he had been very anxious to do so because he was interested in all questions relating to native labour, and because he had had considerable experience in South Africa, and knew something of the subject. He did not wish to address himself to the condition of the compounds, because he believed that improvements had been made in them on account of the constant attention paid to the matter in this country. But there was a great deal of cruelty perpetrated on the Chinese labourers; and the employment of Chinese at all in the mines was directly opposed to the promises made by the Government supporters at the last general election when it was said that the Transvaal was a white man's country. At that time he said that the Transvaal was a white man's country, but not a good white man's country. He pointed out that it was not an agricultural, but a pastoral country, where no rain fell for five months of the year, and that the Boers then went into the bush in waggons, with their herds, in order to get food for their cattle. He said that although that might suit the Boer farmer it would not suit the British farmer. Now because he had used these words—which had been used since by the present Colonial Secretary, the whole of his constituency was placarded with bills containing vile lies. All these placards were sent down from London, and were not issued by the local Conservatives. He thought he might speak of his own Conservative constituents as Napoleon did of the British soldiers: the Conservatives of North Norfolk are the best in the world; happily there are not many of them. He did not mind being called a little Englander. He was proud of his country. He was born and brought up in little England, and what little public work he had done he had done for little England.

Every Tory candidate had told the electors that the Transvaal and the Orange River Free State were the most splendid countries for white men— that they were perfect El Dorados for farmers, labourers, and artisans; and Lord Roberts in a speech said that those who had served their country in the field were to be given the first opportunity of obtaining employment in these countries, and that he hoped it would not be long before they would be able to avail themselves of their privileges. He, himself, remembered one member of the Yeomanry who had actually taken with him to Southampton a plough which he was going to use when he had settled in South Africa after the war! If ever there was a mandate given to a Government in this country it was that at the last general election the British Government was to find a new field for the British workman.

They were told by no less important a statesman than the late Colonial Secretary that the war was a miner's war. It was not a miner's war, but a mineowners' war, a Stock Exchange war, a contractor's war. He had gained the experience in South Africa twenty-five or thirty years ago that it was contractors that made wars. When Ministers received correspondence about British Indians not getting their rights in South Africa, and that the natives were not being treated fairly, they should read a good deal between the lines. What the writer meant was that he had some damaged oats or lame horses to sell. White men were returning from the Transvaal by hundreds, and there were monthly warnings in the Board of Trade *Gazette* that no miners or artisans were to go out to the Transvaal at present, and that no man was allowed to go into the Orange River Colony or the Transvaal without a permit. Had the white men in this country believed that that was to be the result of the war they would never have allowed £250,000,000 to be spent on that war and at a cost of the loss of 23,000 British lives. When he was born the battle of Waterloo was twenty-five years past. The people talked with pride about the great Waterloo campaign, and the Duke of Wellington was looked upon as the greatest hero in this country. It was only a very few years since the South African War had ended, but they did not talk about it now with much pride. Lord Roberts had a great reputation before that war as a gallant and successful general. He was, perhaps, the most popular general in all England, but now his reputation was practically gone. [MINISTERIAL cries of "Oh, oh!" and "No, no!"]

He did not want to say anything against the Chinaman. It was a very great pride to us that in 1819 we acquired the island of Hong-Kong, then occupied only by a few fishermen. There was now there a great city with 230,000 inhabitants attracted from every surrounding country, because they could get good government under the British flag. There they had an opportunity of rising in life. The Chinaman had really made that island when they were allowed to have businesses of their own, and to have every privilege that a British citizen could enjoy. Under free conditions Chinamen were improved, elevated, and civilised by their contact with whites, but under the conditions of their life in South Africa they were only lowered and degraded. The real reason for the introduction of the Chinese in the mines in South Africa was, as Lord Milner had stated, that the mine-owners did not want white men out there. The Chinese labourers wanted their own overseers, and now white labour had decreased in the mines. Some months ago 2,000 English navvies who had gone out to work on the railways in South Africa were sent home because it was said that they were of no use and would not work. He had read the report of the resident engineer in South Africa, in which it was stated that it was impossible to pay these navvies their wages, and it was because of that that the men struck and did refuse to work. Would anyone in England be able to get workmen to continue in work if it was quite impossible to pay their wages? Under these circumstances a strike was the only means by which the workmen could obtain their rights.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

County of London Electric Supply Company Bill [Lords] (by Order); Humber Conservancy Bill [Lords] (by Order); Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board Bill [Lords] (by Order); Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill [Lords] (by Order). As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Earl of Stamford's Cheshire Estate Bill [Lords] (by Order); Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers) Bill [Lords] (by Order]. Read a second time, and committed.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London, No. 1) Bill [Lords] (by Order); Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill [Lords] (by Order). Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment.

PIER AND HARBOUR PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 1) BILL [LORDS] (BY ORDER).

As amended, considered.

MR. BUTCHER (York) moved to leave out the Tralee and Fenit Pier and Harbour Order. He said the Bill was promoted under the impression that an agreement had been arrived at between the harbour board and the Kerry County Council, but that was a misunderstanding. The board had no desire to press the Bill in its present form in opposition to the views of the council, and as time did not permit an agreement being arrived at this session, he moved to omit this particular Order. He hoped that by next year an agreement would be arrived at. His Motion was to omit the second Order from the Bill. He begged to move.

MR. WOLFF (Belfast, E.) formally seconded the Motion.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 14, line 1, to leave out the words 'to the end of schedule (Tralee and Fenit Pier and Harbour Order).' "—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out to the word 'time,' in page 16, line 6, stand part of the Bill."—

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.) said the Bill was promoted by the harbour board of county Kerry. He should be very sorry to see the Bill dropped if it could be amended so as to meet the wishes of the county council, because it would mean the useless expenditure of so much money. The understanding that the hon. Member for York had mentioned had reference to the system of election to the harbour board. He read to the House a telegram he had received from the chairman of the county council as follows—

"Just seen Order. It upsets clear undertaking given by the chairman of the harbour board that there would be no multiple voting, and agreement arrived at by the county council and the harbour board to this effect."

The Bill proposed to give two merchants who imported the largest amount of tonnage seats on the board *ex officio*, and votes for the election of the board were given to other merchants in proportion to the tonnage they imported with a maximum of three votes. But the tonnage could be broken up between partners in any firm, and the largest importer who brought in 30,000 tons might have eight or ten partners who would each have votes, and the two gentlemen who had seats *ex officio* might thus control the election of the board. That was a condition of affairs which he thought was not right. They wanted a better and more democratic system. The ratepayers paid £5,000 every year for the management of the harbour board, and paid the loss on working expenses and interest on the original capital spent on the pier and railway, but had no voice in its control. He did not think they would gain much by giving these two merchants an absolute monopoly. If nothing could be done to mend it now, and it was decided to withdraw it—and they preferred its withdrawal to its passing in its present form—he hoped more attention would be paid to its drafting when it was introduced next year, so that the ratepayers of county Kerry would not be put to further expense. The county council were responsible for debts contracted by the board of £200,000. The annuity in respect of that sum amounted to £5,000, and they had been paying it for twenty years, though they had nothing to say to the board's expenditure. It was time something was done in that matter. He had an Amendment asking that each firm composed of one or a dozen men should pay dues in the name of the firm only, and not be allowed to break up its tonnage.

MR. BUTCHER said he was not authorised to accept such an Amendment.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.) pointed out that in 1901 the harbour board was formed by the three principal merchants in Tralee. There were then twenty-eight votes. Merchant No. 1 controlled thirteen votes, Merchant No. 2, seven, and Merchant No. 3, five votes, or a total of twenty-four out of a possible twenty-eight. He held that this had been done illegally, and he wanted to see this prevented in the future. The county of Kerry had to pay £5,000 a year, and the claim they made was the modest one that they should have three representatives out of a total of fourteen. Under no consideration would he be a party to this Provisional Order being carried out.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick) thought the House did not realise the gravity of this matter. £5,000 a year was a considerable sum to the ratepayers of Kerry, and he thought some amicable arrangement ought to be entered into. He had received a telegram showing that an agreement was entered into between the promoters of the Bill and the county council, and if that were so he intended that that honourable understanding should be carried out. He hoped the Bill would be allowed to pass. An enormous amount of correspondence had passed on the subject, the Bill was badly wanted for the harbour, and all the people were anxious about it. The hon. Member for York must recognise that the discharging of the Order did not meet the situation, because the matter would have to be brought forward again next session.

MR. MURPHY (Kerry, E.) suggested that as all the Members for Kerry were in agreement, the hon. Member for York should not do anything which would make the position more difficult. He proposed that there should be an adjournment for a week in order that an understanding might be arrived at between the county council and the promoters of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Murphy.*)

MR. BUTCHER considered that would have been an admirable suggestion if the session were younger, but unfortunately there was not the slightest chance of the parties coming together at this late period. There were two alternatives. One was to read the Bill a third time, and the other was to discharge it in the hope that early next session the parties might come to an agreement which would satisfy everybody. He asked the House to adopt the second alternative.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL did not think anything would be lost by postponement so as to give the county council and the harbour board an opportunity of coming together to decide the small and simple point in the Bill. That would avoid the difficulty and expense of promoting another Bill next year.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said that he was informed that the promotion of the Order would cost £200 or £300, and he thought they should not take a course which would inflict the cost upon the taxpayers of the county. It would injure no one to adjourn the matter. If the misunderstanding which ought to be cleared up could not be cleared up, then they could take the alternative suggested by the hon. Member for York.

MR. BUTCHER said that if there were really a possibility of agreement he would certainly not oppose the proposed adjournment.

Question put, and agreed to.

Debate to be resumed upon Monday next.

Glasgow Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords] (by Order); Paisley District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [Lords] (by Order); Glasgow Corporation (Tramways Consolidation) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords] (by Order). Read a second time; and ordered to be considered upon Monday next.

SUPPLY [17TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[MR. GRANT LAWSON (Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk, in the Chair).

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1905-6.

CLASS II.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £28,920, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the

Colonies, including a Grant in Aid of certain Expenses connected with Emigration."

*MR. HERBERT SAMUEL said he wished to correct a statement he made earlier in the evening. He spoke of the new piecework contract and said he had questioned the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the New Comet Mine. It should have been the North Randfontein Mine. He would again move the reduction of the Vote by £100.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A (Salaries, Wages, and Allowances) be reduced by £100, in respect of the Salary of the Secretary of State for the Colonies."—(*Mr. Herbert Samuel.*)

*SIR BRAMPTON GURDON, resuming his speech, said he had always looked on Ministerial promises as to the payment of the £30,000,000 war loan as mere rhetorical flourish. That had, however, been the suggested return for sanctioning the use of Chinese labour in mines which were only started in order to dump shares on credulous share buyers in this country, which would never otherwise have been started, and which would soon cease working. When Chinese labour was first introduced into the Transvaal a great deal was heard from ministers of religion as to the grand opportunity that was given for missionary work among the Chinese. What missionary work had really been done? The Government had ruined South Africa. They had not really annexed the Transvaal; they had simply put the Opposition into office. The country was governed by the mine-owners, and the Government pledges to the British labourers had been broken, while thousands of aliens had been admitted to the Transvaal at the very moment legislation was being passed to exclude them from this country.

*MR. JOHN STROYAN (Perthshire, W.) said no doubt the hon. Member for the Cleveland Division had made his startling statements in good faith. He had listened to them with much astonishment, and thought the House would do well not to accept them without some proof being adduced. There was, no doubt, a large increase in Kaffir labour, one of the causes being that the Kaffirs had got rid of the money they obtained during the war, and another that competition had been stimulated by the advent of the Chinese. But they were still short of unskilled labour, and this arose from the great extension and the further discovery of large mining areas, such, for instance, as the Premier Diamond Mine, from which the Government of the Transvaal would derive a very large income, it being entitled to six-tenths of the profits of the mine. It would be a great mistake to curtail the mining industry by stopping the supply of Chinese or coloured labour, as the entire development of the country depended upon a full supply of unskilled labour. Every working man in South Africa depended directly or indirectly on the mining industry for his living. Since the establishment of the industry some of the ports had risen from insignificance to very great importance indeed, and thousands of miles of railways had been constructed for the use of, and to carry goods to, the gold-mining industry, and upon that industry depended the future development, prosperity, and welfare of the country. A plentiful supply of unskilled labour would result in more work for the whites as overseers, on farms, in stores, in connection with the railways, at the ports, and in fifty other directions. The unskilled labour in the mines was not suitable for white men. It was true that Mr. Cresswell said it was, but every mining expert and engineer in South Africa held the contrary view.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) asked whether Mr. Cresswell's view was not based on personal experience, while the opinions of the experts were based only on theory.

*MR. JOHN STROYAN submitted that when all the best mining experts in the world were on one side with only one man on the other there could not be much doubt about the matter. As to the proportion of white labour to coloured labour, an hon. Member opposite had led the House to believe that it had dwindled from one in eight down to one in twenty-five.

*MR. BRIGHT said that his statement was that of the new men who had come in the proportion was one white man to twenty-one coloured and Chinese.

*MR. JOHN STROYAN said that as a matter of fact the true proportion was one in 8·5, which was exactly the proportion that existed in 1899 before the war.

*MR. BRIGHT said that according to the Blue-book the number of whites had increased from 13,127 in May, 1904, to 16,232; and coloured, from 77,519 to 107,756. There were 35,575 Chinese. If the new men were totalled up it would be found that there was one new white man to twenty-one new Chinese and coloured.

*MR. JOHN STROYAN said the fact still remained that the proportion of whites to coloured was one in eight, the same as before the war. There seemed to be an impression that the white working men were unable to look after their own interests. They were educated men, perhaps the most able and enterprising of their class, and if they were badly treated or the proprietors departed from their undertakings, they would say so very quickly and plainly for themselves. It was not true that the Chinese were doing skilled labour. Hand-drilling was not skilled labour, and had always been done by Kaffirs. Their was a large amount of machine-drilling immediately after the war, but that was because unskilled labour was unprocurable. Machine-drilling was very expensive as compared with hand-drilling, but notwithstanding that, in order to relieve the distress that existed, the mineowners on the Rand put men into the mines who did not earn their pay, and worked the mines without profit for a considerable time. No Chinaman had ever been asked to do skilled labour; if he had, they would have heard of it from the whites. It was true that emigration had fallen off. Whenever a country was advertised as South Africa had been, there was a great rush. Many men went out with the idea of picking up money without working, round men went out to fill square holes, and a number came back. But there was no return of skilled miners. Six or eight months ago there was a large number of skilled labourers unemployed, but as the Chinese had come in, openings had been found for these men, and to-day he was informed on excellent authority, there were no skilled labourers out of employment. The Chinese had never been so well treated, well fed, and well housed in any other country as they were in the Transvaal, and they had never been paid anything like so high wages. As to piecework, the fact was that instead of earning 1s. 6d. a day. Chinamen of experience were able to make from 3s. to 4s. a day. The British Indian was utterly unsuited for work in the mines, nor could he stand the rigours of the Rand winter. As to the alleged flogging of Chinamen, it was absolutely untrue. Personally he had never known a case of flogging, either of Kaffir or of Chinaman, on the Rand. He was absolutely certain that such a thing had never occurred, and that the mineowners in their own interest would not allow it. If any compound manager were to flog a Chinaman or a Kaffir he would lose his situation as soon as the fact was known to his employers.

*MR. BURT (Morpeth) said that the hon. Member had declared that flogging did not exist on the Rand. He did not think that the Colonial Secretary would utter a universal negative in such an emphatic way as the hon. Member had done. Questions had been put to the Colonial Secretary on this subject, and it was notorious that the compound manager of the Croesus Mine at an inquest which was held admitted that he had repeatedly flogged Chinamen. He had privately brought cases at another mine to the attention of the Secretary of State, who, accepting his assurances that his informant was thoroughly straightforward and trustworthy, had cabled to Lord Selborne to make inquiries, and the right hon. Gentleman had declared in that House that Lord Selborne was fully alive to the importance of the question, and was making a thorough investigation. That was a sufficient Answer to the hon. Member.

MR. JOHN STROYAN: There may be one blackguard on the Rand, but one swallow does not make a summer. [Cries of "You said there was no flogging."] I said that I have never known a case.

MR. BURT said that was a specimen of the hon. Gentleman's logic! Because he had never known a case, therefore no case existed! As a mode of punishment he thought flogging was hateful; he regarded it as an indignity to our common humanity and a degradation to everybody concerned. If he did not carry the Committee with him in that view, he was certain they would all agree that if inflicted at all it should be only in the very gravest cases after thorough investigation, and under the strictest supervision.

He wished to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the great mortality in the mines. In the case of Chinese, Mr. Evans, superintendent of the Foreign Labour Department, stated that up to the end of January the death rate was 23·16 per 1,000 per annum, or, excluding deaths from beri-beri, 15·4, "which compared favourably with the great towns in England." That was a most extraordinary comparison. The death rate in our great towns was enormously swelled by infant mortality, and it included deaths at all ages and under all conditions, whereas those in the Transvaal were picked men in the prime of life. In the case of the natives the death rate was even more serious. In January last, the President of the Chamber of Mines in a speech at Johannesburg stated that, in the ten months of 1902 the deaths of natives were at the rate of 51·25 per thousand; in 1903, 80·92; in 1904, from accident and disease, 48·02; from accidents alone, 4·05. In this country the death rate in mines from accidents was 1·34, so that where we lost 1,000 lives per annum in our coal mines, if the rate were as high as in the underground gold mines of South Africa we should lose 3,000 or 4,000. That was a matter requiring very careful investigation. Certainly the high death rate was no inducement to the natives to come and work in the mines. He believed the high death-rate from disease was due largely to climatic conditions. There was a much lower percentage of mortality on the part of those who came from the Transvaal and the Cape Colony than prevailed among the natives of the more tropical parts of the country.

He had not discussed the general question of bringing the Chinese to the Rand. He had very strong opinions upon the subject. He thought it was an evil day for this country when they were introduced, an evil day for our traditions and our liberties as Britons. Having introduced them, he thought that at any rate they ought to do what they could to treat them humanely and considerately until the time came for their departure, and that would be a welcome day not only to the people of this country, but to a great number of the workers in the Transvaal itself. There was not, as was generally supposed, anything like an unanimous opinion among them in favour of the importation of the Chinese. He saw scores and hundreds of the workmen when he visited the Transvaal, and he attended a good many of their trade union conferences and their executive committees, and he found miners, engineers, railway workers, and mechanics of all kinds, in fact all the organised workmen of South Africa, unanimously and very determinedly hostile to the introduction of the Chinese. That opinion was strongly held at the present time, and he felt that at any rate the Government ought to have waited until the people of the Transvaal had representative and responsible government before they made that evil and hateful departure from our previous policy.

*MR. LYTTELTON: I always listen to the hon. Member who has just sat down with the greatest possible interest, and I think the method in which he has addressed the House to-night compares most favourably with other methods of controversy which have been pursued on this topic. It is perfectly true, as my hon. friend behind me said in reference to the two points before me at present, and on which he has addressed the House, that there is no convincing evidence before me at present that any flogging has taken place. When I say that, I am not unmindful of the fact that Mr. Stewart, compound manager of the Crœsus Mine, stated in his evidence at the inquest, that he had frequently caused unauthorised floggings to take place in the mine: but it ought to be remembered that Mr. Stewart was a dismissed servant of the mine, and it ought not to be forgotten that he was charged—I do not say for a moment whether justly or not—of inciting the Chinese to murder the white men. [A LIBERAL MEMBER: He was acquitted.] It was at that time, when he was under the charge, that he made the statement. He, very likely, and very likely quite justly, resented the charge. At any rate, though I do not say a word against his veracity, under the circumstances I say he is a man whose testimony would be required to be closely watched and tested before an absolute belief was accorded to what he said. I do not say one word more than that.

But this evidence, which I think is fairly open to those remarks, has been supplemented by the statement of the hon. Member for Morpeth, made to me in private, viz.: that a correspondent in whose straightforwardness and trustworthiness he has thorough reliance has stated to him that unauthorised flogging has taken place on the Rand, and anybody whom the hon. Gentleman speaks of in those terms, I am quite satisfied would not endeavour to mislead him or me. I considered upon that statement alone it was fully worth while, indeed I felt it was incumbent upon me, to make special investigations, and I telegraphed to Lord Selborne asking him that very special investigations should be made into the allegations which I had heard. That is all I can say or do at present with regard to the truth of these allegations, because it is a fact that Lord Selborne has telegraphed to me within the last few days that he has been unable to trace any such instances as the hon. Member has referred to. But that does not by any means prove that the allegations are not true. We hope we have in London one of the best systems of police in the world, but that does not prevent the grossest crimes being committed in the Metropolis. We think we have an admirable system both of law and of supervision in the Transvaal under the Ordinance, which only permits flogging of Chinese for assaults with violence, and permits those only on conviction by a magistrate and on confirmation of that sentence by the Supreme Court. That is the law, and that will be satisfactory to hon. Members of this House. I do not think anything further can be asked.

But you will say the law is no use unless the administration of it is well safeguarded. I can only say that the utmost vigilance has been enjoined upon those who are superintending in the mines, and we have now, as the result of the telegram I sent to Lord Selborne, and as the result of the misgivings which the information of the hon. Member for Morpeth undoubtedly gave me, an addition of five new inspectors in the mines. We propose that the Superintendent of the Native Labour Departments and these inspectors shall be given the powers of magistrates, that the offences which may be committed by the Chinese shall be tried by them judicially, that their sentences shall require the corroboration and confirmation of the Supreme Court in the event of their ordering flogging, and that the flogging shall be confined purely to the offences I have mentioned. I think those provisions, coupled with the determination which Lord Selborne has expressed to me, and which I have myself emphatically expressed to this House, that any system under which illegal floggings have taken place should be absolutely put an end to, suffice to show that we have taken every precaution we can reasonably take at the present moment, and I can assure the House that if anybody can suggest any other method by which these unauthorised acts can be stopped, and which commend themselves to me, I will most carefully consider them. Let me say in justice to those who are at present on the mines, and I trust I shall not be misunderstood, that at present we have taken this abundant precaution merely on the uncorroborated evidence which the hon. Member has been able to give us, so highly do we rate the information he has given us.

He went on, and I thoroughly sympathise, too, with his object in the matter, to mention the mortality in the mines. The figures that I have before me do not absolutely coincide with his. I must give them from memory, but I can give them accurately without decimals. My figures show that in 1903 the mortality was more than 70 per 1,000 among the natives. Great exertions were used by the medical officer; at my instance and Lord Milner's instance, measures were taken and were put through by the mineowners with great willingness and energy, and the result was to reduce the mortality from 70 odd to 43 per 1,000, a reduction of very nearly half. I urged Lord Milner to take counsel with his advisers, I said I did not think we ought to be satisfied until the mortality was reduced below 40 per thousand. That has not been obtained yet, but I think the mortality for the present year is 44 per 1,000. We must bear in mind that these mines are not coal mines. I always understood that coal mining was a very healthy occupation, and I think comparison between coal mines and metalliferous mines is not just. I shall not, however, be satisfied until the mortality is below 40 per 1,000.

May I say in this connection that the High Commissioner of British Central Africa has informed me that the conditions in the Transvaal mines have been so very greatly improved that the distaste for emigration from British Central Africa to the Transvaal has entirely worn off, and there is now the greatest desire on the part of the natives of British Central Africa to engage in that employment. I quite recognise that it is quite desirable, wherever you can with due regard to health, to employ the natives of South Africa, and even perhaps of Central Africa, but I still think it is a very doubtful question whether it is advisable to bring from Central Africa, and from the tropical parts of Africa, natives who you may depend upon it are far more subject to the climatic dangers of the Rand than those who are at present engaged there. I merely mention these things because the fair inference to be drawn from Central African experience is that the treatment of the natives in the Transvaal mines has enormously improved. At the same time I wish to press upon the House that it is unwise to bring natives from Central Africa if there are those more suited to the climate available.

May I in this connection make this observation to the hon. Member for Morpeth? Is there any difference in principle between bringing African natives over hundreds of thousands of miles of land to the Rand and bringing Chinamen thousands of miles across the sea to the Rand? I venture to think there is no difference in principle, though I agree that the conditions must be considered. So far as what is called alien immigration is concerned, the Kaffir who comes from Portuguese Africa is just as much an alien to the Rand as the Chinaman. Take the view of general humanity in the matter, and contrast the mortality which prevails, and which prevails to a large extent unavoidably owing to the weakness among the Kaffirs, and the mortality which prevails among the Chinese. The fact is that, notwithstanding all the exertions which have been made, the death-rate among the Kaffirs is still slightly over 40 per 1,000. I am speaking without the book for the moment, but I am sure I am accurate. The mortality among the Chinese is less than half that amount, and it has actually gone down in some mines to as little as 12 per 1,000. I think I am right in saying that it has never exceeded a little over 20 per 1,000. If you consider merely the wastage of life that takes place in this industry, I put it to the House whether it is not incomparably better that Chinese should be employed in this labour than that the natives of Central or Portuguese Africa should be employed with a loss of life more than twice as great.

An observation made by the hon. Member for Morpeth as regards the accidents, I think I must notice. He has made a comparison between the accidents which take place in these mines among the natives, and accidents which take place among English miners in coal-mining parts of this country. I have only to put to him this consideration to convince him that that comparison is not wholly a just one. I consider the miners of this country are among the finest of the population and among the most intelligent, and I do not think you can compare the skill which they exercise in doing their work with the skill exercised by the Kaffir of Central or South Africa. Therefore, when the hon. Member points out that the mortality from accidents is great, I must point out to him that the mortality in their own kraals would probably be as great as in the mines, so at least I have been informed by great experts in the matter. In the next place the care you can expect from these men in dangerous employment is incomparably less than you both expect and obtain from skilled white miners engaged in coal mining in this country.

Another point has been made, and I am not surprised it has been made, of the comparatively large number of persons on the Rand who had been subject to prosecution and imprisonment. Allow me to analyse for a moment the figures given, I believe, by the hon. Member for Cleveland, which showed that 1,250 cases of imprisonment occurred in the course of last year. Of these imprisonments no less than 909 are for offences under the Ordinance, which really amount to breach of contract, that is to say, refusal to work and desertion from work. I am quite aware that that sounds a large number, but the House must remember that this Ordinance authorises the repatriation of the Chinese at the end of their term of service, and that costs something like £21. Naturally, and I think it will be agreed, if there were a general abstention from work without justification it would be ruinous in its consequence to those who employ the men. When you take out those 909 men who have been imprisoned for short terms for desertion and refusal to work, you reduce the convictions for assaults of various kinds, exclusive of riots, to 146. Cases of riots come up to 237, and of these 53 convictions occurred upon the occasion of one riot, and 69 upon the occasion of another. You have, therefore, apart from these outbursts, which no doubt are to be expected in the initiation of a great experiment of this kind, and which occurred not infrequently in days when there were only Kaffirs engaged in these mines, 146 assaults. If you include all the rioters you get a total of something like 400. The population of the Chinese now amounts to 43,000 odd, and it has averaged over the whole time about 20,000, and, if you bear that in mind, and if hon. Gentlemen will take the trouble to investigate the criminal statistics of our sea-port towns and great centres of population, they will find that the crimes of violence are neither surprising nor alarming.

Reference has been made by one hon. Member, the hon. Member for Shropshire I think, to convict labour. It is a common practice in South Africa to apply convict labour to all industrial purposes. I do not say it is a thing we do here, but I have myself seen in the self-governing Colonies—in the Cape Colony—convict labour so applied. It has been applied always, I believe, to a small extent in the Transvaal, and there was particular reason for the employment of it on the present occasion. As perhaps hon. Gentlemen know, there was great congestion in the prison at Johannesburg, which was in course of being enlarged.

There was also the point raised by the hon. Member for Cleveland, that none of the Chinese had exercised their power of returning to their own country at their own expense.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich): They cannot save the money out of a shilling a day.

*MR. LYTTELTON: I think the hon. Member will find he is not quite accurate. I myself saw Mr. Evans, who was the superintendent we appointed from the Malay States, and who had for twenty years been engaged in the school of Mr. Pickering, of the Malay States. I had three or four hours conversation with him, and, amongst other things, he told me that no punishment he had been able to devise or that could be legally imposed under the Ordinance was deemed to be half as severe as repatriating the Chinaman.

Mr. CROOKS: It is a question of going or having your head off.

***Mr. LYTTELTON:** I do not quite follow that interruption.

Mr. CROOKS: He dare not go back.

***Mr. LYTTELTON:** I do not know what the hon. Member means. The fact is the Chinaman can go back to his own country if he pleases. When it is a question of repatriating him as a punishment, the expenses of his return trip have to be paid by the mines. Some considerable numbers have been repatriated under those provisions, and I have Mr. Evans' authority that no punishment is considered so severe as taking these men from a condition which I hold to be, after all, on the evidence, thoroughly satisfactory as a whole, and sending them back to their own country.

An astounding statement was made by the hon. Member for Cleveland, but it has been apologised for and withdrawn. He gave the House the impression that the minimum wage of 1s. 6d. a day, secured to the Chinaman under Clause 6 by his contract, had been reduced by force to a halfpenny.

***Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL:** The right hon. Gentleman is quite wrong. I did not apologise for or withdraw any statement. What I did was to mention the New Comet Mine. I ought to have said the North Randfontein Mine. That is the only correction I have made.

***Mr. LYTTELTON:** The fact is that all along it has been contemplated that the Chinaman would prefer piecework, because, being a good worker, he could earn considerably more than 1s. 6d. a day, amounting in some cases, I think, to as much as 3s. a day. That anticipation has proved correct, and a very large majority of the Chinamen engaged upon the Rand have undertaken, after six months, to go on piecework. I believe the result will be that the general average among them will considerably exceed 1s. 6d.

***Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL:** Is there any minimum?

***Mr. LYTTELTON:** This afternoon the hon. Member had on the Paper three or four Questions addressed to me. They were not reached, and, therefore, the hon. Member was not entitled to any information from me except in the course of the debate, but in order that he might have them for the benefit of his speech, and have a few hours to consider them. I went out of my way voluntarily to hand across to him my Answers in writing. The return which the hon. Gentleman gave this courtesy was grossly to misrepresent the purport of one of the Answers and grossly to mislead the Committee on the subject of the wages paid to the Chinese.

***Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL:** The right hon. Gentleman says that I have misrepresented him. I shall be greatly obliged if he will tell me, and I think I am entitled to ask, in what way I have misrepresented him.

***Mr. LYTTELTON:** The Question I was asked was in regard to wages, and I am now dealing with the Question which the hon. Member himself raised. After I allowed the hon. Member an opportunity of going back from the position which he took up he persisted in the accusation that we have reduced the minimum wage under Clause 6 from 1s. 6d. I say that is absolutely untrue.

***Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL:** Will the right hon. Gentleman excuse me. He used the word "untrue," which I do not think is Parliamentary language. I venture to ask him whether the new contract which is in force assures Chinese labourers anything more than ½d. an inch for any work they may do. Does he mean to say that there is any minimum wage fixed at all? My contention is that the minimum wage for piece workers absolutely disappears.

*MR. LYTTELTON: If a Chinaman, instead of taking a minimum wage of 1s. 6d. for a day's work, chooses to take piecework, he may do so and earn more. It was contemplated from the beginning that those who wished to earn more should have an opportunity of doing so. If, on the other hand, he misdoubts his ability to earn more than 1s. 6d. a day, and prefers to go on the day-work system he is entitled for his day's work to 1s. 6d. I do not suppose that the enthusiasm of the hon. Member for the rights of the Chinese labourers would induce him to stand up in this House and say that a man should get 1s. 6d. a day for doing nothing. A Chinaman is expected, as all of us who receive remuneration for what we do, to do what he honestly can to earn his money, and if a Chinaman on the Rand chooses to malinger or wilfully to idle, of course he will not be entitled to claim 1s. 6d. for a day's work. If there is anything in the nature of the work unduly or exceptionally arduous, if there is anything in the state of his health that makes him unfit to work, or if there is anything defective in his skill, he would of course be entitled to have these matters considered under the Ordinance, but unless there is some such reason for not doing an ordinary day's work he would not be entitled to produce less. [AN HON. MEMBER: What is an ordinary day's work?] An ordinary day's work is thirty-six inches, but some Chinamen can do from forty-eight to sixty inches.

Let me make this observation with regard to what was said by the hon. Member for Morpeth as to machine-drilling. Machine-drilling is not done by skilled labourers. The manual drilling which is done by unskilled labourers is much less deleterious to health than machine-drilling. The great cause of miners' phthisis is the dust which comes from the mineral he is working, and, therefore, so far as the workers are concerned, it is a clear gain that hand-drilling should be substituted for machine-drilling. I am sure that the substitution which has taken place has not reduced the labour of white men at all. I would further remark in connection with the allegation that machine-drilling ought to be persisted in, that it is not the case that it employs more white men. I have shown that it does not employ white men. It is objectionable to return to that method, because the effect of machine-drilling is to bring down a larger quantity of *debris*, and to displace much more of the rock part of the seam than you require to get; it is also dangerous to those engaged in the workings, owing to the "falls" which are liable to occur.

The main principle which I should like to urge upon the House in connection with this difficult and complicated matter is this. The Opposition for two years have denounced the Government because they have not vetoed the Ordinance, but they have never attempted to prove that the Government have misjudged local opinion in the matter. I will prove that. I know that there were a few sporadic attempts made at the beginning to show that the opinion of the Transvaal white population was against the introduction of the Chinese. It was said, and it has been repeated again quite incorrectly by the hon. Member for the Cleveland Division, that all the self-governing Colonies were against the experiment. As a matter of fact, Mr. Deakin, the present Prime Minister of Australia, when Attorney-General, being approached on the matter and asked to express an opinion about it, said it was the business of the Transvaal itself. Natal has taken a similar line. Above all, Canada, which has a knowledge of this matter, and which has very strong views indeed in regard to the autonomy of the self-governing Colonies, has from first to last declined to express any opinion on the matter and said that it was entirely a matter for the Transvaal. The hon. Member for Cleveland was, therefore, incorrect in his statement that the self-governing Colonies were unanimous in this matter.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: I did not say unanimous.

*MR. LYTTELTON: I am in the recollection of the House, and I say that the word "unanimous" was used. Are His Majesty's Government right in thinking, and were they right in giving it as their opinion last year, that the white population of the Transvaal are in favour of the introduction of Chinese labour? I say they are right, and I will give the House a reason. Mr. Quin, who was formerly a leading opponent of Chinese labour, has declared in favour of it since the Ordinance has been introduced. I give the substance of what he said. He abjured any further opposition to it on the part of his friends. It was said that the Boers were against Chinese labour, but as a matter of fact it was beyond all possibility of doubt that the *Het Volk,* the Boer union, entered into an agreement with certain gentlemen on the Rand who were agitating with them for responsible government; it being stipulated that no attempt should be made to repeal the Ordinance for seven years, and that agreement was made definitely and finally for five years. So much for the strong opinion of the Boers. In the next place, no resolution, no petition, no communication indeed from anybody in the Transvaal, organised or unorganised, against the introduction of the Chinese has reached me, or, so far as I know, the Transvaal Government, for the repeal or discontinuance of the Ordinance. I commend this fact to the notice of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, who may have to deal with this matter at no distant date. This question of practically unanimous local assent to this Ordinance will be and must be, in the course of a few months, put to the test of the Legislative Assembly, four-fifths of which will be elected on a democratic franchise. It is demonstrated that local opinion is on the side of the Ordinance; and although I do not like to prophesy, I will go the length of saying that I do not believe even a Motion will be made in the Assembly for the arrest or the denunciation of the Ordinance. I can imagine a dialogue between the representatives of this country and those of the Transvaal, who would say that they want this Ordinance for the well-being of their country and would ask why we want to stop it.

MR. CROOKS: No slavery under the Union Jack!

*MR. LYTTELTON: Now supposing I were to make the answer which the hon. Member for Woolwich has been kind enough to suggest to me, the Transvaal representatives would say that for fifty years or more this country has deliberately sanctioned the system of indentured labour under close and restricted conditions. If I had the industry of the hon. Member for Poplar, I might suggest certain minute differences between the present Ordinance and the Ordinances which were sanctioned by himself, Lord Ripon, the right hon. Gentleman for Wolverhampton, and other Members of the Liberal Party, but do you think that would be convincing? Do you think that would be an argument which a Minister could use? The hon. Member for Shropshire took a more honest view of the subject when he declared that these Ordinances for the West Indies were repugnant to him and that he would sweep them out of the Statute-book. But that is not the attitude of hon. Members opposite. There has been debate after debate on this subject, and not a single Gentleman on the Front Opposition Bench has had the manhood to declare that he is in favour of that policy. Although before audiences not fit to argue with him he talks about slavery, he knows that he is responsible for the organisation of Ordinances and statutes scarcely to be distinguished from this one in South Africa. The experiment, however, will never attain the dimensions that have been predicted. The measure of it will probably be the introduction of 50,000 Chinamen. I have been assured by a missionary that the introduction of Chinese and of the provision made for them has actually had the effect of raising the standard of living of all the natives.

The hon. Member for Morpeth has said that the ratio of white to coloured men employed in the mines has diminished. This is not so. The white skilled workers in the last year have increased from 13,413 to 16,989, though some of the increase may be attributed to the increase of native labour. The success of the measures taken to prevent the undercutting of Kaffir labour is shown by the fact that since the introduction of Chinese labour the number of Kaffirs employed in the mines has increased from 74,000 to 104,000, and the wages are substantially the same as before the war. It is true that there was a period just after the termination of the war in which the ratio of white to black was rather higher. I think it was one to six for some time, and that, no doubt, was due to the experiment that was being made, not merely by Mr. Cresswell, of whom I wish to speak with the greatest respect, but to other experiments made on the Rand mines. These were honest experiments, and it would have been a happy thing for the Government, if, as the result, white unskilled miners could have been engaged in these mines. But what was the result of the experiment? There were required in the mines what I call 470 unskilled miners, and to maintain that constant throughout the year it was necessary to pass through the mines white men to the number of no less than 5,800. What is the meaning of those figures? That no white men would stay in the mines working alongside of Kaffirs more than a few days. The mineowners were put to enormous expense in the first place in paying the white miners much more than the natives. I venture to say, and I quote the great authority of the hon. Member for Morpeth, that it is an idle dream to suppose that you would ever get white men, citizens of this country, to work at unskilled work below ground alongside of Kaffirs.

SIR BRAMPTON GURDON: May I point out that what I asked was in regard to the working of these mines, whether many missionaries had gone into the Chinese compounds.

*MR. LYTTELTON: I have no recollection of the subject at all; but if the hon. Gentleman will give me notice as to the number of missionaries who have gone into the Chinese compounds I shall be happy to answer him. I have never been under the delusion that it was either practical or desirable that the mines should be worked exclusively by white men, and I entirely agree with the hon. Member for Morpeth that that bears out the fundamental basis upon which this legislation has proceeded.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: There are only two points upon which I wish to say a few words. The first is as to the question how far the employment of Chinese labour has the approval of the inhabitants of the Transvaal. The right hon. Gentleman assumes that it has. We have never dogmatised on the subject. We have never said it had not. We have always denied that there was any proof that it had. I remember an interchange of words between myself and the right hon. Gentleman last year, when he asked me what I should be disposed to do if representative government were given to the Transvaal and the Transvaal Legislature approved of Chinese labour. I said I should answer that when the occasion arises; when the thing is accomplished. Well I think it is only reasonable to see whether representative government is given to the Transvaal in the first place, and then to see what the result of that change may be. The right hon. Gentleman, I think, on that occasion for the first time, intimated that this year we should have an opportunity of expressing our decision upon that point, because before that time the Government would have conferred representative institutions upon the Transvaal. If those representative institutions are genuine and sound representative institutions, carrying with them responsible government, then, of course, for my part, I should bow to the decision of any such body.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Slavery under the Union Jack!

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: But until that has taken place we suspend our opinion—we suspend our judgment as to the real feelings and the intentions in this matter of the inhabitants of the Transvaal. If you constitute one of the Colonies a responsible item in the Empire, and give it that degree of independence, then, of course, we must accept the work of your own hands and allow them to deal with this matter according to their own consciences. I pass from that, which is the mere answer to the inquiries as to the feeling of the Transvaal, of which we have as yet no definite and absolute knowledge whatever.

And now I would ask the right hon. Gentleman what is his attitude in the present temporary situation towards this Chinese experiment. I asked this Question at the beginning of the session, and I repeat it now—Is it an experiment, or is it a permanent policy, adopted and capable of extension to any large degree? You have now, I believe, 40,000 Chinamen in compounds in the Transvaal. There are more than 40,000—there are 40,002, because I understand there are two women. Is that considered a desirable state of things? Can the right hon. Gentleman, or any one else on that bench, get up and say that they think that that is conducive to the best interests either of the country in which they work or of the men themselves; that these 40,000 men should be kept in compounds segregated from the rest of the world? If they think so, are they going to stop at 40,000, or are they going to allow it to go on to as great an extent as the mineowners desire? If it is a good thing, why do you stop at 40,000? If it is a bad thing, why do you allow it to go the length of 40,000? I repeat that Question. I do not see that we have ever had any definite or satisfactory reply to that Question. But, as far as the previous point is concerned, I base myself entirely, as far as I am concerned, on the opinion of the community in which this thing exists; and I say that if the inhabitants of the Transvaal, having full opportunity of expressing their opinion, deliberately endorse the policy which has been adopted, I, for one, should not be disposed to interfere with them in that decision. [MINISTERIAL cries of "Although it is slavery."]

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): Where was the hon. Member for Woolwich when the right hon. Gentleman was speaking? The hon. Member could not restrain his enthusiasm when my right hon. friend the Colonial Secretary ventured to make certain observations upon the sort of indentured labour adopted by the Government of hon. Gentlemen opposite in various other parts of the British Empire. I think it was the hon. Member for Woolwich who interrupted, saying that under the British flag slavery could be committed nowhere.

MR. CROOKS: Under any circumstances.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: How sad are these differences in a united Party! Did the hon. Gentleman hear the speech of his leader a few minutes ago?

MR. CROOKS: The right hon. Gentleman is labouring under a delusion. I am here simply as a Labour man, and as such I stand up. I know what I talk about, and I will take care of myself.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I apologise to the hon. Gentleman. I thought he recognised the right hon. Gentleman as his leader, but I understand I have been mistaken. I do not wish to bring into collision the views of the hon. Gentleman below the gangway and the views of the right hon. Gentleman who has just spoken. After all, the views of the right hon. Gentleman are sufficiently interesting by themselves to be taken without the commentary of any of his Party. And what are those views? They are that the system which my right hon. friend and the Government of which he is a member have sanctioned in the Transvaal is a system of slavery, an outrage against humanity, out of harmony with modern civilisation, destructive of those who come from China, and destructive of the population of the Transvaal among whom they come. But the right hon. Gentleman is perfectly prepared to sanction that slavery. [MINISTERIAL cheers and OPPOSITION cries of "No, no!"] The right hon. Gentleman is perfectly ready to sanction slavery. [Renewed MINISTERIAL cheers and OPPOSITION cries of "No, no!"] I hear dissent. From which of the propositions is there dissent? Is there dissent from the proposition that the system of indentured labour is a system of slavery? [OPPOSITION cries of "No."] That is accepted. [Some cries of "Hear, hear."] Is that accepted by the right hon. Gentleman? Very well. Is it denied that the right hon. Gentleman has just in the hearing of the whole House said that if he were convinced that the white population in the Transvaal desired it he would permit indentured labour? [OPPOSITION cries of "No," and MINISTERIAL cries of "Hear, hear!"]

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I never said anything of the kind. [Ironical MINISTERIAL laughter.] I referred to circumstances in which the population of the Transvaal would have a responsible Government. If they have a responsible Government, we cease to be responsible. It should be no part, I think, of the business of the Imperial Government to interfere with their action in such a domestic matter. [OPPOSITION cheers and MINISTERIAL ironical laughter.]

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: This is the first time I have ever heard a British statesman describe slavery as a domestic matter. Let us just analyse the principle of policy which is going to animate the next Radical Government. They consider that they are justified in giving responsible government to persons who they have every reason to believe—[OPPOSITION cries of "No"]—will abuse it—[OPPOSITION cries of "No"]—by instituting slavery.—[OPPOSITION cries of "No."]—Then I understand they are not going to give it. They are never going to give responsible government to the Transvaal unless and until [Renewed OPPOSITION cries of "No"]—am I not to be allowed to finish any sentence?—until they have reason to believe that the Transvaal will not permit slavery. That is an irresistible conclusion from the observations of the right hon. Gentleman [OPPOSITION cries of "No"] from which the right hon. Gentleman cannot dissent. Now is it not irresistible? [OPPOSITION cries of "No."] Just consider. Indentured labour itself is slavery. If the Transvaal have absolute self-government and choose to maintain slavery [OPPOSITION cries of "No" and MINISTERIAL cries of "Order"] the right hon. Gentleman says that he considers he has nothing more to do with it. But it rests with the British Government to give them complete self-government. If we give them complete self-government in the full consciousness that they will use it to maintain slavery, without taking precautions that they shall not so use it, we are responsible for the slavery. [MINISTERIAL cries of "Hear, hear!"] And I can imagine nothing more contemptible than the position of the man [OPPOSITION ironical cheers] who, knowing perfectly well how the power which he confers is going to be used [OPPOSITION cries of "How?"]—knowing full well that it will be misused in the grossest manner, yet insists on conferring it, and washes his hands of the result. [MINISTERIAL cheers.] However, it may be that the right hon. Gentleman will fill a very authoritative position in the Councils of his Sovereign before the Transvaal has complete self-government, when it only has a representative Assembly, and when it will rest with His Majesty's Government to decide whether any Ordinance passed by that Assembly is accepted or not. It will be interesting to know, if the right hon. Gentleman should ever be in that position, how far he is going to condone what he describes as slavery—how far he is going to make himself a party to a system which the hon. Member for Woolwich truly says, if it be slavery, ought not to be permitted under the British flag—how far he is going to make himself the accomplice of those whom he cannot but regard as criminals.

MAJOR SEELY asked whether the Prime Minister had not himself sanctioned the Ordinance which he now described as a system of slavery.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman's friends have been making so much noise that possibly he did not hear what I said. I do not regard the Ordinance as slavery, but the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition does; and that is the difficulty which he is in.

MAJOR SEELY said that the Prime Minister had pointed out that there was a great danger, if the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition had the reigns of power, that he might be faced with the dilemma to sanction a system of slavery. He would ask the Prime Minister on whom the special responsibility rested for that dilemma? The great responsibility rested on the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, who gave a specific promise that the importation of Asiatic labour would not be permitted unless it was clearly shown that a great majority of the white inhabitants was in favour of it. He defied the Prime Minister [MINISTERIAL ironical laughter]—he appealed to hon. Gentleman opposite to listen to him; if they would not resign their seats he could not go on resigning his seat on this question [OPPOSITION cheers]—he defied the Prime Minister to say that that condition had been fulfilled. No reasonable man could positively assert that that condition had been fulfilled.

It was well known that the great majority of the white population of the Transvaal was against Chinese labour. The hon. Member for Norfolk, who had just visited the Transvaal, stated that hundreds of Englishmen there objected to Chinese labour. It was admitted that the Boers in the Transvaal were in the great majority. They held a convention at Pretoria in June last at which there were 159 delegates, and by a unanimous vote they protested against the introduction of the Chinese. Why had the promise made by the right hon. Gentleman for West Birmingham been broken? It had been pointed out by the Member for Shropshire, six months ago, that the effect of this experiment would not be for the economic good of the Transvaal, and that a system of servile labour in disguise would be bad for that country. The Blue-book showed that the result of the introduction of Chinese labour into the Transvaal might have increased the production of gold, but it had not increased the revenue of the Transvaal. He and his friends were convinced that this system was, in itself, wrong, and they had the support of high legal authority that it was, in essence, slavery. The Standing Counsel for the Indian Government said that the Chinese indentured labourers were not free according to either English or Anglo-Dutch law, and that he could not conceive of any system of jurisprudence in any civilised country where a contract of this kind could be enforced. Better still—and he drew the attention of the Colonial Secretary to this—he said that the contract was an indirect contravention of the accepted principles of the liberty of the subject. He did not say that that legal opinion was conclusive, but it should be tested. He maintained that the system of indenture of the Chinese labourers was wrong both legally and morally.

When complaint was made about the flogging of the Chinese labourers the right hon. Gentleman, the Colonial Secretary, had airily dismissed the subject, but then they had the testimony of the hon. Member for Morpeth; and he held that a system like that could not be continued without some degree of cruelty supervening. The only reply of the Colonial Secretary was that when the mine-owners paid £21 per head to get these Chinamen, they ought to get their money's worth. He and his friends condemned this system of indenture root and branch. It was perfectly true that if responsible self-government were granted to the Transvaal it would be difficult to take away the right to import Chinese if the Transvaal Government so desired it. He quite admitted the difficulty. But a system like this, even making allowance for the natural humanity of Englishmen, could not continue without cruelty supervening. If a situation of difficulty and danger arose owing to any conflict of opinion between ourselves and the responsible governing authority in the Transvaal, on hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite, and on the Prime Minister, would for ever rest the responsibility, because they broke the word of this country.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 170; Noes, 237. (Division List No. 314.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Black, Alexander William
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Bright, Allan Heywood
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, NE (York, NR, Whitby
Buxton, Sydney Chas. (Poplar)
Caldwell, James
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crooks, William
Cullinan, J.
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles

Dillon, John
Doogan, P. C.
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Ellice,CaptEC (S.Andrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fuller, J. M. F.
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gilhooly, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hammond, John
Harrington, Timothy
Hayden, John Patrick
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Higham, John Sharp
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hutchinson, Dr. Chas. Fred.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonsh.
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, V. P. (Cavan, W.)
Kilbride, Denis
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir J. F. (Accrington)
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.
Mooney, John J.
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Col. J. P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearson, Sir Weetman D.
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Perks, Robert William
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Rose, Charles Day
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Seely,Maj.J.E.B.(Isle of Wight
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spencer,Rt.Hn.C.R (Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Treodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, DavidAlfred(Merthyr
Tomkinson, James
Tully, Jasper
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas (Courtenay
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan
Wason, J. Cathcart (Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse,Sir J T(Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

NOES

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.HughO
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hn. Sir H
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour,Rt.Hn. A. J.(Manch'r.
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brymer, William Ernest
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell,J.H.M.(Dublin Univ.
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish,V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn.J (Birm.)
Chamberlain,Rt.Hn.JA (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Dewar, Sir T. R. (T'r Hamlets)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir J. C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore

Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fellowes, Rt. Hn. Ailwyn Edw.
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J (Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, RtHnSirR.B (Inv'rn'ss)
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robt. Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S. W.)
Gardner, Ernest
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj Evans-(T'rH'ml'ts
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Goschen, Hn. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, H. D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Groves, James Grimble
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, RtHnLordG (Midd'x
Hamilton, Marq of (L'donderry)
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashf'rd
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Sir J. (Staffords., N.W.)
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, J. (Kent, Faversham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hn. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Hn. H. L. W. (Mile End)
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
Liddell, Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hn. W. (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reg. J. (Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Manners, Lord Cecil
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F
Maxwell, Rt. HnSirH E. (Wigt'n
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robt. Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Col. Edw. J
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, Sir H. (Renfrew)
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, A. H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, RtHn JParker (Lanark
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Hon. A. (Ormskirk)
Stanley, Edw. Jas. (Somerset)
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Sir Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Turnour, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E H (Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E (Taunton
Welby, Sir Chas. G. E. (Notts.)
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

Tellers for the Noes—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

Original Question again proposed.

And, it being after Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again To-morrow.

IRISH EDUCATION (AFFLICTED CHILDREN) [EXPENSES].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys provided by Parliament for Public Education in Ireland, of the Expenses of Education given to Afflicted Children, in pursuance of any Act of the present session to make better provision for the Elementary Education of Afflicted Children in Ireland.—(*Mr. Walter Long.*)

Resolution to be reported this day.

MOTOR-CAR (ALIEN DRIVERS) LICENCES BILL.

Bill read a second time, and committed for Monday next.

VALUATION (IRELAND) BILL.

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn.

LOCAL TAXATION LICENCES, 1904–5.

Return ordered, "of the amount received in respect of each administrative county and county borough in England and Wales for Local Taxation Licence Duties and Penalties, under The Local Government Act, 1888, in the year ended March 31st, 1905 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 300, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Jeffreys.*)

LONDON (EQUALISATION OF RATES) ACT, 1894 (ACCOUNTS UNDER SECTION 1 (7) OF THE ACT).

Return ordered, "showing, according to the accounts for the twelve months preceding the 31st day of March, 1905, furnished to the Local Government Board under Section 1 (7) of The London (Equalisation of Rates) Act, 1894—

(1) The amounts paid during the year out of the Equalisation Fund under the Act to the Corporation of the City of London and each of the Councils of the Metropolitan Boroughs to whom payments out of that fund were made.

(2) The amount of the expenses incurred during the year by each of these authorities (a) under The Public Health (London) Act, 1891 (including expenses of scavenging streets); (b) in respect of lighting; and (c) in respect of streets (other than the expenses of scavenging); and

(3) The amount expended during the year by each such authority out of the sums received by them under the Act (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 325, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Jeffreys.*)

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

*THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Sir A. ACLAND HOOD, Somersetshire, Wellington), in moving the adjournment of the House, said that the first order for the next day would be the Second Reading of the Naval Works Bill, and the second order the East India Railways Loan Bill.

Question, "That this House do now adjourn"—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned at a quarter after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, 28th July, 1905.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Heckmondwicke Improvement Bill. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Bolton Corporation Bill. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

North Eastern Railway Bill. The King's consent signified; and Bill reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

North Eastern Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to.

Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District) Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with an Amendment. The said Amendment considered, and agreed to.

Workington Harbour and Dock Bill [H.L.]; South Lancashire Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Matlock Bath Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Formby Township Bill [H.L.]; Sheffield University Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Midland Railway Bill; Bootle Corporation Bill; London Gas Bill; Caledonian Railway Bill; North British Railway (General Powers) Bill; Rhondda Urban District Council Bill; Rotherham, Maltby, and Laughton Railway Bill; Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power Bill; Woolwich Borough Council Bill; Skegness Water Bill; Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Railway (No. 1) Bill; Metropolitan Electric Tramways Bill; Dublin United Tramways Bill; London and North Western Railway Bill; Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill; Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill; Edgware and Hampstead Railway Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Wemyss Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Read 2^{a} (according to order), and (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act), deemed to have been reported from the Committee; and Bill to be read 3^{a} on Monday next.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill. House in Committee (according to order). Bill reported without Amendment. Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^{a} on Monday next.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill. Read 3^{a} (according to order), and passed.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill. Amendments reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3^{a} on Monday next.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Suggestions for the consideration of teachers and others concerned in the work of public elementary schools.

COLONIES (ANNUAL).

No. 452. Gambia (Report for 1904).

TRADE REPORTS: ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3463. Netherlands (Dutch Guiana).
No. 3464. Siam (Chiengmai).
No. 3465. Chile.

ARMY.

1. Abstract of recommendations of the Royal Commission on the care and treatment of the sick and wounded during the

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

South African Campaign, together with the action taken.

2. Sum of money granted as compensation to the son of an officer killed at the battle of Abu Klea.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (LOSS OF LIFE).

Return showing the lives lost by wreck, drowning, or other accident in British seagoing merchant ships registered in the United Kingdom, during the years 1891 to 1904, inclusive (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper [Cd. 2232]).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE.

Rules of the Supreme Court (July) 1905. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

AGRICULTURAL PROSPECTS IN INDIA.

In reply to Lord SANDHURST,

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (The Marquess of BATH) said: The latest information we have with regard to agricultural prospects in India is contained in the following telegram—

> "Monsoon commenced late, but recent rain generally sufficient and well distributed. Prospects favourable in Eastern, Central, and Northern India, and fair elsewhere, except in part of Madras, South Bombay, and North Rajputana, where rainfall deficient still. Grain stocks sufficient everywhere and prices generally about normal. Total number now on relief: 1,500 in Bombay, and on test works 2,100 in Bombay and Merwara. There is at present no cause for anxiety."

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894 (LOCAL MARINE BOARDS,.

LORD MUSKERRY rose to draw the attention of His Majesty's Government to the fact that at many important shipping centres no local marine boards exist, and to move to resolve, "That, in the opinion of this House, the Board of Trade should, without delay, appoint local marine boards at these ports in accordance with Section 244 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, and that steps should be taken to secure the due representation of captains and engineers upon both existing and future local marine boards." Also to ask His Majesty's Government whether the Board of Trade have appointed as their nominees upon such boards trade union officials, including some who have been convicted of infractions of the Merchant Shipping Act and of other offences; and, if so, whether the Board of Trade will consider the propriety of cancelling such nominations and substituting therefor the nominations of captains and engineers.

The noble Lord said: My Lords, the President of the Board of Trade, in answer to a deputation which recently waited upon him at Bristol on the subject of the granting of certificates to alien pilots, said that the Board of Trade had no option but to administer the law as they found it. That has been the refrain of many replies to many such deputations by many previous Presidents. The object of the Motion which I have the honour to submit to your Lordships' notice to-day is to urge the Board of Trade to give effect, in the case of local marine boards, to its own oft-repeated *dictum*.

In order that your Lordships may understand the importance of the question and its bearing upon the well-being of the mercantile marine, I will ask you to bear with me while I refer briefly to the origin, purpose, and constitution of local marine Boards. Local marine boards are provided for by the Act of 1894, but for their origin we have to go back to the year 1850. The Act of Parliament by which they were constituted was designed to achieve three great objects, and I cannot do better than quote to your Lordships an extract from a speech made by the then President of the Board of Trade in another place in introducing the Bill which afterwards became law, because every word has an intimate bearing upon the subject of this Motion. The President said—

> "One of its principal provisions was that which would establish a system of compulsory examination of masters and mates in the merchant service, and would provide that which he held to be an object of the greatest importance, the power of cashiering a master or mate for incapacity or delinquency proved before a competent tribunal. That was the first great

principle embodied in the Bill. The second was that which would put a stop to that system of 'crimpage' which brutified and oppressed the seafaring population of this country, and which did not prevail in a similar degree in any other country in the world. With a view to put a stop to that system the Bill would provide for the establishment of responsible public officers who would undertake the duty of engaging crews and of dismissing crews on the return of a vessel from its voyage. That was the second great object of the Bill. The third was to be found in those provisions which were directed to the important purposes of improving the discipline of our merchant navy, of putting a stop to that desertion which prevailed to so great an extent in the merchant service, and of tightening the reins of discipline, which he held to be an object not less important for the welfare of the sailor than for the protection of the rights of the shipowner. Those were the great objects of the Bill, and he asserted, without fear of contradiction, that the great body of shipping interest not only approved of those objects, but believed that the proposed mode of carrying them into effect would be unobjectionable."

Proceeding to deal with the machinery for giving effect to the provisions of the Bill the President said—

"He found that the principal objection entertained to the measure, and especially in the great outports, was that it would enforce a system of excessive centralisation, and would bring the shipping interest too much under the control of the Board of Trade sitting in London. Now he had felt that to be a question of great difficulty. He had no abstract reverence for a system of centralisation upon that or any other subject; on the contrary, he was anxious to avoid it as much as possible; and still less was he anxious for the patronage which the Bill would vest in the Board of Trade. He believed the shipping masters would have a most difficult duty to discharge; and he should be most happy to get rid of the appointment of those officers if he thought he could do so without leaving local bodies destitute of any proper check, and without allowing them to become centres of abuse and agitation. He thought that after a good deal of discussion with parties interested in the matter he had fallen on a plan which would prevent any system of centralisation, and would at the same time ensure an effectual check against local abuses. He proposed to institute local marine boards in all ports having more than 30,000 tons of shipping engaged in the foreign trade; and he further proposed that each of those local boards should be composed of twelve members, six of whom should be elected by the shipowners of the port . . . four out of the resident shipowners of the port to be nominated by the Board of Trade, together with the mayor, or provost, as the case might be, and the stipendiary magistrate, to make up the board of twelve. He proposed that those local boards should carry on a good deal of the business and regulate many of the appointments which had before been entrusted to the Board of Trade. He proposed that those boards should have a concurrent power with the Board of Trade of appointing examiners, while the Board of Trade should have the right of fixing the plan of examination, and of assisting by its officers at the examinations. The next point to which he should advert was the appointment of shipping officers. He believed there would be no danger in allowing the local boards to nominate shipping officers, and in making the necessary arrangements for the establishment of shipping offices. It had been represented to him, and with great force, as he thought, that those officers would be placed in a very difficult and embarrassing position unless they could preserve the most cordial good understanding with the shipowners. He would, therefore, give the local boards the power of nominating the shipping officers; but he would take the precaution against any abuse of that concession by requiring that no salary could be given to those officers without the express sanction of the Board of Trade, which would be responsible for the expense of that portion of the proposed system. He would also give the local boards a concurrent power with the Board of Trade of instituting investigations into the conduct of all masters of ships against whom there was *primâ facie* evidenc that they had abused their powers."

These proposals became law in the Act of 13 and 14 Vic., c. 23, and local marine boards were appointed on the basis therein defined. As your Lordships are aware, mercantile marine legislation was afterwards consolidated in the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, and later by the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894. Both these Acts provide for the continuance of existing local marine boards, and the appointment of others by the Board of Trade. These Acts do not contain a word which implies an alteration in the *status* of ports which are to be provided with local marine boards. Section 244 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, provides that—

"There shall be local marine boards for carrying into effect this Act under the superintendence of the Board of Trade at those ports of the United Kingdom at which local marine boards are now established, and at such other ports as the Board of Trade appoint for the purpose."

The obvious intention of Parliament was to allow sufficient elasticity in the law to enable the Board of Trade to meet the growing needs of the shipping community arising from the development and progress of the industry at various ports by appointing local marine boards as these ports should attain dimensions equal to those at which such boards were already in existence.

Now I submit to your Lordships that the Board of Trade have lamentably failed to give effect to the plain intention of the Act. At present there are in existence seventeen local marine boards, the most recently appointed being that at Cardiff in 1893. Since then not a single further board has been appointed by the Board of Trade. But, my Lords, if the Board of Trade has stood still, the shipping industry of this country has continued to progress. The qualification for the institution of a local marine board was the registration of 30,000 tons of foreign-going tonnage at the port to which the board is attached. This qualification is represented to-day by the entrance and clearance of 200,000 tons of British foreign-going tonnage, that is to say, that 200,000 tons stand in the same relation to our tonnage to-day as 30,000 did to the tonnage of 1850. Taking, therefore, the basis of 200,000 tons as a proper one to be at present adopted by the Board of Trade, if effect is consistently to be given to the desires of the Legislature, we find that no less than sixteen ports are unprovided with local marine boards which on that basis are entitled to such institutions. While in some of these ports, such as Harwich, the tonnage entered and cleared may be swelled by the cross-Channel vessels which trade to these ports, but do not appreciably increase the volume of mercantile marine work, it cannot be denied that many other ports, both on the basis of tonnage and on the basis of seamen engaged and discharged, have long passed the stage when they should have been provided with the proper machinery designed by Parliament for the administration of the Merchant Shipping Act.

Let me draw your Lordships' attention to some of the more striking anomalies of the present position. It would be ridiculous to assume that Parliament intended that the Merchant Shipping Act should be carried out by local marine boards at certain ports, and that at other ports of equal or greater importance it should be carried out directly by the Board of Trade. Yet that is how matters stand to-day. For example, Aberdeen, with a tonnage of 100,849 tons entered and cleared, and no record of the number of men shipped annually, presumably because it is so small, is provided with a local marine board. Southampton, with a tonnage entered and cleared of 2,308,069 tons, and 24,188 men shipped, has no such institution, the Board of Trade having thrown cold water on a proposal for the establishment of a board which emanated from the local chamber of commerce. Plymouth, with a tonnage entered and cleared of 251,006 tons, and no record of men shipped, possesses a board; Swansea, with a tonnage of 1,324,852 tons entered and cleared, and 6,465 men shipped, has none. The mercantile marine business of Greenock, with a tonnage of 150,211 tons entered and cleared, and no record of men shipped, is under the supervision of a local marine board; the same business at Newport, with 1,596,551 tons entered and cleared, and 9,514 men shipped, is under the direct supervision of the Board of Trade, notwithstanding a resolution of the local chamber of commerce requesting the appointment of a board. At Dublin, where the tonnage entered and cleared is 361,808 tons, and the number of men shipped is 1,561, there is a local marine board; at Middlesbrough, where the tonnage entered and cleared is 748,369 tons, and the number of men shipped 2,261, there is none. Sunderland, with 756,378 tons entered and cleared, and 4,648 men shipped, rejoices in a local marine board; Manchester, with 1,483,799 tons entered and cleared, and presumably a much larger number of men shipped, laments the absence of such an institution.

Again, I submit to your Lordships that it was never the intention of Parliament that such an anomalous and confused state of affairs as this should be allowed to arise, and that Section 244 of the Merchant Shipping Act was intended to be administered rationally and not simply at the caprice of the Board of Trade officials. As to the desire on the part of shipowners and shipmasters for local marine boards, there can be no question. At the last annual meeting of the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom a resolution was unanimously passed urging the President of the Board of Trade to give the matter his immediate attention. The Executive Council of the Shipping Federation, which represents approximately nine-tenths of the foreign-going vessels of our mercantile marine, and whose function is principally to deal with the *personnel* of the service, are also unanimously in favour of the appointment of further boards. The Merchant Service Guild, representing over 12,000 captains and officers, is of the same opinion. What excuse has the Board of Trade to offer for neglecting the duty imposed upon it by statute and for flouting the wishes of these great and representative bodies? It cannot be on the ground of expense, because the cost of a local marine board is but little more than the price of the stationery and the secretary's salary, say £50 a year, the board having power to arrange that one examiner shall act jointly for various ports.

That these boards are necessary and valuable institutions cannot be denied. The shipping industry is of a most complex and varied character in all its details. None other is subject in the same degree to State regulation, and regarding it, as I do, as the paramount national industry of this country, I should be the last to say it should be otherwise. On the the other hand, there is no trade which is less understood by those who are without practical experience than the shipping trade, and in none consequently is it of more importance that the control of the State should be of a judicious and elastic character, if it is not to be fraught with disastrous results. This was recognised by the Legislature when it provided that its intervention in what I may term the domestic relations between shipowners and their crews should be made through the medium of shipowners themselves as represented upon these boards. As I have already pointed out to your Lordships, it was considered to be in the interests of the seaman, in order to save him from the crimps and other harpies by whom he is regarded as legitimate prey, that the whole of the formalities in connection with his engagement and discharge should take place in the presence of State officials. It was wisely recognised that this method of State regulation might take the form of intolerable interference unless it were sympathetically administered.

It is difficult for an employer of shore labour to realise the extent to which that interference is carried. It is open to any of your Lordships to engage a servant by the day, week, month, or year without reference to any Department of State. But the Cunard Company cannot carry a seaman on a five days trip across the Atlantic without a solemn contract entered into before a mercantile marine superintendent, hedged with formalities and restrictions of every kind. Whatever there may have been to be said for such procedure in the days of sailing ships, when voyages lasted for years which now occupy weeks only, there can be no doubt that it is rapidly becoming archaic and oppressive. It is therefore doubly important to shipowners that their legal rights to representative control of these details of their business should not be filched from them. Can any one doubt that a local marine board composed of the six leading shipowners of a port, of four captains and engineers, and of the mayor and stipendiary magistrate of the port, is likely to act otherwise than in the most upright manner? My Lords, I have not hesitated, in season and out of season, to denounce what I consider to be evils in the conduct of the shipping business of this country, but I have never formed so low an estimate of the character of shipowners as the Marine Department of the Board of Trade, who are apparently afraid to confide to them the administration under the Board's own superintendence, and in conjunction with the Board's own nominees, of those statutory provisions which it was always intended should be so administered.

As one illustration out of many of the evils which arise from the absence of expert local supervision of mercantile marine business, and of the utter incapacity of a Government Department to appreciate the practical issues between shipowners and seaman and the difficulties of maintaining discipline at sea, I will refer your Lordships to the case of the port of Middlesbrough—that port which has recently been refused a local marine board by the Board of Trade in spite of a memorial praying for the establishment of such a board, unanimously signed by the shipowners resident in the port, by the owners of vessels trading to the port, by the masters of such vessels, and by the great societies of shipowners, shipmasters, and officers to which I have previously referred. In the absence of a local marine board it has devolved upon the Board of Trade to perform the functions which, under the Act of Parliament, should have been undertaken by a local marine board.

Let me mention some of these functions to your Lordships, and then let us see how they have been carried out by the Board of Trade. These functions are to be found enumerated in Sections 244–5–6 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894. One of the duties of the local marine board is to appoint and remove the necessary mercantile marine officers, whose business it is to superintend the engagement and discharge of seamen. The post of mercantile marine superintendent is, I need hardly say, one involving an intimate knowledge of the mercantile marine, and especially of the practical and everyday relations between shipmasters and their crews. How was the appointment of superintendent of mercantile marine filled up by the Board of Trade at Middlesbrough? Did they appoint a shipmaster of experience and sound attainments, a man whose practical knowledge of the service would be helpful and valuable in every way in connection with the duties of his post? Or did they promote some official who, although without sea experience, had by virtue of long service in a subordinate capacity gained such a knowledge as would fit him for the position? No, my Lords, the Board of Trade were not trammelled by any such considerations. The gentleman they saw fit to appoint to the important and responsible position of mercantile marine superintendent was a chemist—a laboratory chemist, and although at the time a Question was put to the then President of the Board of Trade on the subject in another place, on behalf of the shipping interest, and although I myself drew the attention of your Lordships' House to it, the appointment was persisted in by the Board of Trade.

I ask your Lordships is it conceivable that any local marine board, with an adequate representation of shipowners and shipmasters upon it, would have made such an appointment as that? I have not a word to say against the gentleman personally. For aught I know he may be imbued with a strong sense of duty, and in course of time he may even make an excellent superintendent of mercantile marine; but, my Lords, he is getting his education at the expense of the best interests of the merchant service. For what are the results that one would expect to flow from such an appointment? They are the results which are almost inevitable where a chief official has to rely entirely upon his subordinate for the practical knowledge of the business of which he is in charge, and where, in addition, those subordinates are men who, however well qualified they may be for an inferior position, have neither the capacity nor the character to fit them to deal with the higher and more responsible duties of their profession.

In the case of the port of Middlesbrough, it was the expected which happened. Very numerous complaints have been made by captains concerning the manner in which mercantile marine business is transacted at this port. Some of these masters were members of the Merchant Service Guild and complained bitterly to that body. Others complained to their owners, who in turn passed on their complaints to the Shipping Federation by whom they were laid before the Board of Trade. These complaints, which have been submitted to me by the guild, were to the effect that the shipmasters in question had received degrading treatment at the hands of the mercantile marine officials in the presence of their crews. The reading of the articles of agreement was accompanied by a running commentary by these officials, which I can describe as nothing less than an incitement to the men to insubordination. The men were advised to take no notice of certain clauses in their agreements, to see that they were not tricked in connection with the scale of provisions by the substitution of margarine for butter, and so forth. These remarks were made to the seamen in the presence of their captains, and were sometimes received with applause by the men. My Lords, I do not envy the lot of the shipmaster who is called upon to command a British crew after such a preparation for the voyage as this.

In one case, that of the steamer "Dewsland," a seaman was so wrought upon by the admonitions of the mercantile marine officials that, after the signing of the articles, he returned to the vessel, and striking the master in the face declared he would not proceed to sea in her. The master of the "Harbyn" writes as follows—

> "On paying off at Middlesbrough, on the 29th of January last, I was treated by the shipping master in a scandalous manner. There were two men I gave a passage home to from Bilbao to Middlesborough. I was in error in not reporting these men immediately as aliens; I was and had been ill at the time, and that is how this error was made. Well, some of my crew were not what I would have liked them to be, and I gave them "Good" instead of "Very good" discharges; the men complained and the shipping master dictated to me in a very improper manner. The men informed the shipping master I had brought two foreigners into the country, and that I had passed a ship in distress in the Bay of Biscay and would not stop to attend to her. The shipping master, Mr. Hart, took up this question and carried on very much, bullying me before the men like a pickpocket, which was too much for me to stand, with the result that I retaliated, so what was actually said I cannot say, but he was most insulting to me. We did pass a vessel in the Bay of Biscay stopped under ordinary conditions which often happens at sea, but she had not any lights asking for assistance, but only showed the usual regulation lights, masthead and side lights. I threatened at the time to write to the superintendent of the Board of Trade but did not, as I was too busy. I may add that I shipped these men whom I brought from Bilbao, so that they were not left in this country. My chief mate, who was present at the time, confirms this statement, and appends his name thereto."

Do your Lordships suppose for a moment that if a local marine board had been in existence such a state of affairs as is represented by these complaints would not have been instantly nipped in the bud? The shipowners and shipmasters requested the appointment of a local marine board at Middlesbrough and an inquiry into the conduct of the officials, the latter request being, after considerable delay, granted by the Board of Trade. To their surprise when the inquiry was opened at Middlesbrough they found themselves confronted by the secretary of a so-called Seamen's Union—which is unknown to the Registrar of Friendly Societies—who had been invited to take part in the inquiry by the Board of Trade, apparently for no other purpose than to heckle the witnesses with impudent questioning. As if this gratuitous insult were not sufficient, the shipowners who had stipulated for, and been promised, legal representation at the inquiry, were informed that the charges against the officials would be heard *in camera*.

My Lords, I do not know of what sort of stuff shipowners are made which enables them to acquiesce in this sort of treatment without protest to His Majesty's Government. As it was, those present took the only step compatible with dignity or even decency, and withdrew from the so-called inquiry, leaving it to be finished by the Board of Trade and its trade-union advisers. I have referred to this so-called inquiry for the purpose of showing the utter inability of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade to appreciate the very real difficulties which exist between masters and crews. I would draw your Lordships' attention to a passage in the inquiry in connection with the examination of Captain Green, a member of the Merchant Service Guild, who had travelled from Genoa for the purpose of giving his evidence. I take the passage verbatim from the shorthand note of the proceedings which has been supplied to me by the Merchant Service Guild. The president of the committee of inquiry, addressing the secretary of the Seamen's Union referred to, upon whom he (the president)—and the president, I may mention, was the Professional Adviser of the Board of Trade—appeared principally to lean for advice in the conduct of the proceedings, said—

> "The personal matters are the matters which can only be spoken to by the persons concerned. What I am talking about are the trivial charges such as that when a man read out from the scales of provisions, he paused at the word 'butter,' and said, 'Take care to get butter, men, and not margarine.' That is a charge which I do not think you, or anyone else, would be interested in sifting."

My Lords, more complete incapacity to grasp the delicacy of the relations between shipmasters and their crews it would be hard to imagine. On the one hand, you have a captain who, with two or three mates, is responsible for the control of his crew. On the other hand, you have the crew, a body of men inflamed with the teachings of agitators, taught to take advantage of every loophole for indiscipline. Between the two is the Government official, who by manner, word, and deed, is inciting those men to discontent. Your Lordships do not need to be informed how quickly the seeds of discontent when sown in such soil germinate and blossom into insubordination.

My Lords, I could multiply instances in which the interests of the mercantile marine are suffering for the want of that local and immediate control over their own business under the supervision of Government which the Legislature wisely ordained it was to have in certain matters. But I will now pass to another point, viz., the character of the representation upon the local marine boards so far as that representation is in the hands of the Board of Trade. As your Lordships are aware, the boards consist usually of twelve members. Of these, six are elected by the shipowners, and naturally enough are members of the trade; four fall to be nominated by the Board of Trade, and the remainder, which may be one, two, or three, are the mayor and stipendiary magistrate or magistrates of the port. It is in respect of the Board of Trade nominees that I wish to urge upon His Majesty's Government that full representation should be given to captains and engineers upon these boards. I freely admit that this principle has already been partially adopted, and that representatives of the cloth are to be found among the nominees of the Board of Trade upon many local marine boards. But I say it should be more widely adopted still by the exclusion of the trade-union officials which the Board of Trade have seen fit to put upon some of these boards and the substitution in their place of captains and engineers.

Take the local marine board of the port of London. Not one single representative of merchant captains is to be found upon that board. Yet one of the nominees of the Board of Trade is Mr. Joseph H. Wilson, who on more than one occasion has been convicted and fined for persuading seamen to desert from their vessels and has been imprisoned for riotous assembly, and who, I am informed, abuses his position upon the local marine board by using it to gain access to the shipping office in connection with the soliciting of seamen to join his so-called union, and for other purposes in connection with that organisation. There is a saying, my Lords, that—

> "An old poacher makes the best gamekeeper,"

but I submit that that would be a dangerous principle for adoption by the Government of this country in the selection of its nominees for public offices, and that the interests of public morality are badly served by such an appointment as that to which I have drawn your Lordships' attention, and upon which I do not propose to dwell at greater length.

Since first I occupied myself with this question I observe that the triennial elections of local marine boards have taken place, and I have noted with some satisfaction that the Board of Trade, in deference no doubt to the strong local feeling which was evoked by the appointment, have refrained from renominating another trade-union official who had also been convicted of the offence of persuading seamen to desert. I trust we may take this as an earnest of their intention to abandon this pernicious policy, if only by degrees. On the general question of the right of seamen to due representation in any legitimate sphere no one feels more strongly than I do. Seamen are entitled to combine, or, as unfortunately seems to happen in their case, to allow themselves to be combined by some manipulator, if they choose, but in no sense can it be said that they have any title to representation upon local marine boards, which are the tribunals before whom their captains and officers are brought upon charges of misconduct.

The British Navy exhibits the highest standard of discipline in the world. It also offers the finest example of a healthy and contented *personnel* in spite of food and pay which are as a rule inferior to those obtainable in the mercantile marine, though the food in merchant ships is too often ruined by bad cooking. I wonder how your Lordships, or the Lords of the Admiralty, would receive a proposal that the men of that service should be represented upon Courts-martial sitting in judgment on their officers? Could any proposal be imagined more derogatory to, or subversive of, discipline? Yet the principle is the same in both cases. I, therefore, invite your Lordships to join with me in urging His Majesty's Government to increase the number of local marine boards till it is commensurate with the maritime needs of the country, to strengthen and purify the representation upon these boards by purging them from those elements which, at the best, are "matter in the wrong place," and, in short, to impress upon the Board of Trade the duty of administering the law as it finds it, not only in the letter, but honestly in accordance with its spirit and the intention of the Legislature.

Moved to resolve, "That, in the opinion of this House, the Board of Trade should, without delay, appoint Local Marine Boards at these ports in accordance with Section 244 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, and that steps should be taken to secure the due representation of captains and engineers upon both existing and future Local Marine Boards.—(*Lord Muskerry.*)

*THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (The Duke of MARLBOROUGH): My Lords, the noble Lord who has just spoken has gone into many matters concerning this subject. I do not propose to follow him in the numerous points he has raised. Sufficient for me to say is this, that I feel sure that if the Lord Privy Seal had been here this afternoon he would have taken exception to many of the comments which fell from the noble Lord, and I am inclined to think that he would have stigmatised many of his statements as by no means accurate as regards their facts.

What is it that the noble Lord is anxious to have information upon? He told your Lordships that at the important shipping centres there are not a sufficient number of local marine boards. I might remind the noble Lord that at nearly all the most important seaport towns in the Kingdom—Belfast, Bristol, Cardiff, Dundee, Greenock, Hull, Liverpool, and so on—marine boards exist, and where they do not exist machinery has been set up by means of which the duties which would otherwise be administered by local marine boards are carried out. As at present advised, the Board of Trade do not consider it necessary to add to the number of local marine boards, but applications to that end have always received, and will always receive, their most careful attention.

As to the representation of captains and engineers upon the boards, I would remind the noble Lord that under the Act of 1894 six of the members of the local marine boards are elected by shipowners and four are appointed by the Board of Trade. The Board of Trade have always endeavoured in appointing these representatives to carry out the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour, and have appointed as far as possible persons who are not interested as shipowners or in shipping property. The members of local marine boards appointed by the Board of Trade number sixty-eight in all, and I will tell the noble Lord how they are classified. Twenty-six of them are representative of deck officers, twenty-four of whom are retired master mariners; sixteen are representative of engineers, and eleven of seamen; and fifteen other members are unclassified, most of whom were appointed before the Report of the Labour Commission. I only mention these figures to show that great care has been taken that both masters and engineers are represented on the local marine boards; indeed, from these figures it seems to me they have more representation almost than their proper share.

Finally, the noble Lord was anxious to ascertain whether trades-union officials had been appointed on these boards. I am informed by the Board of Trade that some of the present representatives of seamen appointed by the Board of Trade have been, or are at the present time, trades-union officials; but the Board of Trade consider these gentlemen suitable and representative of their class. The Board of Trade are not aware that any of them have been convicted of any offence under the Merchant Shipping Act during the period they have served in their respective offices. Nor did the Board of Trade see any reason at all to question these appointments, and they are certainly not prepared, as the noble Lord would wish, to cancel them in order to make way for engineers and masters who are already, in the opinion of the Board of Trade, more represented than probably they are entitled to be. I regret that I cannot go more fully into the other points which the noble Lord raised.

Lord MUSKERRY As the noble Marquess the President of the Board of Trade is unable to be in his place, I ask your Lordships' permission to withdraw the Motion for the present. I shall bring it before your Lordships again next year.

Motion, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

ORGANISATION FOR WAR.

***The Earl of WEMYSS** rose to call attention to the Under-Secretary of State for War's answer to direct inquiries as to the preparedness of the different commands to move to any point on the East Coast at short notice fully equipped and organised in all respects for war. The noble Earl said: Your Lordships will recollect that about a fortnight ago a Resolution was accepted by His Majesty's Government and by your Lordships' House without a division, the effect of which was that it would be unwise and contrary to the interests of the Empire to trust only to the Navy for our defence, and that it was essential that at all times we should be in all respects on land so strong that no nation would in any form attempt a hostile landing on our shores.

Soon after that was carried I received a letter from a dear old friend of mine, a colonel of the Hampshire Horse, who forty years ago solved the problem of mounted infantry in much too perfect a way for the War Office, who allowed this force to die out, but now ask us to spend £3,000,000 on a new arm for the cavalry, when the infantry arm already in existence, if carried on the Bower plan, would have met all requirements and been absolute perfection. He wrote congratulating me on my success in getting this Resolution carried, and added—

> "Be sure and keep the tambourine a-rolling."

It was to keep the tambourine a-rolling that I asked the noble Earl the other day the Question referred to in my notice. What is the use of passing such a Resolution unless you know whether or not you have the means to carry out that Resolution? I therefore asked for information from the noble Earl; but how was it met? The noble Earl threw the monthly Army List at my head. He told me I should get all the information I wanted from that book. I have looked at the Army List. It tells you nothing as to your state of organisation, as to your armaments, as to your transport, and all that is necessary to make your different commands a fighting unit capable of going anywhere. It tells you nothing. The noble Earl raised as much official dust as any motor ever did on the road—dust to throw in the eyes of your Lordships and the public as to the state of what you call your preparedness. His Answer took the form that it would not only be unwise but wrong on the part of the War Office to let your Lordships and the public behind the scenes, and to tell the world what the secret strategic plans of the War Office are. Now I asked for no information on that point. I do not care what your strategic plans are. I do not want to know them. I want to know whether you have the means of carrying them out, whether the commands, as you call them, are capable of moving and within what time. That is all, and to say that that information is a strategic secret is absurd, for it is known to every military *attaché* in London; it is known to every man who goes about with his eyes open at Aldershot and elsewhere.

Having been snubbed in this way by my noble friend, I thought the best thing to do would be to try and get information for myself, and that I have endeavoured to do. I happened by chance to meet an

Aldershot friend—a man of some importance at Aldershot—and I asked him—

> "How long would it take you to organise in all ways as a fighting unit, ready at short notice to go anywhere?"

He at once said it would take ten days, afterwards modifying that by saying it would take from seven to ten days. The Aldershot command differs from all the others, inasmuch as it is composed purely of regulars. There are no Auxiliary Forces—no Militia, no Yeomanry, no Volunteers. But there are other commands in which they have these different forces, and I asked a brigadier of one of these forces how long it would take his mixed command to move. He replied, "Seven days." But he made this mistake. He thought I meant his own brigade. I said "No; I mean what you call the command, the whole Army complete in all its parts." The reply was "I cannot tell you." That is the information I received.

I am a kindly disposed person, and would rather return good for evil. I have therefore endeavoured to get information which at any rate your Lordships have not got, and I think the House will be much interested in some of the figures I am going to give you as to the preparedness in every way of foreign forces. This is an absolutely reliable list. Much of it is in print, for abroad these strategic secrets which my noble friend will not give me are in print in many cases that the people may know where they are to go to when they are wanted. I find that in the smallest and poorest of these States—Switzerland—they have got 200,000 men in the 1st Elite. All these men can be ready in from twenty-four to forty-eight hours, completely fitted with everything for war, to move in any direction they are ordered. There are 200,000 more in the Landsturm. They can be ready in a week as supports, complete in armaments, ammunition, guns, horses, transports, ambulance, commissariat—as fighting units. Italy has twelve army corps. The railway system is bad for speedy mobilisation, but Italy can concentrate the whole of the twelve army corps in the Po Valley in eight days.

Now I come to Germany. The first army mobilisation is 1,300,000 men, and they are mobilised in seven days, the lowest time given for Aldershot, where the number of men concerned is, as we know, considerably below 1,300,000. Then behind that force there is another million in the Landsturm. Both can be brought in the field in this short time complete in all things. Lastly, I turn to France, and I find that they can put 900,000 men in the field in a week, and 1,000,000 in the second line in another week. Here too is a very remarkable thing which I would press on the attention of my noble friend, that not only are they prepared to have these armies ready in the time stated, but for every horse serving in the field France and Germany could instantly lay their hands on a reserve of five horses. These figures are very telling and very instructive, and I hope the War Office are imitative enough to follow so good an example. I have here a letter which I have received from a great military instructor, Dr. Miller Maguire, who has now a Professor and two Officers from Germany attending his lectures. This is what he says on the state of our Army—

> "I do not believe you could have our so-called commands ready in a month. But in point of fact there would be no use in their trying to be ready. It would be only readiness for ruin. There are no guns for either Regulars or Auxiliaries, no system of commissariat for any mobile Army, no staff, no organised methods of any kind, and half of the Regulars are quite unfit for even a fortnight's war in our own isles. Much better test and reject one-third of these paid men at once, and then worry Volunteers next. As against our present so-called Army, any army half as good as Napoleon's at Boulogne in 1804, could, by the admission of eight-ninths of our officers, do as they pleased in our country."

He goes on to say—

> "Our military force could not be organised in a month, and if mobilised one-third of the Regulars could not keep the field for even a fortnight. Our Army organisation, officers, staff, guns, and rifles would be absolutely, and relatively to possible rivals, in a worse case than Gambetta's in 1870–71. We have no Army fit to cope with any civilised adversary."

Your Lordships heard what Lord Roberts had to say in this House the other day as to the state of our Army. Lord

Wolseley in a letter to me some time ago said—

> "It is no use having an Army List; we have no Army."

You, therefore, have the opinions of these two great generals with reference to the present state of our Army. Do not forget the condition the Army was in which we sent out to South Africa. In 1860 we had the biggest field guns in the world, but these big guns became obsolete through the improvement of the ordinary field gun, and they were never replaced, with the result that if it had not been for the Navy's guns we should have been driven into the sea in South Africa. Lord Roberts is to speak on Tuesday next at a great meeting at the Mansion House, and I have received a circular letter inviting me to attend, at the conclusion of which Lord Roberts says—

> "I propose to deliver a short address in furtherance of the remarks made in my speech in the House of Lords on July 10th on the inadequacy of our present means for the defence of the Empire."

Nothing is being done that is really satisfactory to better this state of things. An excellent letter appeared in *The Times* on July 20th last, written by their military correspondent, in which he says—

> "It is difficult to credit that Mr. Arnold-Forster's colleagues can feel or express anything but formal sympathy with a plan which aims at the conversion of eight good into eight inferior battalions; which leads nowhere and proves nothing which is not already known; which imposes fresh burdens on the taxpayer, and offers results inferior to the system it displaces, and finally helps to render the provision of the necessary drafts impracticable."

So much for the Army. I cannot understand how my noble friend Lord Lansdowne and the Cabinet allowed the present Secretary of State for War to play with the Army as if they were tin soldiers in a nursery. He tried to do away with the Militia absolutely. We beat him there. This year he has tried to alter entirely the terms of service and to make it compulsory for them to serve abroad. But this Bill will not pass.

The Volunteers are a force of Englishmen who prefer serving the King as Volunteers at home to taking their chance of ballot for the Militia, and thes men Mr. Arnold-Forster is having measured and examined—for home defence? No, for foreign service. I read that three regiments have declined to be examined for foreign service. They are quite right. There is no breach of discipline in declining to do what you did not undertake to do. It seems to me it is a great pity that Mr. Arnold-Forster did not stick to what he said at a dinner at which I was present at the Royal Academy in May, 1904. He told the Company—

> "I am attending zealously to the intellectual equipment of the British Army."

It is to be regretted that he did not stick to this and leave their corporeal entities alone. It is admitted that you have a shortage of 10,000 officers. You have on the one hand the suggestion of the Duke of Bedford that lords-lieutenant and deputy-lieutenants should become recruiting officers. Then Lord Lovat suggests that the Universities and seats of learning should be used as recruiting grounds. My noble friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs knows perfectly well that there is one simple way of dealing with the whole thing. Our Secretaries of State for War break down because they attempt to be original and are not content with what satisfied the Duke of Wellington and has satisfied this country hitherto. At a dinner which I attended this summer my host said—

> "Wemyss, will you undertake to be Secretary of State for War?"

I replied—

> "Certainly, if I am allowed to do what I want, and am not expected to be original."

It is this attempt at originality that is breaking down things. All the administrators and writers go in for something different from that which has existed hitherto. The other point on which they break down is that of moral courage. This I am sorry to say is not confined to Secretaries of State, but extends to the whole Cabinet. If you would enforce the existing law which you annually suspend, all your difficulties would disappear and you would have a cheap Army.

What would be a perfect state in this country? It would be this, that every Englishman, Scotsman, and Irishman should be trained as a youth in gymnastics, drill, and sword-play, which I thank my parents for having made me go through, and should be trained to shoot also, and that process of training should extend up to and through the Universities. And, as regards the question of shooting, you do not want a large sum of money. I tried an interesting experiment as to this. At my home in Scotland, where there is a Volunteer company and a drill hall, I got the drill sergeant to take two recruits, neither of whom had ever had a gun in his hands. They were trained with the Morris tube in the drill hall, and when their instruction was perfected they were taken to the butts to see how they could shoot there. The result was that they actually shot better than men whose whole training had been at the butts. Instruction in rifle shooting could be easily and cheaply given at Morris tube ranges. I think the matter is certainly worthy of consideration. Do not imagine that it is a bad thing for a youth to be drilled. A distinguished engineer, Sir Joseph Whitworth, many years ago told me that it is the best thing possible for working men to be drilled. He said they learnt to work together, to be obedient and orderly, and he added that he would give 1s. 6d. a week to any workman who had been drilled over the wages he would give to one who had not been drilled. Therefore, nothing can be better for the nation than such a system as I have ventured to describe.

Nineteen would be the age when in the mildest possible form you would apply the existing law, which is simply the embodiment of the liability of every Briton to pay for his privilege of being born a Briton by serving his country. When a youth reaches nineteen years of age I would have him this once—though you would, of course, keep the power, in case of national emergency, of extending the period—run the chance of being balloted for the Militia. Can anything be simpler than that? Yet we hear from the occupants of the two Front Benches that the British nation will never stand this. How dare you libel the nation in that way? Have they ever shown that they will not stand it? Have you ever asked them? I do not think either Front Bench has. I have spoken in this sense for forty years, and I have never heard, whenever I have ventured to voice these feelings, a single objection raised.

I tested it in a practical way by sending a circular round to all the county and town authorities, chairmen of quarter sessions, chairmen of county councils, mayors, provosts, and others. I put two questions to them. The first was, "Are you satisfied with the present state of things as regards the Army and home defence?" Four hundred circulars were sent out, and over 200 answers were received, and to this question 75 per cent. of those who replied returned the answer "No." The second question was, "Do you suppose that the nation would accept a modified form of compulsory service for home defence, and home defence only?" The replies were two to one, "Yes." And yet you go about libelling the British race and assuming that they have less patriotism than the little Jap, our ally, when you have never dared, for fear of votes—and this is the only thing that rules now-a-days—to ask them. And yet what an example of the patriotic spirit of our nation you had, when, on an appeal from the War Minister, General Peel, my noble friend Lord Spencer, the then Lord Lorne, and so many of your Lordships, rushed to arms, and within twelve months over 40,000 Volunteers marched past their great Queen in Hyde and Holyrood Parks.

And now I venture to think that if the Government would have the courage to again make an appeal to the nation, they would meet with a like patriotic response, and could apply in the modified form I have suggested the existing law of ballot for the Militia, and then all difficulties would vanish and you would get, as I have said, a cheap Army, for in that case Volunteers would have to do as we did. We paid all our own expenses when we began. I hold, then, that patriotism is not dead, and if the Government would only appeal to the people they would have such a response as I am sure would surprise them. Depend upon it, no nation that wishes to come here will give you any warning. In twenty-four hours, if your Fleet does not prevent them, they will have landed on our shores, at any rate for a raid.

My Lords, let me in conclusion say that for home defence no more is needed than the application of the modified form of compulsory service to which I have referred. No more, I say, is needed; to do less is treason to the State.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (The Earl of HALSBURY): My Lords, before the noble Earl the Under-Secretary replies, I would like to call your Lordships' attention to the rules of debate in this House. No one, I think, would desire to interrupt the noble Earl who has just spoken. We are all, I am sure, glad to have instruction from him; but I think it is irregular and inconvenient to raise the whole question of compulsory service and home defence on a Question of this kind. The noble Earl's notice on the Paper reads as follows—

> "To call attention to the Under-Secretary for War's answer to direct inquiries as to the preparedness of the different commands to move to any point on the East Coast, at short notice, fully equipped and organised in all respects for war."

If that sort of Question is allowed to be debated in this way, I venture to think it will be very difficult to arrange the business of the House. There is an important Bill waiting to be discussed on Second Reading, and I put it to the noble Earl who leads the Opposition and to the noble Marquess the Leader of the House whether in some way or other something could not be done in this matter.

*THE EARL OF WEMYSS: My Lords, the last thing in the world I wish to be is disorderly. So great is my desire not to be disorderly that instead of speaking from the front cross bench I have come here close to the Lord Chancellor, so that if I am irregular in any matter he can call me to order. I certainly did not imagine for a moment that I was exceeding my legitimate right in saying what I believe to be the truth, and in stating how, in my opinion, our Army can be placed in a better state than it is in at the present moment.

*EARL SPENCER: My Lords, with regard to the point raised by the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack, my impression is that my noble friend Lord Wemyss is not out of order in having made the speech to which we have just listened. I think, if we look back, there have been some of the longest debates in this House on a mere Question. I admit the Lord Chancellor is right, that sometimes it is not very convenient to have a long speech when you are not quite prepared for it; but on this occasion, according to the Orders of the House, Questions have precedence of Bills. That is sometimes an inconvenient course. I do not know what other Members of the House may think, but I think the difficulty would be got over if at this period of the session the Government obtained power to put their Bills down before Questions. I admit the inconvenience sometimes of a debate like this arising on a Question, but I am afraid I must differ from the noble and learned Earl as to my noble friend being irregular in what he has said.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, I venture to think there is more to be said in defence of the view expressed by the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack than the noble Earl who has just sat down quite realises. There is nothing further from our thoughts than to deprive this House of the fullest opportunity of discussing any of the important military questions to which the noble Earl referred in the course of his lengthy remarks, but the notice which he put on the Paper had reference to a very different subject. It had reference to a statement, made upon a particular point by my noble friend behind me on the occasion of a recent debate in this House, a statement which was concerned with the military arrangements designed for the purpose of dealing with sudden raids upon different parts of our coast. The noble Earl was not satisfied with my noble friend's explanation, and had a perfect right to comment upon it to-night; but what he did in effect do was to discuss at great length the question of compulsory service, to say nothing of a few other extraneous matters, such as the use of the Morris Tube and the need of gymnastic and other physical education being given to the youth of this country. I do say, in the first place, that that is somewhat an abuse of the Rules of this House; but I say more than that, that it is scarcely fair to those who on behalf of the Government have to reply to the statements made by our critics in this House. It was absolutely impossible that my noble friend the Under-Secretary should have known that subjects covering such an immense extent of ground were going to be discussed to-night merely by seeing the notice which my noble friend had put on the Paper. I therefore trust that the appeal of the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack will not be disregarded, and that we shall at any rate come to an understanding amongst ourselves as to the rules, whether written or unwritten, by which our debates are governed.

*THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of DONOUGHMORE): My Lords, the noble Earl at the commencement of his speech said that in the debate on July 17th I administered to him a snub. I absolutely repudiate that suggestion.

*THE EARL OF WEMYSS: It did not hurt me.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I am very glad to hear it. The statement I made to your Lordships was that it was not in the public interest for the details of our mobilisation arrangements to be made public; that is to say, it was not in the public interest to state, to use the words of the noble Earl in his question, how long it would take any particular unit to reach the East Coast. I made that statement fully understanding the responsibility. I had been advised by those responsible at the War Office that it would not be advisable in the public interest that this information should be given. The noble Earl said I gave that Answer with the object of throwing dust in your Lordships' eyes. I absolutely deny that, and I claim that we have the right to state definitely that in our judgment a certain thing is not in the public interest to be published, and we have a right to be believed when we make that statement. I do not wish to follow the noble Earl as to the figures he gave, which were based on the authority of anonymous correspondents. I have seen the true figures. These figures exist, of course, in the War Office, and I utterly fail to appreciate the accuracy of the noble Earl's figures in view of the facts that have been placed before us. I can only repeat that those who are responsible for these matters at the War Office have again to-day told me that it would not be in the public interest that these facts, which are obviously intimate facts in our scheme for the defence of this country, should be published, and I hope your Lordships will not press for this information.

WAR CORRESPONDENCE.

*LORD ELLENBOROUGH rose to call attention to the fact that, on the 3rd of March last, Lord Selborne whilst First Lord of the Admiralty expressed the following opinion as regards the dissemination of news in war time—

> "The position of the law as it at present stands is one with which no body of public men of this country can be content;"

and to ask the present First Lord of the Admiralty if during the recess it is intended to publish a Blue-book containing documents which would have the effect of preparing the public mind for legislation in 1906; and whether some of his naval advisers are not of opinion that such laws, if well considered and drawn up so as not to interfere with full freedom of criticism, would do more to strengthen our maritime position than the addition of some millions to the Naval Estimates.

The noble Lord said: My Lords, After the discussion that has just taken place I am sure that your Lordships will be glad to hear that my speech will not take more than four minutes. After what Lord Selborne had said in this House on the 3rd of March when replying to a Question that I had asked him, I had fully expected the Admiralty to take some steps towards enabling the public to study the questions connected with dissemination of news in war time. Though I have no doubt that the Admiralty and the Naval Intelligence Department have given much thought to this subject, still it is not in their power to solve these problems unaided. If that had been the case I should have refrained from asking this Question. But the Admiralty have only power to make regulations, and this is a case in which the laws of the country require to be changed. This cannot be effected without the assistance of the Press and the public.

Nearly five months have now elapsed since Lord Selborne spoke. Whatever may have been done by the Admiralty, in the interval, there is as yet no outward and visible sign of progress. It is, of course, too late to expect that anything can be done this session, but I hope that in February the matter will be found ripe for legislation. Whatever Government may be in office, some measure should be brought forward in 1906, as this ought not to be looked upon as a Party question, or as one that can be indefinitely postponed. It is the unanimous opinion of all the naval officers whom I have consulted that if we found ourselves at war before such a Bill is passed we should be placed at a serious disadvantage; a disadvantage whose equivalent it would be difficult to estimate in millions of money. If the dealer at bridge had to place his cards on the table as well as dummy's, the odds in his favour would be greatly diminished.

The idea of the necessity of secrecy is not a new one in naval strategy. In October, 1745, Admiral Vernon, the hero of Portobello, wrote to the Admiralty—

> "When an enemy does not know where you are he is under apprehension of you everywhere."

Many of our leading journals are quite prepared to support a reasonable Bill. As for those who may oppose it for the sake of what they may consider to be their pecuniary interests, I can only tell them that if they are successful the profits arising from that success will be very small, as it is perfectly certain that some measure effecting telegrams and war news would be passed before war had lasted a month, though possibly too late to save us from the loss of the initiative and a consequential disaster. I doubt if any form of censorship previous to publication would be of any use. In the first place, we have too many newspapers; and, in the second place, nearly all the soldiers and sailors fit to act as censors would be required for active service. To prevent misapprehension I shall conclude by saying that I have no wish to see any interference with full freedom of criticism of the conduct of individuals, or of past events, provided that by so doing no information is given that might be of use to an enemy. The new legislation should lie dormant until we are in imminent danger of war. I beg to ask the Questions standing in my name.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (The Marquess of LINLITHGOW): My Lords, the First Lord of the Admiralty has desired me to express his regret that he is prevented from being in his place to reply to the Question of the noble Lord. The noble Lord has alluded to the danger arising from the indiscriminate publication of news in time of crisis or actual hostilities. The view expressed by Lord Selborne in the speech quoted by my noble friend has the full adherence of His Majesty's Government. It is perfectly true that the present position of affairs in regard to the publication of information which ought in the interests of the country to be kept secret is certainly not satisfactory, but, as I am sure the noble Lord must realise, it is not an easy matter to deal with by legislation. There is no reason at all to suppose that the Press in this country is unpatriotic or unworthy of confidence. But, in spite of an honest desire on the part of editors to avoid embarrassing the public interests, under present conditions the evil to which the noble Lord called attention is very often the result of a keen competition for news and some uncertainty as to the measure of secrecy which is necessary in regard to particular items of service intelligence. The First Lord hopes to have an early opportunity of making some private representations in responsible quarters with a view to arriving at an understanding by which the difficulties which surround the problem may be removed. If it is found possible to attain the desired end in this way, the need for the legislation suggested by the noble Lord will be obviated. If, however, such methods should unfortunately fail, it may well be that legislation in the last resort will in the interests of the country become inevitable.

ALIENS BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD **BELPER**: My Lords, the subject with which this Bill deals has attracted great attention in the country for a considerable number of years. I think it was in the year 1888 that a Committee of the House of Commons first sat to consider the serious increase in the number of destitute aliens coming into this country, and although their consideration did not lead them to recommend any legislation, yet it was clear from their Report that they looked forward to the time when this increase would necessitate legislation. To come to a later period, in 1896 a measure was mentioned in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech from the Throne, and two years later a Bill dealing with the immigration of undesirable aliens was brought forward and passed through its different stages in this House, but did not proceed further. Finally, in 1902, a Royal Commission, of which my noble and learned friend Lord James was Chairman, made a full and complete inquiry into the whole question. They also inquired into the laws which had been passed with regard to aliens in other countries, and the majority of that Commission recommended that effective measures should be taken to check the wholesale immigration of destitute aliens into this country.

I think, perhaps, I ought to acknowledge that there were two members of the Commission who, although they signed the Report, took a somewhat different view from that of the majority as to the particular proposals which should be adopted. They added a Memorandum stating their objections to some of the proposals made by the majority of the Commission. In 1904 a Bill was introduced into the other House of Parliament to carry out the recommendations of the Majority Report. It is needless for me to comment on the fate of that Bill It met with almost microscopic criticism, and it never reached its later stages in the other House. This session a Bill, the Second Reading of which I now move, was introduced, and it has passed through the House of Commons. It differs in some respects with regard to the machinery from the Bill of last year, and I think it will be generally admitted that, so far as many of the points go, it is an improvement on that Bill.

Now, my Lords, what is the case for the Bill I now ask your Lordships to read a second time. The facts are these. It is acknowledged that a wholesale immigration from the eastern part of Europe has been going on for some time, and is taking place now. Many of these immigrants are quite destitute and without any trade by which they can earn a living. They are of a low type of civilisation; and they lower the standard of living among our own working classes. In the East End of London especially and in other crowded centres they work for very low wages. It is stated in the Report of the Royal Commission that there is no great amount of disease among these aliens when they first come into this country, but it is a fact that the insanitary conditions under which some of them live have introduced new diseases of a very disagreeable character. The local government authorities have had great difficulty with them under the existing law. Further than this, they have in some parts of London displaced the occupants of a large number of dwellings, by the fact that landlords who are unscrupulous and anxious to make as much money as they can out of their poor dwellings find that they can obtain more by taking foreigners, as a very large number are willing to live in the same house.

The statistics with regard to alien immigration have been before the country for some time, and I am well aware that there has been considerable discussion with regard to what is the actual number of alien immigrants coming into this country. I therefore intend to avoid such immigration figures as are controversial. It is recognised that there is a very large number of alien immigrants year by year and that a large proportion of them go out of the country again, some of them immediately and some at a later period. There is considerable difficulty, therefore, in checking the number of aliens who remain in this country. But there are statistics which are conclusive as to the conditions of the aliens in this country. To these I attach the utmost importance in proving the necessity for legislation. They show that there has been an enormous increase in the number of criminal aliens convicted in this country. In 1897 the number was 2,572; three years later it was 3,130; and last year it was 4,774. Their percentage to the total criminal population has risen in the same time from 1·12 to 1·7, or half as much again. I think this rapid rise in the number of criminals of the alien class shows, at all events, the necessity of some attention being paid to this very serious and important point.

Let me now take the question of Poor Law relief. My figures also show an increase in the number receiving poor relief. In London, in 1902, the number was 3,234; and in 1904 it had risen to 4,162. Lest it be supposed that this is peculiar to London, let me add that in some of the chief provincial centres from which statistics have been collected the number receiving relief was 1,381 in 1902, and in 1904 it had risen to 1,685. With regard to my statement that a large number of the poorer classes were practically turned out of their houses to accommodate newly-arrived aliens, I may point out that last year in Stepney alone 380 houses were occupied by aliens, the former occupants having been turned out. What is, therefore, the present position? The increased steamship facilities for coming to this country at low fares and the fact that nearly every country in Europe, and also the United States, have passed laws regulating the admission of aliens, has made the necessity of some action in this country more urgent.

I find that in 1900 nearly 1,200 foreigners were rejected by the United States and sent back to this country, and 1,700 foreigners who had come to this country and tried to go on to the United States were refused passages on the ground that they would be rejected when they were taken there. We had information that foreigners who tried to go into the United States and failed were frequently taken back to Europe and then shipped off again to this country as the easiest means of getting rid of them. I am told that there is one special passage broker in Bremen who makes a trade of dealing in this way with emigrants who have been refused admission in the United States. What is the result? I do not want to use what is a fashionable slang expression now and say that this country is the dumping ground of the destitute and most undesirable aliens, but I think I can use a word which is quite as expressive and more applicable to the occasion. This country is rapidly becoming the sink of the most undesirable class of aliens on the Continent. They come here because they cannot get into any other country, and of those who come to this country with the intention of going on to America it is clear that the least desirable ones remain here because they know that if they go to the United States they will not be permitted to land.

I do not wish to worry your Lordships by statistics nor by long argument, but I think the necessity is proved for the State having some control over alien immigration. If that fact is granted, let me say one word now as to the machinery of this Bill. The proposals are practically divided into two parts. The first part deals with the regulation of alien immigrants and takes power of refusing them at the port of entry; and the second part deals with the exclusion of those who are undesirable when they are already in. With regard to exclusion—and this, I take it, is perhaps the most contested portion of the Bill, for there has been more general assent given to the power of refusing admission to aliens than to their exclusion—let me explain the machinery of the Bill. The Bill proposes that aliens should only be excluded who come into particular ports. It has been shown that out of about 207,000 aliens who came into this country in 1904, 201,000 came in at eight particular ports. It is proposed, therefore, to deal with the ports at which aliens are principally introduced, and that at those ports there should be power of inspection of ships bringing in aliens.

In the Bill inspection is only proposed where a ship is bringing in more than thirty steerage passengers. The Secretary of State, however, has taken power to alter this number if he thinks it necessary. If is obvious that without some such power an attempt might be made to evade the law by bringing in a smaller number than thirty in order to escape inspection at the port. To meet this the Secretary of State has taken power to alter the number if he thinks it necessary, and to have ships inspected even though the steerage passengers might not number thirty. The inspection will be carried on by an immigration officer and a medical inspector on ship-board or on shore, whichever is most suitable, and if any alien objects to the decision given, there will be power of appeal to an immigration board, who will decide whether the alien is to be rejected or not.

The reasons for which immigrants may be refused admission into this country are contained in Clause 1, Sub-section 3. This section provides that an immigrant shall be considered an undesirable immigrant if he cannot show that he has in his possession, or is in a position to obtain, the means of decently supporting himself and his dependents, if any; if he is a lunatic or an idiot, or owing to any disease or infirmity appears likely to become a charge upon the rates or otherwise a detriment to the public; or if he has been sentenced in a foreign country with which there is an extradition treaty for a crime not being an offence of a political character which is, as respects that country, an extradition crime within the meaning of the Extradition Act, 1870; or if an expulsion order under this Bill has been made in his case.

With regard to expulsion, an alien in this country may be expelled if it is certified by a Court that he has been convicted of any felony or misdemeanour or other offence for which the Court has power to impose imprisonment without the option of a fine, and if the Court recommend his expulsion. There are other important conditions under which an alien may be expelled. He may be expelled if he has within three months from the time at which proceedings for the certificate are commenced been in receipt of parochial relief, or been found wandering without ostensible means of subsistence, or been living under insanitary conditions due to overcrowding.

Having explained the provisions of the Bill, let me now deal with some of the objections that have been raised against it. I do not understand that the Second Reading will be opposed in your Lordships' House, but I noticed that in the other House it was objected to the Bill that it made a difference between the very poor person and the man who had means. That is a perfectly fair criticism, but I do not think that any alien would necessarily be excluded under the Bill because he was poor. The fact is, he will have to show that he is likely to have the means of keeping himself and his family. That is a very great distinction. It is notorious that the Jews have organisations in this country which prevent any Jew coming in from becoming a charge on the rates, and maintain him until he can find employment. Under this Bill there would be no chance of a Jew being excluded as long as one of those organisations wished to find means for him and made it clear to the officer at the port of entry that provision would be made for keeping him off the rates. I do not think it is unreasonable that an alien who cannot show that he has a prospect of earning his living and is likely to become a charge on the rates should be debarred from coming into the country.

It has been objected in the House of Commons that the Bill interferes with what is called the right of asylum; but I submit that the provisions inserted in the House of Commons make it perfectly clear that no man would be excluded who was flying from political or religious persecution. Then it is argued that the effect of the Bill will be very small, but that argument coming from those who object to the Bill shows that there cannot be a very great belief on their part that the Bill will do the harm they profess to think it will. I believe that when it becomes known that regulations for dealing with undesirable aliens are in force, a large number will be deterred from coming over. I do not think

I need detain your Lordships further. I will only say, in conclusion, that in my view the Bill attempts to deal fairly and morally with the question, and I hope your Lordships will not only give it a Second Reading, but will also show by your general support your desire to see it put upon the Statute-book.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2a."—(*Lord Belper.*)

*EARL SPENCER: My Lords, I admit that on the speech of the noble Lord a case has been made out for some legislation. The noble Lord said there was a wholesale immigration of aliens from the eastern part of Europe. I cannot help thinking that there has been a considerable amount of exaggeration in that matter. I do not rise for the purpose of opposing the Second Reading of the Bill, but for the purpose of making a protest in reference to one or two points. Notwithstanding the safeguards that have been introduced, I fear there is considerable danger in the Bill of wrecking that right of asylum, or perhaps I ought to say custom of asylum, which has existed for so many years in this country, and under which those who suffer from political or religious persecution abroad have always found safety in this country.

I also object to the Bill because I consider that the evils complained of are really much smaller than they are represented to be. The principal object of the Bill is to deal with aliens who remain in this country, and the aliens who so remain are much fewer than the numbers that are often quoted. The noble Lord has avoided giving any figures with regard to the number of aliens who are supposed to settle in this country. It may have been wise on his part. I quite admit that there is a difficulty in arriving at any figures which both sides in this controversy agree upon. Very large figures were given last year in the other House, and it was afterwards found that the Secretary of State had forgotten to substract sailors who were enumerated in the figures. Many persons who have studied the matter put down the number of aliens who settle in this country at from 7,000 to 8,000 annually. That may be an under-statement, but I believe the figures are taken to a great extent from the census and from figures that were admitted by the Commission over which my noble and learned friend Lord James presided.

I would refer for a moment to the supposed dangers arising in consequence of the presence of these aliens. There are the criminals. We are all ready to declare that we should not object to those who are convicted of crime being in some cases expelled from this country, and in others prevented from entering it, if it were worth while to take these steps and if the privilege of asylum was preserved. The noble Lord quoted some figures as to the increase of crime. But are the aliens referred to aliens who have just arrived, or have numbers of them been settled here for some time? The number of Russian Jews convicted is very small in comparison with Germans, Italians, or French. Therefore, those figures do not relate to the case of those who are principally affected by the Bill—namely, the Russian Jews.

It is interesting to note that in 1903–4 the number of alien inmates in penal and reformatory institutions in the United States who had been convicted of crime was 9,825, whilst the number of persons debarred from landing on similar grounds in five years only reached a total of 106. Therefore, though they did prevent during those five years 106 aliens who were supposed to be criminals from arriving in the country, there were, notwithstanding, 9,825 alien inmates in penal and reformatory institutions. Is that a very satisfactory state of things? If there are all these convicted aliens in penal and reformatory institutions, can it be said that the laws of the United States have had much effect in diminishing the number of criminal aliens in that country? I doubt very much whether you would be able to largely diminish the number of convicted aliens. A great many would come into the country and remain some time before becoming criminals. The noble Lord gave some figures with regard to pauperism; but unless an increase in the proportion of alien pauperism to the total pauperism in each year can be shown, they cannot be regarded as constituting a very strong argument.

Lord BELPER: Perhaps I ought to mention that there might be added to the list a very large number if you were to include the Jews who are supported by the Jewish organisations.

***Earl SPENCER:** Figures have been given officially with regard to paupers which certainly strike me as not proving that an enormous number of aliens come on the poor rate. On July 17th Mr. Gerald Balfour stated in the House of Commons that—

> "The latest figures in my possession as to alien paupers relate to the 1st of July, 1903. The ratio of alien paupers to the total number of paupers in England and Wales on that date was about 0·22 per cent. The total cost of the Poor Law relief in the year 1903–4 in round numbers was £13,369,500, and the cost of relief to alien paupers calculated on the above ratio, would be about £29,000."

When we look at these figures and compare them with the total, this seems to me a very small sum indeed. The noble Lord referred to the question of health. He said that as a rule the health of these immigrants was good, but that certain bad diseases had appeared from time to time and had been spread among the population.

Lord BELPER: The evidence before the Commission was that those who examined these aliens did not say that there was a very large amount of disease among them, but there were some horrible diseases introduced owing to the insanitary conditions under which they lived.

***Earl SPENCER:** If they were diseased when they arrived no one would object to dealing with them; but I have seen figures which show that the infant mortality in districts where there are a large number of aliens is really lower than in other districts. In Whitechapel, with 24·11 per centage of foreigners to population in 1891, deaths of children under one year per 1,000 births in 1886–90 was 170. Whereas in Southwark, with a ·7 per centage of foreigners to population, the corresponding deaths of children under one year per 1,000 was 172. These facts strike me as rather disproving the general assertion that the immigration of these aliens increases ill-health and disease in the particular districts to which they come. The noble Lord referred to aliens as being often the means of displacing the present occupiers of houses. But how does that arise? It arises through their being able to pay more in rent than the people in the district, and, therefore, they are not very poor.

Lord BELPER: They are able to pay more because more live in the houses. They pay considerably less per head.

***Earl SPENCER:** That may be a serious matter, but at the same time overcrowding is a thing which ought to be dealt with under the present law. There is a law to prevent overcrowding just as there is to prevent sweating. I think these laws ought to be strengthened, and that that is the way in which these matters should be dealt with. Then we hear that the competition in trade is very serious, but there are some very curious facts with regard to that. I have in my hand an extract showing what happened in a particular district through a firm—Messrs. Hitchcock, Williams, & Co.—transferring their German industry to England by employing Jewish labour. The following is their account of the results achieved—

> "In 1899 we decided to introduce foreign Jewish tailors into a new factory that we had recently built. Their work has been excellent. British material has been used instead of German, and a large part of the money sent formerly to Berlin has been distributed among British manufacturers and in wages. The quality of the work has improved year by year, and the garments made in our factory are better than those previously imported. Other English firms have followed our lead, and to-day the German Press admits the loss of her trade in these goods. Our experience shows that these foreign Jewish tailors do a class of work which our workers cannot undertake with success, and that they earn a high rate of pay."

In that way trade in this district was stimulated by the demand for material, and so forth; therefore you cannot say that they did harm to the trade of that particular district. I admit that occasionally there have been cases in which harm has been done. There is a trade with which I am very familiar, viz., the shoe trade, which I believe the immigration of aliens did hurt to some extent. But it must be remembered that when that occurred the shoe trade was undergoing almost a complete change, the factory system being in process of substitution for that under which the workmen did the work at home. I do not know, therefore, that that argument holds good.

Then my noble friend referred to another argument, for which, I think, there is a good deal to be said, namely, that the Bill applies to the poor and not to the rich. I certainly agree with that. We object to the Bill because we believe that it will apply almost entirely to undesirable aliens who come in as steerage passengers, and not to those who may travel in first or second-class cabins. I do not know what answer there is to that objection, but I certainly think it is one of considerable gravity. The test of poverty is one of the most difficult to apply. The authorities have attempted to apply it in America, but it has been almost entirely broken down by the devices of those who wish to obtain cheap labour. When a ship comes in on which it is known there are a certain number of poor people, agents go down and claim relationship with them, or adopt some other device of that description, with the result that the people get through, and the law is entirely evaded.

I referred just now to the figures given by the Local Government Board as to the cost of pauper aliens to the rates. The amount was £29,000 a year. But what will be the cost of maintaining all these stations on the coast? It is calculated that the stations and the necessary machinery for carrying out the inspection will cost £24,000 a year. I maintain that this machinery, which may break down and affect classes which you do not want to touch at all, is really unnecessary to deal with an evil which is not so serious as I think the noble Lord by his speech would lead the House to believe. I know that this is considered by some people to be a very important political operation; it is believed that there is considerable political feeling in certain parts of London, that this Bill is introduced to a certain extent to satisfy that feeling, and that to prevent its passing would entail the loss of a great many votes at an election. I have a great contempt for any operation of that sort. If, as the noble Lord tried to make out, there is a great necessity for this measure, if there is a great need to keep out criminals and others, and if it can be done with safety, well and good; let it be done. But do not let it be done merely for a political cry. I do not think the noble Lord wishes to do it for that purpose; I say that at once; but I would point out that there was a measure of this sort passed some years ago, and it is instructive to see what the result of that Act has been. The Foreign Prison-made Goods Bill was brought in from a purely political motive—or, at any rate, it certainly appeared to be so—and we who opposed the Bill said that the matter was of such infinitesimal dimensions that the measure ought not to have been introduced at all. What has been the result of the Act? A few days ago a Question was asked in another place to the following effect—What is the value of the foreign prison-made goods excluded up to the latest available date by the action of the Foreign Prison-made Goods Act? The Secretary to the Treasury answered the Question, and what do you think the amount was? £183 4s. Everybody will admit that those figures show that the Act, which was supposed to be going to relieve an enormous number of people from the competition of publicly-assisted, prison-made goods, has completely broken down. I sincerely trust that that may not be the case with this Bill. At the same time, I believe that there will be enormous difficulties in the working of the Bill. It is open to very great objections. It will apply to persons to whom you do not wish it to apply; it will be very costly; and it is brought in to meet a very small necessity indeed.

There is one other point I ought to mention, because I have received communications in reference to it, and that is the hardship this Bill will involve upon shipowners. Shipowners, if they have any undesirable aliens on board, will be compelled at their own expense to take them back whence they came. I think I am right in saying that the shipowners will have to bear the cost both of carriage and of food. They complain very much against that, and I think with some justice. If this is a national necessity, it is rather hard on them to disturb their trade in this way. They will certainly suffer a good deal if this Bill passes, because it will affect very considerably the over-sea trade, which is a very important item in the profits of the merchant service.

I am sorry to have detained your Lordships at such length on this matter, but I have considerable objection to the Bill, and, though I do not intend to move its rejection to-night, I give notice that when the Committee stage is reached we on this side will probably have some Amendments to propose.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, the attitude of the noble Earl opposite seems to some of us not a little puzzling. He began and ended his speech with the announcement that he did not intend to object to the Second Reading of the measure.

*EARL SPENCER: What would be the use of doing so in this House?

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: And that he would not even record an adverse vote in regard to it. But in the speech that followed that announcement, he went on to whittle away the figures produced by my noble friend behind me, to challenge my noble friend's statement that these undesirable aliens were the means of introducing disease into this country, to point out that their destitution was greatly exaggerated, to contend that our Bill would be unavailing for the purpose for which it was intended, and to suggest that the cost of administering it would be altogether out of proportion to any results that we were likely to achieve. If ever a speech against the Second Reading of a Bill was delivered, I think the speech of the noble Earl deserves that description.

*EARL SPENCER: I admit that.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: Not content with that, he went on to suggest that the Bill had been taken up by us, not because of any sincere conviction as to its merits but for political considerations. The thought must have crossed the minds of some of your Lordships that the decision of the noble Earl not to oppose the Second Reading may also to some extent have been inspired by political considerations.

*EARL SPENCER: By political considerations in the sense that it is hopeless to oppose your majority in this House on the Second Reading.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: However, we will pass that by. Let us assume that though the noble Earl is not perhaps committed to the details of the measure, he is committed at any rate to its main principle. Now, what is the main principle of the Bill—because I think the measure does contain a very clear and easily defined principle. That principle is not that we desire to depart from the honourable tradition of this country, which has never been in the habit of closing its doors to persons of all kinds seeking refuge in these islands, but that we desire to prevent the abuse of that hospitality. The question we have to consider is whether in fact that hospitality has been abused and I think the clear statement of my noble friend should have been sufficient to convince anyone who listened to it that that abuse has existed. It is true that the noble Earl taxed him with having laid before the House figures which were exaggerated.

*EARL SPENCER: Statements, not figures. He did not use any figures.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My noble friend refrained from laying figures before the House because we freely admit that it is easy to challenge those figures in matters of detail. But I have here a figure which, perhaps with certain reservations, I will venture to lay before the House. We are told that in 1904 no less than 75,000 of these aliens came into this country. I will be perfectly frank. I am not here to say that all these people settled in the United Kingdom; some of them may have been transmigrants, but we have no doubt whatever that a very large number of them did remain. We are sure of that for the very best of reasons, that these people are to be seen in Stepney and the neighbourhood, where the accumulation of aliens of this class has been going on apace during the last few years. My noble friend Lord Belper tells me that the figure of 75,000 was arrived at after the deduction of a certain number of aliens who were known to have left the shores of this country. But let us assume that that figure of 75,000 is to be even more liberally discounted. Let us suppose that only 50,000 remained in this country. Can we afford to treat as negligible a yearly drifting of that number, or of any number approaching it, of such persons into our great cities?

My noble friend referred with great force to the fact that the presence of those people is revealed in a most inconvenient manner by the perceptible increase of alien pauperism and by an increase in the number of alien criminals. But what else is to be expected? What are the facts? Other countries do not allow alien immigrants of this kind to establish themselves within their limits; they are careful to turn them back. We, on the contrary, receive them without question, and not only that, but when they have established themselves in our midst we allow them to be supported out of the rates. Is it not obvious that an arrangement of that kind must have the result of causing what without any abuse of language may be called the scum of this stream of human population to collect in the backwaters of London and other great cities? I have no desire to be thought wanting in compassion for these people; they deserve our compassion and our sympathy. But surely we have a right to think of our own people also and of the effects of allowing a population of that class to establish itself here and to extrude our own people from quarters in which they have been in the habit of living.

Then the noble Earl told us that he detected in the Bill the principle that poverty was to be recognised as a crime.

*Earl SPENCER: I think that is going rather beyond what I said. I said that the Bill in its working would attack poverty more than riches. I did not use the words "crime" or "criminal" in that connection.

*The Marquess of LANSDOWNE: I will withdraw the word "crime," but I think he implied that mere poverty was to be considered as a bar disqualifying a person for admission to this country. If the noble Earl will look at the wording of the section, he will see that there is nothing in the Bill to exclude a man simply because he is poor. The language is extremely careful. The would-be immigrant is required to show that he is—

> "in possession of, or in a position to obtain, the means of decently supporting himself and his dependents."

A man may be a poor man, he may have only a couple of shillings in his pocket, but if he is a perfectly able-bodied, healthy man who will without doubt be able to take his place amongst our labouring population, I take it that the immigration officer will raise no difficulty to such a man landing in this country. The noble Earl pointed to the fact that the provisions of this Bill would only catch the steerage passenger, and that there is nothing in the Bill to prevent undesirable aliens arriving on board vessels affording accommodation which would cost them a larger sum of money. I do not think it is very probable that a person who is destitute within the meaning of the words I have just quoted would be found except amongst the steerage passengers. But I pass that by. Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that the Bill stops short of affording absolute and complete protection to us against the arrival of these people. Are we to repudiate it simply because, although it affords us protection, that protection is not absolutely perfect at all points? The Bill is a palliative, and as such we believe it will have good effects. It does not seem to me to be an argument that can be legitimately used as against it that, although the Bill may arrest the main stream of immigration of this kind, the flow may still continue to trickle through some less visible and better concealed channels.

What I think we have to consider is the argument used with so much effect by my noble friend, namely, that the results of this Bill will have to be measured, not by the number of aliens who are interfered with when on the point of landing, but by the number of aliens who will be deterred by the provisions of this Bill from attempting to come here. It is the deterrent effect of the Bill upon the immigrants and upon the shipowners to which we look rather than to the operative effect of the provisions of the Bill.

The noble Earl made some reference to the prejudice which this Bill was likely to cause to shipowners. That, no doubt, is a question that we shall have to discuss in Committee; but I think I am right in saying that the shipowners' point of view was fully considered in Committee in the House of Commons, and that Amendments were introduced in the Bill which, to a very considerable extent at all events, were successful in meeting the criticisms of the shipowners.

With regard to religious and political refugees, the Bill is so drawn as to make it clear that where an immigrant desires to obtain asylum in this country for the *bona fide* reason that he is escaping from persecution or any kind of molestation due to his religious or political tenets, the provisions of the Bill will be relaxed in his favour. We believe that as the Bill stands it deals with that difficult problem in a most liberal and considerate manner. We are, at any rate, convinced that there is a grievance and an abuse which for public reasons we cannot afford to leave unredressed, and we believe that this Bill meets that abuse in a reasonable and, we hope, effectual manner.

LORD JAMES OF HEREFORD: My Lords, in view of the precarious hour at which we have arrived I will occupy the time of your Lordships for only a very few minutes, but I think that in the course of two years patient study of questions affecting alien immigration I have learnt something which perhaps places me in a position between those who support the Bill and those who oppose it, and possibly enables me to say something which may add to your Lordships' information. This Bill ought not to be looked at wholly from the standpoint either of those who say that the alien immigrants who come into this country form an evil that ought to be put an end to for reasons which they give, or of those who speak enthusiastically of the great traditions of this country, who wish it always to be a place of safety for the oppressed, and who say that aliens ought to be allowed to come in freely. We must try to find a medium between those two points of view, and endeavour to discover a method of dealing with what is an evil without inflicting a wrong upon anyone.

In the first place, what is the evil we have to meet? If my noble friend the Leader of the House will allow me to say so, I think he has greatly overstated the number of aliens who come to this country. Great deductions have to be made from the figures he gave, because they include all persons who come as transmigrants, sailors, persons who come here to see friends, persons who come and go, a large number who are sent back immediately by charitable agencies or friends, and various other classes of persons. The best information you can get on the point is from the Census Returns. It is not absolutely accurate, and in former years it was not in so good a form as it is now, but it is the most reliable figure we can get. According to the Census Returns we have this fact—that in 1881 there were 135,000 aliens residing in this country, while in 1901, twenty years later, there were 286,000, an increase of 151,000. That increase was mainly to be found in London County, because it includes the East End of London, where the increase was from 60,000 to 135,000. The most serious increase was from Russia and Russian Poland. The question of how this matter should be dealt with is then well worthy of consideration.

But it is not only a numerical increase, it is a local increase. When we on the Royal Commission were approaching the termination of our labours, some of us said the inquiry had reduced itself to a Stepney inquiry, because the evil existed mainly in the borough of Stepney and in the neighbourhood of that borough. In the borough of Stepney there are 54 000 of these Russians and Poles out of a population of about 300,000. It is that localisation which causes the great evil, and it is an evil that will not diminish. Take the question of language alone. These people speak what is sometimes called "Yiddish." They will not go where they cannot make themselves understood. But in Stepney they can be understood, not only by their friends and relatives, but by tradesmen in the shops where they make their purchases. Thus they find themselves in the midst of those with whom they can associate, and, that being so, you cannot alter their destination. We felt this so strongly that the bulk of our Report went strongly to show that this country had certain rights which it might well exercise. Of course we wish to be hospitable to everyone who comes to these shores. We owe a great deal to these alien immigrants. A great student of them has said that there is not a single great trade in this country our superiority in which we do not owe to the alien. When they came over here in such large numbers at the time of the Inquisition, during the reign of Henry VIII., one-third of those who paid subsidy to the King in the City of London were aliens, and they were all teaching our people trades. They were driven here for the sake of their religion. In the early days of the Reformation they built churches representing the Protestant religion throughout the country, and when the second great wave, the Huguenots, came they found these churches in existence, with settlers around them. We must never forget the services they rendered to us by their trades, or the great strength the Protestant tendency of the aliens gave to this country.

But whilst we have that debt to pay, we must see to it that we pay it to the right people. I quite recognise what we owe, but I am not quite sure that when we give to the unskilled agriculturist from Russian Poland great indulgence or superior opportunity we are paying to the right persons the debt which we owe to the immigrants of former times. Certainly when this country grants its hospitality it has the right to impose the terms on which that hospitality should be granted.

Therefore, if this great evil which is inflicted upon the borough of Stepney and neighbourhood is to be dealt with, there is no reason, either from a desire to retain the hospitable character of this country or from an economic point of view, why we should not impose such conditions as we think fit upon the entrance of aliens into the United Kingdom. It was our duty as Commissioners to take what evidence we could. But we found that there was one class of witness that could not attend upon us, and so we attended upon them. We visited Stepney, and devoted two long days to hearing evidence there. We were told by those who could not deceive us the state of things which there existed, and we were also told, "If you do not take care there will be bloodshed here, for it is an intolerable condition of things." We were told of families sleeping out on staircases because there was no room for them inside the tenements; we were told of the insanitary conditions which obtained under such a state of things; the details were sickening. Morality was gone and health was gone — all in consequence of this overcrowding. Moreover, the danger, instead of being lessened in its intensity, is likely to increase year by year in consequence of the demolition of houses. House accommodation is failing in this borough; it is becoming less while the population is increasing. Alien immigration is increasing, and yet nothing has been done.

Although I support this Bill for the value of what is contained in it, yet I do note with regret that the recommendation of the Royal Commission on this part of the question has no place in the Bill. I am not blaming the Government, because I believe that in the Bill of last year they did make an attempt to deal with this subject, but the opposition was so strong that they were unable to carry through the machinery. However, I do deeply regret that that which formed the main result of our deliberations has been for some reason or other passed by. The ordinary machinery against overcrowding may be sufficient in districts that exist under normal conditions, but it is not sufficient to deal with the abnormal conditions which obtain in this borough in the East End, and for the sake of decent life within our own centre of existence something will have to be done.

My noble friend dealt with the case of pauperism and the charge on the rates. I do not think he can make anything out of alien pauperism. The comparison is largely in favour of the alien. He is not so poor as he is supposed so be, and he has got friends to help him. The members of the Hebrew faith treat men of this class who belong to their persuasion with singular liberality. I agree that my noble friend has the right to say that we have these poor people amongst us and that they have to be relieved in their poverty, but, at the same time, they are not a charge upon the rates. In the borough of Stepney the proportion of paupers among natural-born subjects is as seven, whereas among the alien population of 54,000 it is as 2·5, or about one to three in favour of the alien.

In the matter of crime my noble friend has a slightly stronger case, but I doubt very much whether the crime is amongst the class with which we are dealing. You get your criminals from the French, Swiss, and Italians who go to Soho and other districts; they are not the immigrants against whom this Bill is directed. The immigrant under this Bill is a man who comes as one of twenty or more passengers in the steerage portion of the ship. That is not the way the criminal comes over. He comes to rob, to forge, not from Bremen or Rotterdam, but from Prussia, France, or Italy, wherever it may be, and he is often an educated man, and not by any means the pauper this Bill deals with. I do not think there is much in the case either for crime or for pauperism. The rates are not suffering; they are burdened less by these men than by British subjects.

I wish to refer briefly to one view that has been put forward, I will not say by whom, but by some people who take an entirely political view of the situation which has been created by this alien immigration. They say, "We, the Government, or we who favour a certain policy, are going to protect the English working man; we are going to protect the British skilled workmen against the invasion of the foreigner or the alien," and anyone who refuses to give full effect to the protection against that invasion is, I do not know what they call him, a Little Englander, or whatever it may be. Such a use of this Bill, which is to deal with that most difficult problem to which I have referred, is an error that ought not to be lightly committed. I believe I am right in saying that those who had charge of this Bill in the House of Commons, the Home Secretary, and, I think, the Prime Minister, refused to accept that view of the Bill; they have very properly said that that is not the purpose of the Bill, and that they have not introduced it for that purpose. But the statement has been made, and I protest against so great an evil being used for a political purpose, and such a statement being addressed to people who do not know better. In the course of our investigation we did not find that the trade unionists came and complained of alien competition with skilled labour. There are no better trade unionists in the world than aliens; they are industrious to a degree; they keep up their wages, and they turn against the employers as quickly as any class. After making the fullest inquiry on the point—because, although trade unionists generally did not make the complaint, the miners of Lanarkshire objected to foreigners working amongst them—this is the result at which we on the Commission arrived—

> "On the whole we arrive at the conclusion, after weighing the evidence on both sides, that it has not been proved that there is any serious direct displacement of skilled English labour."

That was our unanimous conclusion; there was no dissension on that point; it was agreed to by Mr. Alfred Lyttelton and by that most able and active member of the Commission, Major Evans Gordon, who represents Stepney and, if I may use the term, conducted the case against the aliens. And yet men of the Party to which both those Gentlemen belong are announcing in the country that a triumph has been won, and that the Government deserve all praise because the battle of the English skilled artisan is being fought by virtue of this Bill. That was not the object with which the attention of the Home Secretary and the Government was called to this evil, and, as I understand, it was not the object with which they took the matter up. I think my noble friend will agree as to that, but I think it would be worth while, in case such a statement is repeated, that there should be a denial, and, if possible, a denial on the part of the Government, that that is the object of the Bill.

One word more. In one sense there has been a certain displacement of labour, and it arises in this way. The men who come here are mostly agriculturists, but they do not become agriculturists here. They seek to learn a trade, and they select the trade which can be most easily learnt. When they come over here they are what are called "greeners," and, like apprentices, they have to be taught their trade. While they are being taught they receive very little wages. They learn by degrees, and as they go on—the transition cannot be defined—they go on from the state of "greeners" until they become as skilled in their trades as any persons in this country. It is strange that even during this last wave, which has been going on now for over fifteen years, the men who came in unskilled have in some way or other learnt almost by instinct their trades, and have introduced a new system of working which has produced most beneficial effects. They have established a system of the sub-division of trades, in which, instead of one man taking a coat away and making it from beginning to end, a sub-division of labour is effected by which one man cuts out, another does the sewing, another the buttons, and so on, so that every coat has about five trades at work upon it, each one trained to perfection. The men have little to learn, and they arrive at a state of perfection in their particular sub-divisions of the labour. This sub-division also involves the whole of the work being done in one house, and under one supervision instead of being taken from house to house, with the result that they are now producing goods better made in these trades, I believe, and certainly much cheaper than they ever were before. If that is competition with skilled workmen—which they themselves do not say it is—no doubt it has been effected by this learning of trades, and the carrying on of trades in this way. But I say that to my mind that is a benefit to the consumers of this country, and is not a reason for condemning these men.

Do not suppose that these men are less worthy of consideration than men who are natural-born subjects. They are singularly sober; they are singularly industrious; they are singularly careful; and it is a remarkable fact that, in the East End of London in the school competitions the great majority of the prizes are now being taken by children of these immigrants, on account of their possessing greater intelligence—I am sorry to say it—than the children of natural-born parents. We are told by the schoolmasters that they set an example to the other children, and as they grow up, becoming industrious and learning much, as I have said, I believe we shall have no cause to regret their having been received amongst us and welcomed to the hospitality of this country.

Still, I do recognise this evil; it does exist; and I think we have a right to say that if these men come here we are entitled to endeavour to obtain those who are desirable, and to exclude the undesirable. Therefore, with the qualifications I have stated, I shall certainly give a full support to this Bill.

Lord COLERIDGE: My Lords, I should like to ask, after the speech to which we have just listened, what is the object of bringing in this Bill? The noble and learned Lord opposite, who knows more about this matter than any other Member of this House, has by his speech destroyed all the reasons that have been given by the Government for introducing this measure. The Bill involves a totally new principle. I do not say that we have not a right to exclude persons from our shores, but it is a right that we have never exercised, and it is a right that we have always been proud not to exercise. I can understand two grounds for the exclusion of aliens from these shores. I could understand it if foreigners came in in such numbers as to swamp our civilisation. I can conceive an inroad of yellow men by the million, which would absoutely destroy our civilisation and turn it into other channels. I can also conceive our right to exclude undesirable aliens, and these undesirable aliens have been described by two Committees as follows — criminals other than political, anarchists, prostitutes, persons infected by dangerous disease, lunatics, and idiots. The Commission of which the noble Lord opposite was the head recommended that the persons to be excluded should be criminals, prostitutes, and persons who might be a charge on the public funds. I regret that one category, that of persons living on the proceeds of prostitution, is not mentioned. But any criminals, any persons infected with dangerous disease, any persons of whatever kind of character, can come into this country under this Bill to any number they please so long as they come as cabin passengers. Therefore, it is right to describe this Bill as one for excluding the poor, because if he is a cabin passenger the alien may be as bad as you please; he will come within the scope of the Bill only if he is a steerage passenger. That is discrimination, however you may try to explain it, and it is discrimination between the rich and poor. Therefore, it cannot be denied that the Bill is aimed at the poor, in contradistinction to embracing both rich and poor alike.

Then, my Lords, I could understand the Bill being aimed at poverty if the poverty involved a burden to the country of invasion. But as the noble and learned Lord has just told us, there is no case for poverty. There is very little case for crime, and none at all for poverty. Indeed, the noble and learned Lord has pronounced an eulogium upon the business qualities and aptitudes of the alien population that might very well be applied to those aliens whom he described in the earlier portion of his speech as having been the founders of all our main industries.

In regard to the machinery of the Bill, I do not like this secret investigation—for it is a secret investigation—by the immigration officer at the particular port. As far as I can understand, it is a secret investigation subject to no appeal, except to three nominees, a tribunal set up for the purposes of this Bill, without anything in the nature of judicial qualifications. In this country if you want to attack a person, to call him a criminal or an undesirable alien, or to bring him into a category which is an unpleasant one, it is generally held that the onus of proof rests upon the person making the charge, but, as far as I can gather, under this Bill the poor alien is to prove his own innocence. If he comes in under certain categories he is an undesirable alien unless he can show reason why the immigration officer should permit him to land, and when the immigration officer has given his decision the only appeal is to the immigration board. If I recollect aright, there is a subsequent appeal to the Home Secretary, which I do not think is at all a good mixture of the judicial and the executive. From first to last, the alien is not given the protection of a judicial tribunal to decide upon his case.

These are grave objections which I see to the machinery of the Bill. For my part, I should be perfectly willing to support any proposal for excluding the classes of persons enumerated in the earlier Report, viz., prostitutes and persons living upon prostitution, criminals, anarchists, lunatics, and idiots, but I would not make the measure applicable to one class of lunatic and not to another. If I excluded any I would exclude all. I would not permit a distinction to be drawn between persons who travelled in one part of the ship and persons who travelled in another. Under these circumstances, as I am told a division will not be taken against the Second Reading I shall certainly reserve to myself the right to raise some of these points in Committee, when I hope they will receive the serious consideration of the Government.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, I think the noble Marquess who leads this House must be rather sorry he spoke so quickly after my noble friend Lord Spencer; for the speech delivered from the other side of the House by one who knows more about this subject than probably anybody else in the House supported in the most complete way the facts and figures brought forward by Lord Spencer, and, in my humble judgment, constituted a strong argument against this Bill having been introduced at all. I think the noble and learned Lord opposite made it perfectly clear that this question of alien immigration was confined to a very small district, and that it existed in great urgency only in certain districts in London. If that be the case, surely it was not necessary to bring in a Bill applying to the whole of the country. It is a case for the application of local remedies to meet local requirements.

The noble and learned Lord opposite, by his description of his visit to Stepney, showed exactly what is the position of affairs there. He said that he found great congestion, great overcrowding, but that the poor people who caused the congestion and overcrowding were not specially criminal or specially poor, that they were excellent workmen, that they turned out excellent work, and that they were doing excellent service to the country of which they had become the guests. It seems to me that that does not make a case for a general measure applying to the whole of the country such as is now brought before us, and I hope that when we get into Committee something may be done to alter or modify some of the provisions in the Bill. Like my noble friend behind me, I would gladly support any proposals for keeping out the classes of aliens referred to in the Report of Lord James' Commission. We none of us want to see the criminal and the diseased permitted to enter.

But, my Lords, there is one remark of the noble Marquess which I wish to emphasise for one moment. I think it was a remarkable statement. He declared distinctly and without modification that under this Bill poverty alone would not keep an alien out. He said that supposing a man was healthy and able-bodied, then Sub-section (a) of Section 3 of Clause 1 would not apply. I welcome that declaration, and I hope that in Committee we shall make that point clearer than it is at present in the Bill.

On Question, Bill read 2^a accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

THE VOLUNTEERS.

*The Earl of ALBEMARLE, in asking the Under-Secretary of State for War, "how soon any, and what, steps will be taken to remedy the shortage of officers in the Volunteer force; and for what purpose the medical examination of members of the Volunteer force has been instituted, seeing that such men have already been admitted to the force by reason of their fitness; and further, what grant he proposes to make towards the development of Volunteer transport," said: I will state very briefly to your Lordships my reasons for asking this Question. For some few years past the Volunteers have been in a state of great uncertainty as to what was to be done with them by the War Office, and I thought that this would be a good opportunity to ask for some statement from the Under-Secretary of State, especially in view of the constant resignation in large numbers of officers of the Volunteer force. I say nothing on this occasion about the resignations of the rank and file. That is the first part of the Question.

In the second part of the Question I ask for some information as to the reasons for the medical examination, instituted quite recently, of the men in the Volunteer force. I have seen something of the way in which this examination has been carried out, having recently been out for the annual training, and I can assure the noble Earl that the staff at our disposal, at any rate in my own case, is utterly inadequate to carry out such a medical examination of the men as would enable a satisfactory conclusion to be arrived at. I want to know from the Under-Secretary of State why this medical inspection has been instituted. It has produced something like consternation throughout the Volunteer force, and I should be glad if the noble Earl would give a definite Answer on the point. As some of your Lordships know, I have been intimately connected with the raising of a certain Volunteer regiment for service abroad, so that I know a little about what is required of men in respect of physique, and I know what men should look like and be like for serving abroad. But I will not detain your Lordships by enlarging upon this question, though it really deserves to be dealt with at greater length than is possible to-night. I think the Question is a very important one, and I invite the noble Earl to give it a definite Answer.

The last part of the Question is in reference to Volunteer transport. At the present time, Volunteer transport is absolutely inadequate to any requirements except those of a standing camp, and even then it is not sufficient, and, in the present condition of the allowances at the disposal of officers commanding regiments and brigades, it would be absolutely impossible adequately to equip a brigade or other large body for mobilisation. I will not detain your Lordships longer, and I hope the Under-Secretary will not regard my Questions as unreasonable.

LORD MONKSWELL: I should like to ask a Question which is, I think, germane to the issue raised by the noble Earl opposite, and that is, what percentage of the men in the Volunteer force who have been examined have been passed.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of DONOUGHMORE): I do not know whether the noble Lord opposite is aware that we have asked for these returns to be furnished to us by October 31st. I need hardly say, therefore, that the returns are not yet in, otherwise I should have been glad to answer the Question. If it meets his convenience I will let him know immediately we get the information.

LORD MONKSWELL: I only asked the Question because I was speaking to a Volunteer the other day, and he told me that in his corps nine out of ten men had not been passed.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: The noble Lord will understand that as we have not yet got the returns in I am not in a position to give any figures. As regards the first part of the Question addressed to me by the Earl of Albemarle, I am afraid I have very little to add to what I said on Tuesday last in the debate raised by the noble Lord opposite. As regards the general question, we have certain proposals under consideration which I hope may mature into something that will help us to solve the general difficulty of providing officers for the Auxiliary Forces.

I would like, if your Lordships will allow me, to mention one point which I am afraid I did not make quite clear in the debate of Tuesday last. It does not affect the main question as to the necessity of a power of expansion in His Majesty's forces, as to which I know we are all agreed. But as regards the actual position of the officering of the Volunteers, I think the position is not quite so serious at the present moment as might appear at first sight, and for this reason. We have a large deficiency of officers, but at the same time we have a large deficiency of men. We have amply sufficient officers at the present moment to officer the men that we now have. I have worked out the approximate percentage, and I find that we have 74 per cent. of our establishment of men, whilst we have 77 per cent. of our establishment of officers, or, deducting officers seconded, we have 71 per cent. of our establishment of officers, so that the discrepancy between the number of officers and the number of men is not so great. Your Lordships are aware that we consider that the 241,500 men that we have are considerably in advance of the requirements of the general staff. Of course, if a reduction to an establishment of 200,000 takes place, with the number of officers we now have we would have a considerably greater number—I do not say than we would require, but than would be necessary for the ordinary proportion of one to thirty, so that we should have a balance of officers in our favour for staff purposes, for purposes of transport, and for other very important miscellaneous requirements.

***THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE:** Are they spread throughout the force?

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I do not deny that there are certain regiments which are very short of officers. I am merely pointing out the total number that we have. With reference to the medical examination, the noble Earl asks why it has been necessary to have a special medical examination now, in view of the fact that every Volunteer in the force has been inspected as a recruit. I think that is the noble Earl's point. I would point out that we are now examining for a different purpose from that for which the recruit is examined when he enters the force. When he enters the force he is examined with a view to ascertaining his fitness for service at home as a Volunteer. The examination outlined in the Circular which has been laid on the Table of your Lordships' House is for the purpose of ascertaining something different, though of course the greater includes the less. It includes the conditions laid down by the recently-issued Appendix 13 to the Volunteer Regulations, which is now the standard required for every recruit who enters the Volunteer force, and there are further qualifications of health necessary, which are enumerated in the Circular, which would not have been ascertained on the original attestation of the Volunteer when he first entered the force. That is the reason for our asking for this further examination with a view to ascertaining the information, and with the motives which I have already explained to your Lordships in answer to the Question of the noble Earl opposite.

As regards the grant for the development of Volunteer transport, I would refer the noble Earl to the Memorandum on the Army Estimates presented to Parliament by my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War at the commencement of the session. My right hon. friend has there made it clear that he wishes to make a grant for Volunteer transport as soon as the funds in his hands permit him to do so. I am afraid I cannot give any definite pledge as to what amount we should be able to allot for this purpose until we know how much we have at our disposal. But I can assure the noble Earl that we do recognise the very great necessity for the development of transport for the Volunteer force, and, as is shown in this document, it is one of the first objects to which my right hon. friend hopes to be able to allot funds.

Lord TWEEDMOUTH: I am afraid the consolation offered to us by the noble Earl the Under-Secretary of State that the shortage of officers in the Volunteer force may be practically disregarded because of the deficiency of men is rather in the nature of Job's comfort.

The Earl of DONOUGHMORE: It was not given in the way of consolation.

Lord TWEEDMOUTH: Should the time of emergency or crisis arise, plenty of men would come forward. The rank and file can be trained in a few weeks to be of some service, and in six months to be of great service, but it takes much longer to train an officer. You must have plenty of officers to lead your men; therefore, it is necessary to have a good supply of officers even if you have not the men at present.

House adjourned at ten minutes past Eight o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 28th July, 1905.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. Speaker laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz.:—South Barracas (Buenos Ayres) Gas and Coke Company Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. Speaker laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz.:—Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time upon Monday next.

Caledonian Railway Bill; North British Railway (General Powers) Bill; Rotherham, Maltby, and Laughton Railway Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Great Central Railway Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; a clause added; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time.

SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY BILL. [LORDS] (By Order).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a third time."

Mr. MOONEY (Dublin County, S.): I object.

*Sir ALBERT ROLLIT (Islington, S.) said that this Bill was urgently required in the interest of the University of Sheffield and in that of University education in Yorkshire. He hoped, therefore, that his hon. friend would not persist in his objection. There had been an all-round arrangement or understanding on the night on which the Irish Estimates were discussed that this Bill would be allowed to pass, and this having been made between the hon. Member for Down, S. and himself he was sure it would be carried out.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said that in regard to the appeal of the hon. Member he would not suggest to his hon. friend not to withdraw his objection on account of the understanding referred to. But for that understanding he certainly would have objected to this Bill, or any Bill giving facilities for English University education, being advanced, so long as the House persistently blocked all facilities for proceeding with a measure for University education in Ireland.

Mr. SAMUEL ROBERTS (Sheffield, Ecclesall) said that, on behalf of the University of Sheffield, he supported the appeal made by the hon. Member for Islington that the hon. Member would be so good as to withdraw his objection to this Bill. He had quite hoped that all objection to this Bill had been settled; but the opposition now offered, at the last moment, had come upon him with surprise. With regard to the remarks of the hon. Member for Mayo, he pointed out that the Bill was simply a ministerial one to transfer the property and liabilities of the old University College to the new University. There was no question of granting any privilege to a University in England which had not been granted in Ireland.

Mr. DILLON: You would not grant us in Ireland the University we want.

Mr. SAMUEL ROBERTS said he really hoped the hon. Member would see his way to withdraw his objection.

Mr. MOONEY said that, in view of the appeals that had been made to him, he would withdraw his objection.

Bill read a third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers) Bill [Lords]. Ordered, That, in the case of the Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers) Bill [Lords], Standing Orders 82, 211, 236, and 237 be suspended, and that the Committee of Selection have leave to appoint the Committee on the Bill to sit and proceed forthwith.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LOSS OF LIFE AT SEA.

Copy presented, of Return showing the lives lost by Wreck, Drowning, or other accidents in British seagoing Merchant Ships registered in the United Kingdom during the years 1891 to 1904, inclusive [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

COLONIAL REPORTS (ANNUAL).

Copy presented, of Colonial Report No. 452 (Gambia, Annual Report for 1904) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

OSBORNE (MEDICAL REPORT).

Copy presented, of the Report of the Medical Officer for the period from 7th April, 1904, to 31st March, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BOARD OF EDUCATION (SUGGESTIONS FOR TEACHERS).

Copy presented, of Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and others concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3463 to 3465 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL TAXATION ACCOUNT, 1904–5.

Return ordered, "showing, in respect of the financial year ended the 31st day of March, 1905, the distribution of the proceeds of the Local Taxation Licence Duties, Estate Duty, and Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Duties paid into The Local Taxation Account, in pursuance of the provisions of The Local Government Act, 1888, The Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, and The Finance Act, 1894 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 298, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Jeffreys.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Dual Duties in the Central Telegraph Office.

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton): To ask the Postmaster-General if he will consider the case of the sixteen clerks at the Central Telegraph Office performing dual duties, who forwarded a petition on July 29th, 1904, with regard to their continuous performance of these duties, and a request for a reconsideration of the same, seeing that the petitioners were informed, in October, 1904, by the Controller of the London Postal Service, that arrangements would be made to gradually relieve them, that they were also informed by the Controller of the Central Telegraph Office on March 20th, 1905, that arrangements were pending which, if approved, would relieve them very shortly, and that nevertheless no change has yet been made and no reply been received by the petitioners to further requests sent to the Controller of the London Postal Service on January 7th and March 18th this year.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The matter is a somewhat complicated one, involving considerable readjustments of staff. These are under consideration; and I cannot promise that arrangements can be made immediately for relieving the telegraphists of these dual duties, though this object will be kept in view.

Labourers' Cottages in County Antrim.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that James Creaney applied to the Rural District Council of Antrim for a cottage under the Labourers Acts nearly three years ago; that a suitable site was found on the land of Charles Morrison, who was willing to have the cottage built on his land, and that, although nearly three years have elapsed since Creaney's application, the erection of the cottage has not yet been begun; and, if so, what explanation does the rural district council give for the delay in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) A scheme for upwards of forty cottages, including one for Creaney, was adopted by the council on the 20th July, 1903. A Local Government Board inquiry was held on the 13th September, 1904, and the scheme approved of, and a Provisional Order granted on the 30th December. The necessary conveyances have since been in course of preparation and the council have applied for arbitration, which has not yet taken place. The rural district council claim that there has been no unnecessary delay in the matter.

Inspection of Weights and Measures on British Ships.

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade whether he can state if any inspection is now being made of the weights and measures used on board of British ships for the purpose of weighing out the provisions supplied to the crews.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) The Board of Trade have ascertained that there is no general or systematic inspection of the weights and measures used on board British ships, and they have decided to issue a notice to shipowners and masters calling attention to their liabilities in the matter under Section 210 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, and suggesting the advisability of having their weights and measures duly verified and stamped from time to time.

Unlicensed Persons Engaging Crews for British Steamers.

MR. NANNETTI: To ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the conviction of a boarding-house keeper residing in Liverpool, named de la Cruz, for illegally supplying seamen to the British steamer "Indra," and also illegally charging these men £1 each for procuring them the berth; whether he is aware that this boarding-house keeper was employed by one of the shipping clerks of the owners of the "Indra" to engage and supply the crew for the vessel, and that instructions were given that the crew were to be foreigners who could not speak or understand English; and whether it is the intention of the Board of Trade to prosecute the agent of the owners of the "Indra" for employing an unlicensed person to engage and supply a crew for the "Indra."

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) Yes, Sir. The attention of the Board of Trade has been called to the case to which the hon. Member refers. Further inquiries are being made with a view to deciding whether any further proceedings should be taken.

Unpaid Learner in Tipperary Post Office.

MR. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.): To ask the Postmaster-General if he is aware that there is a learner at present employed at Tipperary who receives no pay whatever, and who spends a considerable time daily in dealing with public work; and will he see that the learner is given the same remuneration as is paid to his class in other centres, and is paid some compensation for the time he has already given gratuitously to the Department.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I will make inquiry and communicate with the hon. Member on the subject.

Belfast Assizes—Case of Robert M'Whirter.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the disclosures made at the trial of Robert M'Whirter, at Belfast Assizes, on the 18th instant, arrangements will be made for the adoption of a proper rotary system of duties, in order to prevent any future possibility for a person with no previous experience and no training to be placed on responsible duty, incurring risk to himself and the public.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I inquired into the arrangements at Belfast in connection with the hon. Member's Question of the 23rd ultimo†, and I then came to the conclusion, as I informed the hon. Member by letter, that no change seemed necessary. But I will consider whether the circumstances of the special case to which he now refers are such as to modify in any way my conclusion.

Supply of Cash at Belfast Post Office Money Order Counter.

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Postmaster-General whether his attention has been called to the arrangements made for the supply of cash at the money order counter, Belfast, when teachers' warrants to the value of £2,000 fell to be paid on the 17th instant; if he is aware that the funds were supplied to the paying officer in small doles while the public waited, and that, at the conclusion of the day's business, the paying officer showed a deficit of £10, and on the following day it was discovered that the cashier had charged the paying officer with £10 more than had actually been paid; and will he state if steps will be taken to prevent these occurrences in future.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxlvii., 1435.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I have not yet received a report on the subject, but I will make inquiry.

Army Recruiting.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can now state the number of recruits for the three months of April, May, and June, for the year 1905, and the normal establishment for the same year.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The number of recruits enlisted during April, May, and June, 1905, excluding re-enlisted men and those enlisted for colonial corps, is as follows:—

April . . .	1,553
May	1,842
June	1,999

The regimental establishment of non-commissioned officers and men for the current year, excluding Colonial corps and Native Indian troops, is 260,418.

NAVAL WORKS BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order for Second Reading read.

*THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ARTHUR LEE, Hampshire, Fareham) said that in moving the Second Reading of this Naval Works Bill he thought it would be convenient to both sides of the House if he made a somewhat full statement explanatory of the Bill and of the works provided by it. In the Committee of Ways and Means, on the preliminary money Resolution, he referred very briefly to the financial proposals of the Bill, and, for the sake of continuity of argument, he would briefly recapitulate them now. The salient feature of the Bill was that it provided for an increase in the total Estimates provided under previous Bills of £566,000. It required that a sum of £7,700,000 on account of works previously sanctioned by the House should be spent during the next two years, and as there was a sum of £1,869,000 sanctioned under the 1903 Bill, which had not yet been expended, the net amount required to be voted by the House was £5,835,000. He ventured to say that the proposals in the Bill were of an extremely moderate character—unexpectedly so indeed. He called attention to the fact that the total increase of about £500,000 was by far the smallest increase that had ever been put into one of these Bills since the system of Naval Works Loans Bills was introduced. This Bill was only a continuation measure; it introduced no new items; the schedule merely provided for a two years instalment for works that had already been sanctioned by the House. It had been suggested on previous occasions by the hon. Member for Islington that they ought to stop this expenditure altogether —[OPPOSITION cries of "Hear, hear!"]— but how could that be done when they had entered into large contracts which had been sanctioned by the House? It was absolutely impossible to suddenly stop that expenditure.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield): Put it on the Estimates. That was promised last year.

*MR. ARTHUR LEE said that that was a complete misunderstanding, though perhaps a very natural one. There was an unusually large sum unexpended from the provision voted by the House in 1903, an amount which appeared on the face of it to be £1,869,000. The true figure, however, was not £1,869,000, but £1,589,000 because £280,000 was money actually saved upon the superintendence item. They, therefore, deducted that amount from the total sum to be expended.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): But is not the £280,000, if it has not been spent, now available?

*MR. ARTHUR LEE said of course it was available; it was money actually saved, because it had not been expended; and that had entered into the calculation. There had also been a considerably short expenditure at Malta and Bermuda on account of various delays for which the

Admiralty were not to blame. Many works had had to be hung up owing to the pending changes in the redistribution of the Fleet and the strategic needs of the Navy. They were compelled to ask the House in voting money two years ahead to make ample provision, because they could not be certain when the next Loan Bill would be passed. For example, at the present time they were still living upon money voted in 1903; and it was necessary to make full provision for two years in advance. That did not affect the finances of the country; because the money was not borrowed until it was to be spent. The numerous changes in the "dates for completion" were due in many cases to the delay in the execution of the works, or to additional works necessitated by a particular scheme under consideration; and still more often due to the fact that the works could not be considered to be finished until all the accounts had been closed up. A very striking illustration of that was that Portland Harbour was completed as a harbour, in regard to protection from the sea and against torpedo attack, in 1899; but the work was still unfinished as far as a number of subsidiary services were concerned.

As to the chief items in the schedule to the Bill, it would be observed that there were several increases in the total estimates and several decreases. The decreases would doubtless be considered thoroughly satisfactory, but, on the other hand, he ventured to claim that the increases were absolutely necessary. The chief items of increase were the Keyham extension and the Hong-Kong Dockyard extension. The large increase in Keyham was due to two causes. In the first place, to unexpected and altogether unforeseen engineering difficulties in the prosecution of the works; and, in the second place, to additional works which were found to be necessary to complete this scheme. Owing to the irregularities of the rock surface below the mud, there had been an immense increase in the cost of dredging and in building the outer walls of the dockyard. It was a scheduled contract, and those items accounted for £150,000 of additional expenditure. At Keyham it had also been necessary to provide a long pier in the dock basin, owing to the greatly increased length of modern ships, and, what was originally contemplated in the first scheme of the dockyard, to the lengthening of No. 4 dock. That lengthening they proposed to carry out, and it would be a great improvement. In the case of Hong-Kong, there had been engineering difficulties very similar to those encountered at Keyham. The irregularities of the rock surface below the mud had resulted in an unforeseen expenditure for dredging amounting to £150,000. The need for the additional dredging works could not have been foreseen by the engineers, but they would not be a recurring expense. This dredging was required to enable the dockyards to be built, and the charge for subsequent maintenance for dredging would come on the Votes. There was also an increase for electric light and power amounting to £54,000 at Hong-Kong.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER asked if the cost of dredging was charged to loan or to the Votes?

*MR. ARTHUR LEE said that at every port the maintenance of dredging was always charged to Votes and not to loans. As to the item for deepening harbours and the approaches thereto, that was required under a scheme for rendering these ports available for ships of deep draught; and next year that expense also would be charged to Votes. The two most interesting items, perhaps, were the Chatham Dockyard extension and the Rosyth item. The broad result of the Admiralty's deliberations in connection with these two services had been to push on the large expenditure foreshadowed at Rosyth, and not to proceed with the Chatham Dockyard extension. This would, perhaps, be a surprise to some Members of the House—[AN HON. MEMBER: It is a surprise.]—in view of the scheme outlined in 1903 for an expenditure of £4,500,000 on the Chatham extension in addition to the large expenditure foreshadowed at Rosyth. The Admiralty, however, had considered that that expenditure at Chatham could be dispensed with, at any rate for the present; and this, he hoped, would be regarded as a great relief to the taxpayer. He wished to say at this point that this decision was not the result of a mere change of mind; it was the result of a change of circumstances and conditions. The original need for the Chatham extension was based on the Report of the Berthing and Docking Committee, which showed that the then existing accommodation for the Fleet for berthing and docking was insufficient, and that its extension was imperatively necessary. That decision was altered as one of the results of the new policy of casting ineffective ships from the Navy. These ships required considerable berthing and docking facilities because of the constant and ever-increasing repairs which they needed; and their removal from the effective list had set free so much berthing and docking accommodation as to render unnecessary the proposed extension at Chatham. It was probable that, in future, warships would be fewer in number, but of greater individual power, and consequently less berthing and docking space would be required; but that berthing and docking space must be of a larger size and suitable for the accommodation of the larger ships. There was a shortage of such accommodation on the East Coast, and therefore it was necessary to provide it either at Rosyth or at Chatham, but not at both.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): There will be no such shortage at Chatham.

*MR. ARTHUR LEE said that the Admiralty had arrived at the conclusion, on the unanimous recommendation of its naval advisers, that Rosyth possessed greater strategical, economic, and industrial advantages than Chatham. He did not wish to enlarge on the strategic advantages, which were patent to all, but there was greater accessibility at all times of the tide for the largest ships at Rosyth than at Chatham, and that was an enormous advantage.

He would now give the Committee the information so earnestly desired, by Scotch Members at any rate, as to the extent and the nature of the works at Rosyth. The general scope and the project had been very clearly explained at the time of the introduction of the Naval Works and Loans Bill of 1903. As a first step the site at Rosyth was very carefully studied and examined. Plans were ordered to be prepared on the most comprehensive scale for the provision of a first-class naval port. The Government had found from experience that hitherto dockyards had originally been laid out on too cramped a scale, and that it was extremely difficult and costly to extend them afterwards. It was therefore determined that Rosyth should be so laid out, and the works so constructed, as not to prejudice any extension of the base that might become necessary in the future, so that future generations should not be able to accuse them of want of foresight. The plans that had been prepared were for a dockyard of the most complete description. But it was not the intention of the Admiralty at once to construct the dockyard on so large a scale. Only the immediate needs of the Navy were to be considered. Still the works that were proposed in the present scheme would, in themselves, form a complete naval base. They included a closed basin of the largest size, 1,200 by 1,500 feet, with an entrance lock which could be used as a dock itself in case of necessity; a large graving dock; the necessary equipments of a repairing yard; railway connection with most of the railway systems of the country; and a considerable amount of foreshore dredging and reclamation in order to make the place accessible at all stages of the tide. The total cost was £2,500,000, which included the £200,000 that had already been voted for the preliminary works.

The £70,000 in the Bill for Chatham was in the process of expenditure on the new river wall to the Medway, which was necessary in any case, whether the extension was decided upon or not, for the safety of the West Basin, because the existing wall showed signs of falling in. The new river wall would provide a large amount of additional berthing accommodation along the side of the dockyard, and it was in every way a most necessary work.

The House would observe that there was a very short expenditure on gunnery schools. The reason of that was that there had been a modification of the original scheme. It was originally intended that gunnery schools were to be constructed entirely separate from naval barracks; but it was now proposed to incorporate the schools with the barracks; and this modification had led to considerable saving of expense. There was also a considerable saving under the head of superintendence charges. It had been decided, owing to the advanced state of the naval works now in progress, to amalgamate the Works Department and the Works Loan Department, which meant a saving in the cost of the staff while securing the advantage of unity of control. The retiring civil engineer-in-chief, Sir Henry Pilkington, deserved the greatest credit for the unbroken success of his designs and operations during the time he had presided over these works. He had carried out some of the largest engineering works of any period in the world's history without a single failure of any sort or description. He asked those who criticised the increases on certain of the estimates to consider what immense miscalculations had been made by the greatest civil engineers in outside practice. If hon. Members would consider the case of the widening of Kew Bridge, for instance, where the estimated cost was £118,000 and the lowest tender received £169,000, or the case of Manchester Ship Canal, where the estimate for works was £6,000,000, and two of the greatest contractors tendered for less than that sum, whereas the actual cost was over £10,000,000——

SIR J. FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.) suggested that the circumstances of that case were peculiar owing to the fact that for many miles of the cutting springs breaking out everywhere necessitated a total change in the work.

*MR. ARTHUR LEE said the interruption only proved his point, the frequent impossibility of foreseeing what the expense would be. That was exactly what the Government were meeting with at Malta and other places at the present time. Those were matters they were naturally unable to foresee. He merely referred to these matters to show how unfair were the attacks which had been made on the officers administering those great works, and because it was the last public opportunity of referring to the services of the civil engineer-in-chief, before he left his office, and he could not allow Sir Henry Pilkington and his staff to retire from their duties without paying a public tribute to the extraordinary and unbroken success of their labours during the past ten or fifteen years.

Passing to other items, he said Gibraltar Harbour was now practically complete. The moles were finished the harbour itself was in use, and the dockyard was already in partial operation. No. 3 dock had already been opened and the two remaining docks would be opened early next year. This base for a great fleet would soon be in full use and would prove of the greatest assistance to the Navy as it would become the headquarters and chief base of the Atlantic Fleet.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Does the hon. Gentleman anticipate that Gibraltar, with the very restricted area, will suffice for the wants of a large fleet?

*MR. ARTHUR LEE: I certainly anticipate that it will suffice.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I refer to the land accommodation and its use as a repairing arsenal.

*MR. ARTHUR LEE: Yes, Sir, the dock accommodation and the shops in connection with them are on the largest scale, and they are quite sufficient for the needs of the Fleet for a long time ahead.

On the question of the principle of these Bills, on which the Government had been somewhat ungraciously attacked, he proceeded to point out that the system of Loan Bills had been consistently sanctioned by the House, and there was no reason why the Government should abruptly depart from it in order to satisfy a strained view of national economy. However, the arrears of work were now nearing completion, and, therefore, the need for these Loan Bills was also coming to an end. He had never concealed his own desire that they should be brought to an end as soon as that could conveniently be done, but it had not been practicable before now. This Bill marked a great step in that direction. The transference, however, of certain of this expenditure to the Votes, would, he warned the House, involve an increase of £340,000 or £350,000 in next year's Naval Estimates. After the conclusion of this Bill there would still remain £4,000,000 to be provided for works already sanctioned, and that would have to be found by a succeeding Loan Bill. It had been objected that the total expenditure under this series of Bills was enormous, £32,000,000 in fact. He admitted that it was a large sum, and yet it was less than the total for the effective portion of only one year's Naval Estimates. It had further been suggested by some critics that this expenditure was unnecessary and extravagant, but he asked the House to consider what the nation were getting for it in assets of permanent value. There were the great national harbours at Dover, Gibraltar, Malta, and Portland, the great dockyards at Gibraltar, Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, Bermuda, Keyham, Rosyth, and Hong-Kong. Then there were barracks, hospitals, and various naval extensions throughout the world, all tending to the comfort and efficiency of the Fleet, coaling facilities, which were so much needed, and other magnificent equipment not surpassed anywhere in the world. These were great assets which the nation had obtained, and it was because he believed that this expenditure had been of the greatest possible value to the country, and directly contributory to the fighting efficiency of the Fleet and its readiness for war, that he confidently appealed to the House to pass this Bill.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

***Mr. BUCHANAN** (Perthshire, E.) said that on questions of naval policy he did not profess to be qualified to express an opinion, but there were points of policy connected with this measure he could not pass by unnoticed. The chief was the question of the Chatham extension and of the proposed dockyard at Rosyth. Two years since, when the Chatham extension was under discussion in this House, the Admiralty authorities, under pressure, stated that, although a token sum of £50,000 alone was asked for, the total estimated cost of the undertaking was £4,500,000. The Admiralty considered themselves at liberty during those two years to make contracts representing a larger sum than the preliminary expenditure authorised, but the Treasury declined to give their assent to the expenditure, and the result was that the hon. Gentleman now came down with a Bill including an item of £50,000 for the fulfilment of contracts entered into beyond the scope of the previous Bill. Now, as a matter of fact, the Admiralty had abandoned their large scheme for the extension of Chatham Dockyard and had put forward a tentative scheme for starting a dockyard at Rosyth. It struck him very forcibly they could not under these circumstances have any very great confidence in the stability of the policy of the Admiralty. Only two years since both these large new works were advocated as desirable and even essential for the future of our Navy, but in the short space of two years the Admiralty had apparently changed their plans. He did not think, therefore, the House should allow itself at the present moment to be committed to this expenditure of £2,500,000 on the Rosyth scheme. All they were asked to vote to-day was £200,000, and they had been told that that was to be spent on preliminary works.

***Mr. ARTHUR LEE**: The land alone represents £120,000.

***Mr. BUCHANAN** understood that the remainder of the £200,000 would be spent on preliminary works. He thought the House ought not to commit itself and its successors to this Rosyth scheme without further consideration, and certainly not in the dying days of a Parliament and Ministry. He hoped the House would, at any rate, make it clear that it by no means considered that by passing this Bill it committed itself or its successor to going on with this work. Reference had been made to the increases in total estimated cost of works in the present Bill as compared to their estimated cost in the Bill of 1903. Keyham was an old sinner in this respect. In 1897 the total cost was at £3,175,000; in 1903 it had increased up to £4,175,000; and now it had gone up to £4,500,000, and there was no security whatever that the final estimate had yet been reached. The same criticism held good with regard to Hong-Kong, where the estimated cost had increased from £575,000 in 1897 to £1,250,000 in the present Bill. The electric lighting item showed an increase from £1,250,000 to £1,500,000 as compared with last year, but he understood that the increase was really more than £250,000, because the cost of the electric plant at Hong-Hong had been taken out of this item. That being so, he would ask whether any other such transfers had been made. In any case, he wished to reiterate his protest against the inclusion of this item in the Bill at all. It was absurd that electric lighting plant should be paid for in the manner proposed.

*MR. ARTHUR LEE said that electric lighting plant represented a comparatively small portion of the Estimate, the main part being for electric power.

*MR. BUCHANAN contended that whether for power or light any large commercial undertaking would pay for it from year to year.

*MR. ARTHUR LEE instanced the case of nearly all the municipal bodies; which did exactly the opposite.

MR. BUCHANAN said he was dealing with national finance, and he strongly objected to the borrowing of money for this purpose. It was true there were certain decreases in the present Bill, but the only one of any magnitude was in connection with Bermuda, where the Estimate of the total cost was down by £100,000 in consequence of a change in naval policy, the remaining decreases being very small compared with the total cost.

On the financial side, he had steadfastly opposed these Naval and Military Works Bills from the beginning, believing that they were unsound in principle and almost certain to lead to extravagance. They were unsound in principle because instead of meeting current expenses out of current revenue, they threw upon our successors burdens which we ought to bear. It was only necessary to look at the increase in Naval and Military Estimates during the last ten years to see what extravagance the system had caused both directly and indirectly. There had been created a large naval debt, a large military debt, and large debts for other purposes, which for twenty or thirty years the country would be laboriously engaged in paying off. What the opponents of the system had contended for was now largely acknowledged by the Government. The *tu quoque* argument had been used. It was true the system was begun in 1895. He was not concerned to defend the principle of the Act of that year, but the Acts of both 1895 and 1896 contained limitations and mitigations of the system which had since completely disappeared. They were annual Acts, stress being laid on the importance of the House of Commons having an annual opportunity of considering the progress of the works, and deciding whether or not they should go on with them. They also proposed to carry out a definite scheme which Members could understand. He did not, however, contend that under no circumstances whatever should money be borrowed for large works of a permanent character. The right principle was, he thought, laid down in the Report of the Public Accounts Committee last year, where the limitations under which such a course might be justifiable were set forth, and a strong desire expressed that the system as a system should be brought to a conclusion at the earliest possible moment.

Since 1897 these Bills had become a regular established financial practice. In that year the first Military Works Bill was introduced, and from that time onwards every two years fresh Bills had been brought forward, each for a larger amount and with a longer schedule than its predecessor. In the schedule of the Finance Accounts these sums were euphemistically described as "other capital liabilities," and in 1898 they stood at £3,750,000. From that moment they had been advancing, the amounts being, in 1900, £10,000,000; in 1902, £20,000,000; in 1903, £27,500,000; in 1904, £32,000,000; in 1905, £41,500,000; and in 1906, if the Chancellor of the Exchequer's estimate was realised, the amount would be £50,000,000. That included borrowing for other purposes than naval and military works, but naval and military works were the principal offenders. That was the system which had been developed in the last ten years by the Government. This financial poison had entered into most other Departments. In the year 1897 the charges under "other capital liabilities" were £5,000,000, but in 1905 these liabilities had gone up to £12,000,000. This showed that if once they lost the reins of financial control in one Department it spread very rapidly in other Departments.

This Bill proposed to increase the total estimated cost of works by £500,000, and to expend in the next two years £7,700,000; or rather to construct works to cost that sum, borrow the money, and leave the successors of the Government to pay the bill. What he complained of most was that this Bill represented no finality as regarded works. The Civil Lord had stated that the Government had concluded that this system should be brought to an end at the earliest possible moment, but what were the Government doing? They had been assured that this policy would be followed in regard to certain items in the new Bill, but what had happened? The item for dredging was to be put upon the Estimates on April 1st, 1906, because the total amount of money in hand would then be exhausted. So far that was an advance. With regard to coaling facilities there was a note which stated that that item would be put upon the Estimates but it did not say when, and for two years more, if not longer, money was to be borrowed for this purpose. Then there was the new dockyard at Rosyth which was to be put on the Estimates when the House of Commons consented to undertake this work. If the Government had really meant business they could have taken a substantial step in the direction of putting an end to this loan system. There was an unexpended balance of £1,869,000 on 31st March last which might have been used for the purposes of this Bill, and the additional sum that would be necessary to carry on the works during the current year could have been placed on the Navy Estimates. That would have been a substantial practical step. The Civil Lord opposite did not deny that he could have done that; in fact, that was what was being done in regard to the Army at the present moment.

They were told that £7,000,000 was the amount in hand under the Military Works Bill, and this was being spent this year and next year without any fresh authorisation from Parliament at all. That was a grave irregularity which ought to be stopped. The Admiralty had not availed themselves of the opportunity which had occurred of introducing the better practice, and the result was that the obligation of working out what the Civil Lord himself recognised to be the sound financial policy which should govern the administration of the Admiralty, and any unpopularity that would ensue, would fall, not upon him, but upon his successors. The House and the country ought to take particular notice now of the fact that any increase that might take place hereafter upon Vote 10 of the Navy or Vote 8 of the Army was one of the consequences entailed by the extravagant and unsound methods of finance which had been pursued during the last ten years by the present Government both in regard to the Army and the Navy. It was not the Admiralty but the Chancellor of the Exchequer who now and in past years was really responsible for this mischievous system, and, of all the Chancellors of the Exchequer, the man who was really responsible and who was the greatest sinner of all was the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bristol.

The serious effect of this system of borrowing upon our national credit was reflected in the state of Consols and of other first-class securities. He did not intend to suggest that the system was responsible for the whole of the heavy fall in the value of these securities which had taken place since the war; but he did mean to assert that it was a large contributory cause to the continued depreciation, and a continuous impediment in the way of a revival of the national credit. He said that so long as the Sinking Fund for the redemption of public debt was made ineffective by fresh borrowing it was hardly likely that the national credit would resume the position which they all desired, and to which it was entitled. He could quote many financial authorities in support of this statement.

In the past two years many hon. Members had urged on the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his predecessor the obligation, when the war was over, of endeavouring to lay before the country some clear and consistent scheme for the reduction of the great additional debt which had thereby been put on its shoulders. The right hon. Gentleman had never made any such proposal. He believed the people of the country would have borne with patience a large amount of war taxation if it had been made clear to them that the heavy taxation would be used to abate the burden of increased debt consequent upon the war. The Sinking Fund had been re-established, but there was no good in doing that unless the Sinking Fund was to be operative in the way of really paying off debt. What had taken place? While on the face of the accounts we appeared to be paying off six, seven, or eight millions with the one hand, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had with the other hand been borrowing money to an equal, or even a greater, extent. The special debt had already increased since the war ended from £20,000,000 to £41,000,000, and it would amount to something like £50,000,000 at the expiry of the present year. When the Sinking Fund was in active operation they would find Consols rising and the national credit improving. That was obvious to anyone who gave the most elementary consideration to the subject, and that was clearly one of the many reasons why this system of loan expenditure should be brought to an end at the earliest possible date. Only in that way should we be able to get a revival of the national credit. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Department he represented had been exercising pressure on the Government to bring this system to an end at a reasonable date. While the Chancellor of the Exchequer had expressed his agreement with the substance of their contention he was really doing nothing practical, except preventing the further extension of the scheme by not allowing new items to be inserted in it. He would urge the right hon. Gentleman to take further and immediate steps. He begged to move.

MR. LOUGH said that what he objected to was the position of the Government in regard to this most important matter. He thought the Prime Minister adopted the attitude towards this very grave subject which the hon. Member opposite had adopted that day. The Government wanted to take credit for abandoning this system of borrowing. They were not abandoning it at all, and this was as bad a Bill as he had ever seen. This was the sort of unintelligible attitude the Government were assuming at present in regard to these grave matters. He thought the description of it as a death-bed repentance was one that was perfectly justified. The Government had for the last ten years steadily pursued the policy which his hon. friend had so ably described, and now they were trying to get credit for abandoning it at a time when they had not the courage to abandon it. Since 1895 he had constantly opposed this policy on the occasion of the introduction of the Naval Works Bills. They had been informed that the Liberals were in power when the first Bill was brought in, and that therefore the Liberals were to blame for introducing a bad policy. The policy had now been abandoned in principle though not in practice. When the Bill was introduced in 1895 he joined his hon. friend the Member for King's Lynn in opposing it, and he voted against his own Government on the Bill in the only division that was taken upon it. During the last eleven years they had carried on this dreary campaign against the policy of these Loan Bills. The Government said they had taken steps to bring this policy to an end though not in the Estimates this year. But the life of the Government was hanging on a thread and it might be cut short any week. The hon. Gentleman ought to remember his mortality, and instead of making good resolutions as to what was to be done twelve months hence it would be better to do something now. It appeared from what the hon. Member opposite said that it would be four years hence before any change was made in the direction of adopting the sounder principle which they had taken in hand. When the hon. Member claimed credit for adopting a principle which could not come into operation for four years he was claiming far too much virtue.

The expenditure estimated in this Bill was not complete, because the whole of the expenditure on Rosyth had not been included. The right hon. Gentleman had no right to tell the Liberal Government or any Government which would succeed the present one to provide for the Rosyth expenditure on their Estimates. They had already borrowed under this policy £27,000,000, and after the passing of this Bill £8,000,000 more would require to be borrowed before the nation could adopt the sounder system. The hon. Gentleman spoke as if it were quite easy to turn over this new leaf, but it would be increasingly difficult to do so. There appeared in the Estimates no less than £1,000,000 for paying interest on the loans already incurred, and next year it would be increased by £400,000. In two or three years the total amount which would have to be provided in Vote 10 would be £2,000,000 for running off these loans. He asked the House to consider the difficulty which future Boards of Admiralty would be placed in. They would be asked to provide for current works out of the expenditure of the year, and at the same time would have to provide £2,000,000 in connection with these loans. It would therefore be exceedingly difficult for the successors of the present Government to turn over a new leaf. The Government thought they were relieving the country by borrowing, but as a matter of fact the country received an even greater blow in this way than if the money were paid out of taxes. It would have been a far less evil to the country if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had had the courage to put on a tax to pay his way as he went rather than borrow. Of course he would not have been able to produce such a good Budget if he had done that, but taxes should not be taken off unless the finances of the country warranted that being done.

It had been said that debates on the Estimates never promoted economy. He thought it was the debates which had taken place in that House that had promoted any economy that there had been during the last ten years. Where had the subject of the Loans Bill been discussed except in that House, and in one or two speeches outside the House? The Treasury did nothing to get rid of this capital expenditure. They wanted to have something practical done. He contended that the agitation in that House, which had extended out of doors, had compelled the Government to make a promise or treaty in regard to these Works Loans Bills. He would quote from a remarkable speech made on this subject on June 7th by Mr. E. Speyer, at a meeting of the Institute of Bankers. That gentleman said—

> "In recent years, the ordinary Budget has been supplemented by an extraordinary Budget, that is, a Budget containing expenditures which are provided for out of capital. In the past year these expenditures have amounted to £8,114,000, and to complete the works an additional sum of over £25,000,000 has yet to be borrowed. This capital expenditure means nothing less than that the sinking funds provided for the redemption of debt have not been used for that purpose at all, but have in reality, in recent years, been used for providing expenditure upon naval and military works, etc. The continuance of these capital outlays, if they are financed by fresh borrowings, will prevent any reduction of the debt of the country for several years."

And Mr. Speyer concluded by saying that—

> "The practice is altogether indefensible, and no well-managed commercial house would consider itself justified in creating an account of this character. Why should a State act differently from any commercial concern that is conducted on sound lines? If these extra expenditures for unproductive purposes are absolutely necessary, the country should be told, and the Government of the day should come forward boldly and raise taxation accordingly."

Mr. MURPHY (Kerry, E.) drew attention to the fact that there were not forty Members present,

Whereupon Mr. Speaker adjourned the House for the luncheon hour.

Mr. LOUGH, continuing his speech, said the quotation from Mr. Speyer which he read just before the House adjourned was very extraordinary independent testimony from a man who had no place in the political arena, in favour of the principle which they were now advocating. In his opinion it was a monstrous thing on the part of the Admiralty to compare the expenditure on naval and military works with municipal expenditure, because those works were not of a remunerative character, as were those for which borrowings were made by local authorities. He thought it would be much safer if the Government adopted the principle of providing for this expenditure on the Votes as it came along. The hon. Member representing the Admiralty spoke of Sir William Harcourt, and quoted Sir William's reasons for introducing the Naval Works Bill, which were that many of the works were of a permanent character and that therefore the Government was entitled to borrow for them. But many of these works were not of a permanent character. Encroachments of the sea entailed considerable expense of maintenance of such works, and there was no proof that these works would be always useful. The whole history of these works had been the abandonment of them, and the hon. Gentleman would not deny that even now the Government were withdrawing troops and naval forces from many harbours in the Empire. Therefore these works could not be described as permanent. They now understood that this system of Naval Works Bills was to be brought to an end; that within a certain period all this series of building operations would be brought to a conclusion. This death-bed repentance on the part of the Government was in order that the Government might get some credit for at last adopting the principle which the Opposition had so long advocated. But what he wished to know was, was this repentance an honest and sincere repentance?

*Mr. ARTHUR LEE said it was not repentance at all, and the Government wished to take no credit whatever.

Mr. LOUGH contended that the argument that it was necessary to borrow for the last ten years but that it would not be necessary to do so in the coming ten years, ought not to be accepted. The works at Rosyth were quite as large and would be just as costly as any works that had been undertaken under this Bill. The hon. Gentleman contemplated that £2,500,000 would be spent at Rosyth, and if what the hon. Gentleman had said was correct and the Government had arranged for this huge expenditure at Rosyth to come upon the Estimates, why was not the same course adopted in the case of Gibraltar, Dover, and all the other places mentioned in the Bill? The Government borrowed for the works at Dover Harbour, but they were throwing on their successors the burden of providing for the expenditure at Rosyth, which was to come upon Vote 10. It was for these reasons that he contended that the conversion of the Government at the eleventh hour to this sound principle of providing for the expenditure as they went along was not an honest conversion. They had still their eyes on the flesh-pots. If they had had a new lease of power nothing would have been heard of this proposal, and it was only because the Government had come to the end of their tether, and had become aware of the outcry that was being made upon this matter, that they pretended now to adopt a more sound system of finance. He hoped that those who had fought against this Bill all along would continue the struggle.

The Civil Lord had stated that the present Government were not responsible for the adoption of this principle. He quite agreed that a Liberal Government brought in the first Naval Works Bill in 1895. Liberal Governments did not always succeed in adopting the wisest course, and though they were far in front of Conservatives in this respect they might occasionally slip into the mistake of adopting an unsound policy. The difference in the two Parties lay in the fact that while the rank and file of the Radical Party would soon see that the policy was unsound and would correct it in a very short time, the followers of the Government would never correct it at all. The Liberals introduced a Bill for £8,000,000 in 1895. What did the Conservatives do? They did not, when they came into power, reduce it, they continued the policy and made it first £16,000,000, then £24,000,000, and now it was £32,000,000. In this matter he stood independent of both Parties. He was the preacher of pure principle. He voted against this Bill in 1895, and if the Liberals intended to continue these borrowings in the future he should oppose them as firmly as he had done in the past. His course had been consistent. He had opposed the Bill of 1895, moved the rejection of the Bills of 1897 and 1899, and had supported the hon. Member who moved the rejection of the Bill of 1903, and he would not in future give a vote in favour of these Naval Works Bills. Although he had suffered in the past at the hands of his friends for the course he pursued, and particularly at the hands of his right hon. friend the Member for the Forest of Dean, who always supported the Government, even that right hon. Gentleman had now come to his opinion and was now opposing this Bill himself. The right hon. Baronet admitted that he had now got at the root of this matter and had become a convert, and on the Motion that this Bill should go into Committee he told against it. He himself did not believe that because a considerable expenditure was required to be made at a particular time they were justified in putting the burden of payment on posterity, and he thought the new tone which was now adopted outside with regard to this policy was entirely due to those who had fought against it on both sides of the House. A steady resistance had to be offered to this policy because it was not yet concluded. He did not wish hon. Gentlemen on the Liberal side of the House to suppose that they could again resort to this principle of expenditure which had been disastrous to national finance and had resulted in great extravagance. Every Government should have forced upon them the principle that whatever was wanted for expenditure should be taken out of the provision made for the year.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out from the word 'That' to the end of the Question, in order to add the words 'this House declines to agree to the Second Reading of a Bill which, by continuing for a further period the system of loan expenditure for Naval Works, renders the Sinking Fund ineffective, and injures the credit of the country'"—(*Mr. Buchanan*) instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee) said he congratulated the Civil Lord upon the manner in which he had discharged a task of unusual difficulty. The hon. Gentleman must have realised that circumstances had changed in regard to these matters, and that what used to be an easy thing had become to-day an extremely difficult one—and it was a very difficult thing to-day to pass this Bill through the House. It was no longer the details of the schedules of these Naval Works Bills that were important. It was the financial principle of the measure that was at stake. It was on the Second Reading and not upon the Committee stage that the important discussions took place. He now desired to ask for some information upon three items as to which only token Votes had been taken. The hon. Gentleman had said very little about the coastguards except to give the additional expenditure, were they to look at that item as the result of a change of policy, because he was rather surprised to find this item rather more swollen than any in the Bill. The other two items to which he wished to refer were Rosyth and the Chatham extension. As to Rosyth, he was unable to understand the position of the Admiralty. At this moment the Vote for Rosyth, which was a token Vote of £200,000 in 1903, was now a substantive Vote of the same amount. They were now told that the sum was to be employed in preliminary expenditure. The sum which was to be spent on the works of Rosyth was £2,300,000 in addition to this £200,000, and that amount was to be thrown on the Estimates. He took it, therefore, that substantive expenditure on Rosyth was not to begin until the preliminary expenditure had come to an end.

*MR. ARTHUR LEE: At the earliest possible moment.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said that this Bill provided for preliminary expenditure only. Therefore, substantive expenditure on Rosyth could not begin till after the money had been voted next year. But the scheme was so vague that, having regard to what had occurred in the case of Chatham, he could not look with any confidence to the future of Rosyth. The great Chatham extension scheme was the principal item of the Loan Bill of 1903. Now the House learned that that scheme had been abandoned. This vast change of policy must affect the other schemes, and, therefore, he could not believe in the future of Rosyth. What confidence could the House of Commons have in an Admiralty that came to the House with vast projects in fulfilment of a certain naval policy and then two years afterwards discarded the projects in obedience to another policy?

It was not for those who, ten years ago, either as members of the Government or of the predominant Party in the House at that time, brought in and supported the first Naval Works Bill, to denounce the principle of borrowing for such works as intolerable. He certainly was not going to make any such recantation, but he held himself no more responsible for borrowing established by the Naval Works Act of 1895 than he now held the Secretary to the Admiralty and the Civil Lord opposite responsible for the financial policy of the present Bill. It was not the Admiralty, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being who was responsible for the way in which the money for naval works was to be raised. The Admiralty knew little and cared less about the matter. What the Admiralty had to do was to advise what works would be necessary. It was then for the Cabinet to decide, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say whether the money should be directly under the Estimates or by Bill, but he thought there was a good deal of force in the argument as to the change of circumstances. Sir William Harcourt based the Bill of 1895 broadly on the ground that the works proposed were not only necessary, but urgently necessary, and that, as the resources of taxation were practically exhausted, the first steps of these works must be aided by the borrowing powers of the Government. Since then, however, the scale of naval works had increased enormously, and they had now two parallel Budgets placed before the House, one dependent on the Estimates, and the other the irregular Budget created by the various Loan Acts. The result was that there was no real paying off of borrowed money, but a gradual increase of debt. The extension of the system, not on naval works alone, but in other directions and on other services, had been so great that he thought the time had come to call a halt.

His hon. friend who had moved the Amendment that day was met half-way by the Government, but met in such a way that he had been left in some embarrassment as to what their policy really was. He understood from the Answer given to him a few days ago by the Civil Lord that it was the intention of the Government that this should be the last Naval Works Bill. Now, however, he was told that that was not so, and he did not know where they stood. The Prime Minister had taunted them with being ungracious because they offered opposition to the earlier stages of that Bill, which he suggested was conceding for the first time the principle asserted by hon. Members on the Opposition benches. The Civil Lord had repeated that phrase but now it transpired that it was not conceded and that there were to be more Loan Bills at some future day. What was the financial situation? The amount of the expenditure authorised by the whole series of Bills, including this Bill, and the substantive expenditure at Rosyth, was £34,500,000. The borrowing power already in existence was £21,800,000, leaving at this minute, before this Bill passed, at least £12,700,000 to be provided for. In round figures,

£5,800,000 was to be authorised by this Bill, and that left a further balance of £6,900,000, including Rosyth. He had understood it was to be the policy of the Government that the balance outstanding at the end of the two years provided for by this Bill was to be thereafter thrown entirely on the Naval Estimates. But now they were told that that was not so.

*Mr. ARTHUR LEE said he had stated that certain portions of this money would be thrown on the Naval Estimates; but they could not bind their successors beyond the two years of the Act. There would be a certain sum remaining to be found after the two years, and it would remain for their successors to determine how it should be raised.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON said he had thought this was to be the last of the borrowings; he now found it was only the last of the present Government's borrowings. That indeed reduced the scheme of the Government to very small dimensions.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: Do you intend to borrow?

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON said he had been completely misled. The Government were simply seeking to pass their obligations on to their successors. He complained of the absence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He thought they ought to have some estimate of the growing burden that was being created by these loans. He argued that all the circumstances that would justify the stopping of borrowing two years hence would justify it now, and it was obligatory on the Government to make out the case for their failure to stop it now. Now that he saw the Chancellor of the Exchequer present he hoped the House would hear from the hon. Gentleman why it was that the contemplated change of policy with regard to borrowings had not been announced at the time of the Budget. No hint was given them at that time that so important a change was to be proposed. Why were they now only seeking to carry it out piecemeal? No great harm would be done if this Bill were rejected, for the Admiralty already had nearly £2,000,000 in hand, and before anything further was done they ought to learn from the Chancellor of the Exchequer if this policy was to be applied also to military and other works.

*Mr. GIBSON BOWLES said he had listened with unexampled patience and, he hoped, with some profit to the long speech of the hon. Member. But he confessed that it left him sad. He had taken the hon. Gentleman to be one of those able Scotsmen who came South in order to teach an ignorant people how to pay their way without getting into debt. Instead of that, the hon. Gentleman had avowed himself one of the inventors and patentees of this very vicious system of borrowing, and led the House to understand that when he came into office he would continue it. Personally he had always voted against this system.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON: Did you vote against the first Bill?

*Mr. GIBSON BOWLES said he thought he did. He certainly had voted against the last Government on questions of that sort, and he was not sure he was not one of the tellers. He had not altered his opinions. The hon. Gentleman had led the House to expect that when he came into office he would continue this system?

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON: No.

*Mr. GIBSON BOWLES said he supposed they were to take it, then, that the hon. Gentleman was not going to borrow and his only fear was that when ignorant people saw the Navy Votes going up they would turn him out of office. The hon. Gentleman also complained, he thought, a little unfairly of the absence of Ministers. In the stress and strain of modern life and the consequent waste of tissue, the week-end holiday had become absolutely necessary to statesmen of eminence, and he for one recognised it was the inevitable for them to give Friday to motoring, Saturday to golf, and Sunday to bridge. He therefore would not complain that he had no audience of Ministers: in fact, he would be content to make his speech to the hon. Gentleman alone. No doubt this was a most important question; it involved a matter which was the very marrow of finance. When they passed this Bill, the expenditure of this £5,800,000 would escape for ever from them, they would never have an opportunity of revising it, and, to adopt Kipling's words, they would only have to "Pay, pay, pay."

He would for a few moments, with the permission of the House, wander into the region of strategy. He was an humble student of strategy, which he had always understood to be merely the application of common sense to the problems of naval and military warfare. Never was a country so well placed for naval strategy as this. It divided Europe into two parts, which it prevented from joining forces against us. Yet its own sea approaches were so numerous that they could never be closed by an enemy. In Plymouth it had the finest port for action in southern Europe. Chatham was equally well-fitted for naval action in northern Europe; and it possessed most special advantages as a naval port. It was completely defended by the sands and shoals at the mouth of the Thames from anything like torpedo attack. It was close to our other great naval arsenals, Portsmouth and Plymouth. As compared with Rosyth it had the incomparably best situation. It would be suggested that the enormous and extravagant expenditure on Dover was intended to make that port replace Chatham. It never could do so, for Dover could be bombarded from half-way across the Channel by movable vessels. Moreover, Dover had no dockyard and could not have any. Then let them compare the value of Chatham and Rosyth as strategical stations. Undoubtedly for the purpose of operations against all the northern coast of Europe, from Calais to the Baltic, Chatham was the better situated. The two were equidistant from the Baltic, but Chatham was a hundred miles nearer the mouth of the Elbe, and 200 nearer the mouth of the Scheldt, either of which we might have to blockade, and therefore nearer the intervening area where naval actions were probable, and it was infinitely better situated in the event of action being necessary in the South of Europe. The merits of Chatham were recognised a year or two since, and the Government proposed to spend £4,500,000 there, but that policy had now been abandoned, and £2,500,000 was instead to be spent at Rosyth. The change was immense. It was capital. It was sudden. But if our official strategists thus quickly varied strategy must indeed be an uncertain science, and the strategist a man who could not be relied on to hold the same opinion for six months.

It was proposed to spend £2,500,000 on Rosyth, but he felt certain that if the vast works that were contemplated were carried out the expenditure would certainly be £5,000,000 and possibly £7,500,000. They had the example of Gibraltar before them. The works there were originally to cost only £1,500,000. As a fact they had cost nearly £5,000,000. He had another objection to the attempt to bind the House to an expenditure of £2,500,000 on Rosyth. The demand at present for Rosyth was a modest one, but his hon. friend knew very well that the great outlay that was incurred at Gibraltar was for the purpose of completing much less costly works which had been authorised. When more money was required for Rosyth it would be argued that works which had been commenced must be finished. The hon. Gentleman had said that the Rosyth scheme was complete as it stood. Every scheme was complete as it stood. The Gibraltar scheme was complete as it first stood, and as it first stood he himself had approved of it. But afterwards it was trebled by other schemes complete as they stood, which he held to be not only unnecessary but dangerous, and in the end they had been called upon to spend other £3,500,000 on that scheme.

Let him call attention to the extreme vice of this method of committing the House to large expenditure by means of a token Vote. The Public Accounts Committee in their Report last year said they were of opinion that Parliament should not be asked on a token Vote of a few thousand pounds to commit itself to the construction of new works, the total cost of which might run into millions, and of which not even an approximate estimate was submitted. That was exactly what they were asked to do now. They were asked to vote £200,000 for Rosyth, as a token Vote, and thereby to commit the House to a large expenditure of which no final or ultimate estimate had been given. Part of the hon. Gentleman's speech dealt with the impossibility of giving final and ultimate estimates for works of this sort.

The defence of the system of proceeding by loan was that the expenditure represented permanent works. There was nothing in this world that was permanent unless it was the retention of office by the occupants of the Front Bench, but, of all things, the least permanent were naval works of every description. He did not shrink from using these words. His hon. friend had had the assurance to try to persuade the House that dredging was a permanent work. Nothing was less permanent, not a bucketful of mud could be dredged without another bucketful immediately beginning to fill its place. An example of that might be seen in the Thames opposite that House. The river was always occupied by dredgers trying to deepen the channel. An enormous sum had been spent upon Chatham, which was now to be practically abandoned. Where then was the permanence? Might not that happen to any of these works? Chatham was to be abandoned, and in its place was to be put this Scottish upstart of Rosyth. Fortifications, and docks, and repairing shops were all non-permanent. His firm conviction, derived from the experience of Japan, was that the future would not be for the permanent repairing shops in the arsenal nor for the dock to receive the ships. The future would, he believed, belong to the repairing ships to accompany the Navy, and, as far as docks were concerned, the future would belong to the floating dock. Japan had been warring with their navy for two years, and during the whole of that time all the repairs had been carried on either on board the ships or on board repairing ships, and if they had gone into dock it had been to clean their bottoms.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.) was understood to dissent.

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES said the Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to doubt the assertion. Would the right hon. Gentleman get up and contradict it? He believed his statement would be found entirely accurate. It was undoubted that enormous service had been rendered to the Japanese Navy by their repairing ships, and it was in the direction of providing repairing ships, and not docks, that he should like to see either the Estimates or the Naval Works Bill go. But supposing that these naval arsenals were permanent, why should they be paid for by the system of loans? Formerly such works were paid for out of revenue. These were not the first naval arsenals we had had. One of the items for which it was proposed to borrow was electric plant. No gentleman would borrow to have gas fittings put in his house. But really the most humorous touch of all was that the House was asked to borrow over £1,000,000 for the salaries of those who were to conduct the works, superintendents, and so forth. Whoever heard of borrowing to pay the salaries of your employees? The Public Accounts Committee in one of their Reports for the year 1904 said—

> "Your Committee entertain serious doubts as to the financial method by which naval works are provided for by means of loans. The same remark applies, of course, to military works, and other similar loan services. For special works of permanent character and large cost it may, as an exceptional measure, be desirable to provide by loan repayable within a limited number of years. But the resort to such procedure should be the exception, not the rule. In recent years, annual or biennial Military and Naval Works Acts have become a regular part of military and naval finance. Your Committee would deprecate the continuance of this practice. They believe it would be more in accordance with sound rules of finance and would tend to simplify the national accounts and maintain an efficient control over expenditure if the bulk of these services were included, as formerly, in the annual Estimates."

That really represented the arguments he had endeavoured to place before the House. The Government indeed, did not dispute that part of the argument. They admitted the system of borrowing to be bad, but, like St. Augustine, they cried, "Oh, Lord, convert me, but not yet." In fact they bettered St. Augustine, because he prayed to be converted during his life, but His Majesty's Government only intended to be converted after their death. They said, "We have been as extravagant and as wicked as we could be; we have wallowed in debt. We have added during our ten years term of office £235,000,000 to the whole liabilities of the country. But when we change sides you shall see what economical persons we are. You shall find us always voting with the Member for King's Lynn and against the Naval Works Bill." He said that all these charges for naval works ought to come on the Estimates, and further, that if they were not going to put them on the Estimates it would be better even to add them to the Funded Debt of the country than to make them out of a special debt of this sort, although it had a sinking fund of its own—a debt which was not subject to the ordinary rules of the Funded Debt.

This Bill was to authorise the borrowing of £5,800,000, but the liability to which the House was asked to commit the nation amounted to a great deal more. In the first place, there was the £2,300,000 to which the House would commit the country for Rosyth; then there had to be added—he was not talking now of the Sinking Fund—the interest which would accrue on this loan during thirty years amounting to over £3,000,000. Consequently, what they were asked to charge on the country now was not only £5,800,000, but a total liability of something over £11,000,000. That was what was at stake in this Bill. It would be better and cheaper to put the £5,800,000 on the Estimates. There was an extreme and special laxity in the finance of this Department. They thought nothing of spending half a million before they had the contracts before them, and it was particularly a Department that ought not to be trusted with the expenditure of large sums of money to be raised in this way. He was strongly opposed to the Bill. He had voted against the Resolution in Committee, and he would vote against the Bill now as a matter of duty. They were told by the Prime Minister the other day that the opinion of Parliament was sometimes worth nothing at all, but when that opinion was expressed on the Second Reading of a measure of this kind he thought that it must be considered that here at least the opinion was of some value. Mr. Mantalini was once served with a writ for £100 14s. 0½d., and on looking at it he said, "Oh, the ha'penny be dem'd." The Government might "dem" the £100, of the Land Commission on which they treated their defeat with contempt, but even they could hardly "dem" such a sum as £5,800,000. It was because the sum to be ultimately raised was so much greater than appeared from the Bill, because of the method in which it was proposed to raise the money, because the Admiralty ought not to be trusted, uncontrolled by the review of that House, with the expenditure of such large sums of money, and because of the accumulated vices of this Bill, that he would deem it his duty to vote against the Second Reading.

MR. McKENNA (Monmouthshire, N.) said he did not propose to follow the hon. Gentleman on the subject of strategy, which he appeared to put in a most convincing manner. The Admiralty had such weight with the Government, with this House, and with the public at large, that it was perfectly clear any proposals they made were sure to be accepted, and he did not propose to criticise the works in themselves. He proposed to address himself to the question: How should the money be provided? Was it right that the money should be provided by loan or out of the Estimates of the year? He did not think that in the course of the debate it had been mentioned that out of the sum of £5,800,000 to be raised by this Bill only £1,000,000 was needed for spending in the course of the current financial year. In the Navy Estimates for this year there was a reduction of about £3,000,000. It would, therefore, have been perfectly possible for the Government, had they been content to make a reduction of only £2,000,000, to put all the year's expenditure on the

Estimates instead of including it in this Bill. He asserted that the advantage of paying our way as we went along was overwhelming. Consols at present stood at 90. He admitted the importance of having naval bases for our Empire, but the best naval base it could have was Consols at 100. If we could borrow cheaply we had a better defence than anything that could be put forward at any given moment. We could not carry on war successfully for any length of time unless we could raise money cheaply, and it was of greater importance to restore our credit to 2½ per cent. than to go on borrowing for the purpose of erecting naval bases.

At the end of this year the Government would have raised, and still have unpaid off, no less a sum than £49,000,000 in respect of what was called borrowing on capital account. These total borrowings this year, amounting to £9,000,000, would nullify altogether the operation of the Sinking Fund. In this system of borrowing the Navy had been the worst offender, and he blamed the Treasury for permitting the practice to continue. In a speech which he delivered on July 25th, 1904, in the debate on the Finance Bill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said—

> "He gathered that hon. Gentlemen were rather anxious that the growth of small borrowings should be closely watched, and that they should not be made a permanent annual part of our financial system. In that hope and wish he was very much in accord with the Members opposite, but he was bound to point out that the works already sanctioned by Parliament, and which had been begun, were coming to an end. They had overtaken the arrears out of which they arose, and it would not be necessary to ask Parliament to make provision for them again."

The only construction he could put on that language was that in 1904 it was the intention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer not to introduce if he were in office this year another Naval Works Bill. He had been subsequently told that the right hon. Gentleman's language did not bear that construction. He was told in the first place that the right hon. Gentleman was referring there to new works which had not been sanctioned, but that he did not pledge himself not to sanction payment in this way for works already undertaken. He did not think that the words as they stood would admit of that explanation, but, even if the words were incorrect, he still thought that the right hon. Gentleman's action with regard to Rosyth showed that he had at any rate some intention of not continuing by the Naval Works Bill payment for works already begun. When he raised this question he was told that Rosyth was merely a small affair—£200,000 out of a total Estimate of £2,500,000. But there were exactly parallel cases in regard to the Votes for coastguard stations, and for dock extension at Simon's Bay, and it did appear to him that there was a doubt in the minds of the Government at one time whether there should be another Naval Works Bill introduced this year. These two illustrations showed that there had been some doubt as to what would be the Government's policy in future. He would give the Chancellor of the Exchequer an illustration of what he meant. The right hon. Gentleman, speaking this year on the coal tax, said that he deprecated it, that there were many arguments against it, that he thought it was a tax which should be inquired into, and that, if circumstances warranted next year, it should not be continued.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he was unwilling to allow words to pass which might be quoted against him afterwards. These words did not quite correctly represent what he said. What he said was that it was a tax of an exceptional character, the effect of which should be watched, but as far as it had gone at present he saw no reason for withdrawing it. If circumstances changed he said that the position should be considered.

Mr. McKENNA said it appeared to him that the summary he gave was very similar to what the right hon. Gentleman now said. The language used by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1905 would leave him free to oppose the coal tax next year tooth and nail. In the same way the language used by the Chancellor of the Exchequer last year in regard to these borrowings left him free to oppose any other Bill introduced on the same principle. When the right hon. Gentleman uttered that language he expected an early election and that he would be confronted on the Treasury Bench with hon. and right hon. Gentlemen who were now on this side of the House. The right hon. Gentleman wished to be able to say that he made speeches in which he deprecated these borrowings, but it happened that he still found himself on the Treasury Bench, and he allowed a Naval Works Bill to be introduced with the best grace he could. He thought the Government should make up their minds regardless of a dissolution. The House was entitled to know whether the Government intended to continue this principle of borrowing, even if they were on that bench. He begged the Chancellor of the Exchequer to state, no matter when the dissolution might be, what was the financial policy of the Government.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that he had taken a perfectly consistent attitude in regard to these borrowings for capital expenditure ever since he had held office. In his Budget statement this year he said—

> "I have more than once expressed my own view to the Committee that, however necessary it was to have recourse to this method to make good the arrears of past years or to meet circumstances of an exceptional and extraordinary kind, it ought not to form part of our permanent financial system. We have, of course, still to complete the works which Parliament has already sanctioned, and to take whatever steps are necessary in order to fulfil the obligations which Parliament has already incurred; but I hope that it will not be necessary to extend the programme which has already been approved. I hold that this procedure should be reserved for exceptional occasions."

That was his considered conclusion, and ever since he had been Chancellor of the Exchequer he had striven to conduct financial policy on those lines. Even as Financial Secretary to the Treasury he placed similar opinions on record in regard to the Naval Works Bill.

These Bills had their origin in two circumstances. In the first place, with the great expansion of the *matériel* and *personnel* of the Navy which went on during the ten years previous to 1895 there had been no corresponding expansion in the Works Vote, and therefore great arrears had accumulated in the items charged to that Vote. At the same time, there had been a great change in the *matériel* and the conditions of maritime warfare. The development of torpedo warfare had wholly altered the conditions attaching to the security of certain naval anchorages. One of our great historic anchorages was the Downs. Now it would no longer be possible for a fleet to lie there, and consequently the proposal with respect to Dover Harbour was made. Simultaneously there was a great expansion in the *personnel* of the Fleet. It was not possible to provide for all those men in the hulks in the basins as had been done previously; and, if it had been possible, it would not have been good for discipline or health; and so it was necessary to embark on a considerable programme of barrack extension. It was also imperative, in the interests of decency, that a large sum should be spent in improving the naval hospitals. All these needs came at one time, and it was not possible to meet them out of current revenue without disturbing the whole financial system and placing on the taxpayers an intolerable burden. At the initiation of these works it was extremely difficult to estimate the rate of expenditure. In the first years the Admiralty, having had no previous experience of such works, greatly over-estimated the progress, and if the whole of the cost had been charged on the Votes at that time enormous sums which were not required would have been raised in those earlier years, and they would have had to be paid back into the old Sinking Fund. That would have rendered impossible one of the great securities for sound finance—namely, the principle that unexpended balances should be surrendered to the Exchequer at the end of the year. In the interests of practical convenience and of necessity it was decided that the cost of a great programme of works of permanent or long-lasting advantages should be defrayed by loan instead of being charged on the annual Votes of the year.

It had never been the intention of the Government that these works loans should be a permanent part of our financial system. When he assumed his present office he thought that the time had come to take steps to bring these Loan Works Bills to an end. The other Loan Bills were framed on principles different from those of the Naval Works Bill. The Military Works Bill included an inclusive total sum which was not to be exceeded. As the House knew, they had not come to the House for any Military Works Bill this year. The case of the Naval Works Bill was different. There, although the total estimated cost of these works was shown, it had been customary to take provision in the Bill for only two years, so that the whole subject might come before the House for revision every two years. His object in regard to the Naval Works Bill—an object in which he had been supported by the Board of Admiralty—had been, in the first place, to exclude any new items, and, in the second place, to take certain items already in the schedule which were of a continuing or elastic character and to say that, after a given time, or when a given sum had been expended, no more money should be borrowed on that account, and that, if further expenditure were necessary for the same purpose, that expenditure should appear on the Votes and be voted in the ordinary way.

The hon. Gentleman quoted a passage from *Hansard* in a speech of his on the Finance Bill of last year which, he thought, went further, and pointed to the fact that if he were responsible as Chancellor of the Exchequer in future he would not be a party to asking the House to pass another Naval Works Bill. He thought the passage in *Hansard* might reasonably give rise to that interpretation, but he was unable to reconcile that with what was his intention at the time or with his then knowledge of the possibilities of the situation. The report was not a verbatim one. It was a third-person summary, and he was confident that in the concluding sentence the report did not accurately represent his meaning or the sense of his observations.

Mr. McKENNA: I entirely accept that.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he was sure the hon. Gentleman would, and he was obliged to him. But let him say that, though the hon. Gentleman accepted that at once on his assurance, he thought it was confirmed by other evidence which he could bring. In the first place, in his Budget speech of that year, he said, in reference to a suggestion which had been made that he should meet the deficit by the suspension of the Sinking Fund—

> "I think it would be doubly bad policy at the present time, with the principal Government securities at the figure at which they now stand, and with the knowledge that, for several years to come, the Government must be borrowers in pursuit of their statutory obligations under the Naval and Military Works and Irish Land Purchase Acts and for other purposes."

It was, therefore, clearly in his contemplation at that time that they had not finished with such Acts as this and that they would have to come for further borrowing powers. And in order to make assurance doubly sure he had looked at *The Times* report of the passage the hon. Gentleman had quoted. Though that report was, he was bound to confess, also misleading, and made him appear to have used words which were capable of the same misunderstanding, it differed from the *Hansard* report in the particular passage that had been quoted, and showed, he thought, that the *Hansard* report did not actually represent what he said. The passage in *The Times* report was—

> "With the works which had been sanctioned by Parliament, and which had been begun, he hoped they should come to an end with borrowing."

That was exactly what his hope was, and that sentence, which appeared in *The Times* and did not appear in *Hansard*, showed that what he was arguing for was what he thought he was securing as far as one could secure by this Bill, namely, that there should not be inserted in the present Naval Works Bill or in future Naval Works Bills any items for new work.

What had been done in regard to this matter under the present Bill? What they had arrived at was that, as regarded the continuing service of dredging, they were to provide as much money as was necessary for the employment of the plant and the carrying out of the work in the present year, but that, as from April 1st next, any further works in dredging would be charged on the Votes; that as regarded the coastguard, where there was also a token sum, they would provide for the purchase or erection of houses which were already in progress or in regard to which negotiations had either been completed or had reached an advanced stage, but would go no further; and that, as soon as this sum of money was exhausted, if the policy of making themselves owners of coastguard stations instead of hiring houses were pursued, it should be pursued on the Navy Votes from time to time. Then there came before him the question as to how Rosyth was to be dealt with. In the Act of two years ago sufficient money was taken for preliminary expenses for works at Chatham and Rosyth. The Board of Admiralty came to the conclusion that, in consequence of the changes which his hon. friend the Civil Lord had already explained, it was unnecessary to proceed with both of these schemes, and they elected to proceed with Rosyth. There was certain preliminary work which must still be done before the contract for the larger works could be executed or any further expenditure than the £200,000 included in the present Bill incurred.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON asked if they were to understand that Parliament would not be bound to any substantive proposals, and that no contracts would be given out, in connection with Rosyth, until the proposals were submitted on the Estimates of next year.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he was informed by his hon. friend the Civil Lord that that was so, and that the contract for the large scheme he had adumbrated would not be made until after the Vote was passed by the House. Except in very exceptional circumstances, when Treasury sanction was obtained for special reasons, no new work would be begun until Vote 10 was passed by the House.

MR. BUCHANAN: It will be treated as a new work?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN replied in the affirmative. He was absolutely convinced by the reasons given to him by the Board of Admiralty that it was necessary to carry out the works at Rosyth. But he was unwilling to give the extension of time and money which would have been involved by including the works in the present Bill; and he arranged that while the preliminary work contemplated by the £200,000 should be paid for under this Act, as was always intended, the subsequent work to be done should revert as a charge on the Votes. He thought no Chancellor of the Exchequer would undertake to pledge himself two years in advance as to the exact course of procedure which he would adopt; and, if he were Chancellor of the Exchequer two years hence, the hon. Gentleman must not quote this as a pledge, though he would be entitled to quote it as evidence of his present intention, and if he departed from it, to ask him what circumstances there were that justified him in changing his view. His present intention was that two years hence there should be introduced another Naval Works Act containing no new item by way of loan, but providing the balance of the money, or as much of it as was required under this Act, as could be expended in a further period of two years. That was to say, that the programme as now arranged—which it was intended to charge to loan until it was completed—would continue to be paid for by way of loan, but any new works not connected with those now in progress should be paid for by Vote. He hoped and believed that the total estimates in the first column of the schedule were sufficient now in each case for the works opposite which the sums appeared. There might be savings on some unforeseen items that would compensate for any unforeseen excesses: but though that was the belief of the Admiralty, neither the Department nor he could undertake to say that in no circumstances would any of these estimates need revision.

Mr. AINSWORTH (Argyllshire) said he thought the statement that the Government intended to go on with their scheme at Rosyth would come as a great surprise to a good many people in Scotland. The universal feeling in Scotland was that Rosyth, like Wei-hai-wei, was acquired in a moment of rather sudden determination, and that the question ought to be put on one side for further consideration. They were pleased to hear that any further plans for Rosyth would come before the House next year and that the whole of the charges for this purpose in the future were to be placed upon the Estimates. Two years ago the officials of the Admiralty thought the preliminary expenditure upon Rosyth would amount to £200,000 and it had only cost £150,000, and he wished to know why were they bound to spend the £50,000 balance, and charge it to the National Debt, when they were going to place the cost of the complete scheme upon the Estimates.

Mr. COURTENAY WARNER said they quite accepted what the right hon. Gentleman had said, and they felt grateful to him for having explained that he did not intend exactly what was put into the reports either of *The Times* or of the *Official Debates*. They were grateful to him for having explained what his opinions and views were. What they had good cause, however, to complain of was that the Government led them to suppose that this system was coming to an end. They had been led to this conclusion not only by the Chancellor of the Exchequer's words, but by the general statements made by the Government over and over again upon this subject. The House had been repeatedly led to suppose that the Government were doing all they could to bring this system to an end. They now understood that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been doing his best almost alone in the Government to bring the system to an end, and he had managed to curtail it to a small extent, although he thought it could have been done to a greater extent. They did not complain in the least of what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that day, but they did complain that not only had the reporter been misled but the whole House had been misled upon this question by the Front Bench opposite. The whole House had been led to think that the system was coming to an end. They had now the views of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the right hon. Gentleman had given a pledge which to a certain extent was satisfactory. It did not go so far as they could have wished, but, at any rate, it was a step in the right direction.

There were, however, other items that ought to be struck out. The charge for dredging was one that would go on year after year, and ought therefore to be charged on the annual Estimates. He thought some explanation ought to be given of why, when it was known that this Bill would be introduced, the Admiralty chose to reduce their Estimates by nearly £3,000,000. The more correct course from the point of view of finance would have been for the Admiralty to include these regular charges in the ordinary Estimates, instead of which they had reduced the Estimates and claimed to have effected great economies. They had made what was really a false statement of accounts, and against such a system it was necessary to enter a protest. It was said that the Bill was brought forward because it was inconvenient to make the alteration this year. But what better time could there be for transferring the items to the annual Estimates than a year when the Admiralty had a surplus in their accounts? The representatives of the Admiralty had missed the chance of putting their accounts into proper order, and they had not given the Chancellor of the Exchequer the opportunity of doing it, because they did not tell him that they were going to borrow this money until some months after the Estimates were framed.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) thought that as an Irish Member he was entitled to speak on this measure inasmuch as Ireland would have to pay more than her fair share of the bill. Dredging was obviously a work which would be continuous from year to year, and therefore it ought not to appear in the schedule of a Bill of this kind. When these Military and Naval Works Bills were first presented to the House, he and others protested against them on the ground that they had an inevitable tendency to confuse the minds of Members as to what the actual expenditure on the Army and Navy was. After nearly eleven years that view had been accepted as orthodox, and it was some consolation to know that even the present reckless and spendthrift Government were beginning to recognise that this system of finance was intrinsically bad. It could not be denied that this House was deprived of its rightful power of supervising the Estimates if under Bills of this kind it was pledged in advance, not only to capital expenditure, but also to considerable sums which ought properly to be met out of annual income. The discussion of particular items would come better on the schedule in Committee than on Second Reading, but as to the principle it was essentially vicious, since it concealed from the House huge expenditure to which it was being committed, and simultaneously reduced its power of supervision. It was true that the Government now admitted that it was a bad system, but the matter had gone so far that he agreed there ought to be a division, and therefore he should support the hon. Member for Perthshire in the lobby.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 203; Noes, 129. (Division List No. 315.)

AYES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher-Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Baird, John George Alexander

Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A.J. (Manch'r
Balfour,RtHn.GeraldW.(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Beach, Rt.Hn.SirMichaelHicks
Benn, John Williams
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt.Hon St. John
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Brymer, William Ernest
Campbell, Rt.Hn.J.A.(Glasgow
Campbell, J.H.M.(DublinUniv.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W.(Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon.J.(Birm
Chamberlain,Rt.Hn.J.A.(Worc
Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt.Hon.SirJosephC.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt.Hon.Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hn. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt.Hon.SirWilliam Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fellowes, RtHn.AilwynEdward
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.SirJ.(Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, RtHnSirR.B.(Inv'rn'ss
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir RobertPenrose-
Fitzroy, Hon.EdwardAlgernon
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj.Evans(T'rH'mlets
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, HenryD.(Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Groves, James Grimble
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, Marq.of(L'donderry)
Hardy, Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton(Tynem'th)
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, SirJames(Staffords.NW
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Sir Augustus
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Howard, John(Kent,F'versham
Howard, J. (Midd.,Tottenham)
Hozier, Hon.James HenryCecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson. Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred
Kerr, John
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Hn.H.L.W.(Mile End)
Lee, A. H. (Hants, Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, FrederickN.S.
Liddell, Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long. Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hn. W. (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reg. J. (Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Malcolm, Ian
Marks, Harry Hananel
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Pease, Herbert P. (Darlington)
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robt. Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Ritchie, Rt.Hn.Chas. Thomson
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Samuel, Sir H. S. (Limehouse)
Sandys, Lt.-Col. Thos. Myles
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw J.
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith,RtHnJ.Parker (Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Spencer, Sir E. (W.Bromwich)
Stanley, Hn.Arthur (Ormskirk)
Stanley, Edw. Jas. (Somerset)
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Turnour, Viscount
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir W. H.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby,Lt.-Col.A.C.E (Taunton
Welby, Sir Chas. G. E. (Notts.)
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Wills, Sir Fredk. (Bristol, N.)
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd,Sir W.H.(Yorks.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C.B (Stuart-
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Black, Alexander William

Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Bowles, T. G. (King's Lynn)
Bright, Allan Heywood
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Cogan, Denis J.
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway)
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dillon, John
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Ellice, Capt E C. (S. Andrw's Bghs
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Harrington, Timothy
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Hemphill, Rt. Hn. Charles H.
Higham, John Sharp
Holland, Sir William Henry
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jones, William (Carnarvonsh.)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kennedy, V. P. (Cavan, W.)
Kilbride, Denis
Labouchere, Henry
Lamont, Norman
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mooney, John J.
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Perks, Robert William
Philipps, John Wynford
Power, Patrick Joseph
Reckitt, Harold James
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Rose, Charles Day
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight)
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Slack, John Bamford
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R (Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Tully, Jasper
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Warner.

Main Question put, and agreed to:—Bill read a second time, and committed for Monday next.

BILLS OF EXCHANGE ACT (1882) AMENDMENT BILL [LORDS].

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn.

MILITARY MANŒUVRES BILL [LORDS].

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn.

RESERVE FORCES BILL [LORDS].

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn.

MARINE INSURANCE BILL.

Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on Second Reading [30th March] read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn,

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MERCHANT SHIPPING (SCOTTISH TRAWLERS) BILL.

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn.

MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL.

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged. Bill withdrawn.

PROVISIONAL ORDER (MARRIAGES) BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order for Second Reading read.

*THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. COCHRANE, Ayrshire, N.) said the measure was intended to relieve a difficulty which constantly arose through marriages being regarded as of doubtful validity in consequence of some informality. It affected all denominations, and Members on both sides were agreed that the Bill ought to pass.

Question, "That the Bill be now read a second time," put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for Monday next.

IRISH EDUCATION (AFFLICTED CHILDREN) [EXPENSES].

Resolution reported, "That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys provided by Parliament for Public Education in Ireland, of the Expenses of Education given to Afflicted Children, in pursuance of any Act of the present session to make better provision for the Elementary Education of Afflicted Children in Ireland."

Resolution agreed to.

SHIPOWNERS' NEGLIGENCE (REMEDIES) BILL.

Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

DRUNKENNESS (IRELAND) BILL.

Order for Consideration of Lords Amendments read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Lords Amendments be now considered."—(*Mr. T. W. Russell.*)

MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.) said he prevented the Bill from passing last year, and he wished to renew his objection on the present occasion. The measure was a piece of class legislation, directed against the poorer classes of the community. It might be all very well in industrial centres, but it was absolutely unnecessary and almost an insult that it should be proposed for Ireland. Those who knew how Courts of summary jurisdiction were constituted in Ireland would immediately recognise the danger of such a Bill, and the probability that instead of being used for legitimate purposes it would be directed against political opponents.

And, it being half-past Five of the clock, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed upon Monday next.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Coal Mines (Weighing of Minerals) Bill, without Amendment.

Amendments to—Hessle Gas Bill [Lords]; Great Central Railway (Pension Fund) Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

Whereupon Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put, in pursuance of Standing Order No. 3.

Adjourned at twenty-nine minutes before Six o'clock till Monday next.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 31st July, 1905.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—London Building Acts (Amendment).

The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

London Government Scheme (London and Middlesex) Bill. Reported from the Select Committee, without Amendment, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.

London Government Scheme (Hackney and Edmonton Unions) Bill. Reported from the Select Committee, without Amendment, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.

North-East London Railway Bill; Wigan Corporation Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord de Saumarez be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Viscount Colville of Culross; read, and agreed to.

Malvern Water Bill; Rathmines and Rathgar Extension and Improvement Bill; Ealing Corporation Bill. Read 3ª, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Wemyss Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Read 3ª (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill. Read 3ª (according to order), and passed.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill. Read 3ª (according to order), with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Fraserburgh Harbour Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to Fraserburgh Harbour. Was presented by the Marquess of Linlithgow; read 1ª; to be printed; and (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, Section 7), deemed to have been read 2ª, and reported from the Committee. (No. 158.)

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CUSTOMS.

Forty-ninth Report of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs, for the year ended 31st March, 1905.

HORSE BREEDING.

Tenth Report of the Royal Commission on Horse Breeding.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES.

Annual Report of Proceedings under the Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries Acts, etc., for the year 1904.

INDIA (RAILWAYS).

Administration Report on the Railways in India, for the calendar year 1904, by the Railway Board.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION.

Report of the Commissioners, for the period from 1st April, 1904, to 31st March, 1905.

ROYAL PATRIOTIC FUND CORPORATION.

First Report of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation, for the year 1904.

CHARITABLE DONATIONS AND BEQUESTS (IRELAND).

Sixtieth Report of the Commissioners.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904.

Order made by the Corporation of the borough of Newport, Monmouthshire, and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the hours of closing for barbers' and hairdressers' shops within the borough.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

SHIPOWNERS' NEGLIGENCE (REMEDIES) BILL.

Returned from the Commons, with the Amendment agreed to.

BUSINESS OF HOUSE.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, I trust that your Lordships will not consider that the Motion which I have put on the Paper is an invasion of the privileges of the House. The proposal that Bills should have priority of other business towards the end of the session is not a new one. I admit that of recent years the proposal has more usually been made with reference to a particular Bill on a particular evening; but, as we now stand, we have to look in the face the fact that there are probably not more than eight working days left of the session, during four of which, under the Standing Orders, Bills already have priority. My Motion really, therefore, only amounts to this, that during the other four days Bills should be given a similar priority. As there are several important Bills awaiting the consideration of your Lordships, it does seem, I think, desirable that they should be dealt with at the commencement of each sitting, and that time should not be taken up, as it sometimes is, in the discussion of Motions and Questions, with the effect of giving the really important business of the evening a subordinate and secondary position. I, therefore, have to ask your Lordships to agree to the Motion standing in my name.

Moved, That Standing Order No. XXI. be considered in order to its being suspended, and that for the remainder of the session the Bills which are entered for consideration on the Minutes of the day shall have the same precedence which Bills have on Tuesdays and Thursdays.—(*The Marquess of Lansdowne.*)

EARL SPENCER: My Lords, I said something the other day rather pointing in this direction, arising out of the action of the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, who took my noble friend Lord Wemyss somewhat to task with regard to the discoursive nature of his speech. I, therefore, have no serious objection to the Motion now moved by the noble Marquess. It has been the practice elsewhere for Government measures to have precedence, but that has not applied to private Bills. Therefore I would suggest that the noble Marquess should amend his Motion so that Government Bills only should take precedence.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: We shall certainly raise no objection to that proposal as the noble Earl has made it, and I gladly amend my Motion accordingly.

Motion, as amended, agreed to; and ordered accordingly.

CHURCHES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (The Marquess OF LINLITHGOW): My Lords, I am well aware that those of your Lordships who come from Scotland have a full knowledge of the reasons which have made it necessary, and a matter of urgent necessity, for the Government to introduce a Bill of this kind without delay; and were I addressing them alone I should feel that I was guilty of an impertinence were I to attempt to explain the situation to them. But some of your Lordships who come from this side of the Tweed may not have had the same opportunities forced upon them of studying this question as we have. In their interests I ask the permission of the House to describe as briefly as possible the circumstances which have led up to events which have stirred the religious life of Scotland to its very foundations, and which have brought about a state of things there the like of which has not been known for over sixty years.

I may remind the House, in the first place, that the great majority of my fellow-countrymen have for 300 years adhered, and do still adhere, to the Presbyterian form of religion. During the last fifty years of the past century this great body of Presbyterians have been divided into three parts—firstly, the Church of Scotland, established in the land; secondly, the United Presbyterians, composed of various bodies who had seceded from the Church of Scotland during the eighteenth century and who were united in one body in the year 1847; and thirdly, the Free Church of Scotland, which had its origin in the great Disruption of 1843, when a large proportion of ministers and congregations left the parent church—the Church of Scotland—and seceded from it upon the vexed question of the patronage of the livings. May I be allowed to remark, in passing, that between these various Churches little or no difference of doctrine existed. The two great Churches outside the Establishment cannot, in the ordinary sense of the word, be called dissenting Churches. There has never, I believe I am right in saying, been a secession from the Church of Scotland upon a question of doctrine, but secessions have invariably taken place on questions of Church government or of forms of worship, the seceding Church generally taking up a conservative attitude and desiring to maintain its doctrine and form of worship unimpaired.

We have our differences in Scotland, and no doubt at times those differences are acute, but I do not think it can be laid to our door that we hate one another for the love of God. Such being the case, it will not surprise you to hear that in the Colonies no differences exist between the different forms of Presbyterianism. They are all under one Church, and it has been the dream of many of our wisest and best men in Scotland to bring about a reconciliation and a reunion between these three great bodies. I need not weary your Lordships with the reasons which have stood in the way of a successful attempt being made to bring the Established Church of Scotland into this union. I will only remind you that, after negotiations extending over a very considerable period, a union was arranged in the year 1900 between the Free Church and the United Presbyterians under the name of the United Free Church. The vast majority of the Free Church were favourable to this union, but there were, as your Lordships will remember, a small minority who refused to come in, and who raised an action to the effect that the union was unlawful, that it was *ultra vires* of the Free Church, and that effect could not be given to it. However, the larger body raised an action to prove that the smaller body were no longer members of the Free Church, and ought to be evicted from the churches and houses which were then in their possession. The Scottish Courts decided in favour of the United Free Church, but the smaller body took their case to your Lordships' House, sitting, of course, in its judicial capacity, and won it.

The judgment of your Lordships' House declared that the United Free Church had no right, title, or interest in any part of the whole of the lands, properties, and sums of money, and that the Free Church of Scotland lawfully represented the old Free Church, and were entitled to have the said lands, properties, and funds applied. In plain English, my Lords, the effect of this judgment was to hand over, subject to certain conditions, to a small body, consisting of twenty-seven ministers and 2,743 members, not only a considerable quantity of hereditable property, but also sums amounting to anything between £1,500,000 and £2,000,000 sterling. A great deal of litigation also took place in the Scottish Courts regarding congregational property, which had not been technically included in the judgment of the House of Lords. The spectacle of a great and vigorous body stripped at one blow of a great part of its worldly possessions, and those worldly possessions being declared to be the property of a body which, though no doubt vigorous, could not, in the very nature of things, make a proper use of it, came as a great shock to the religious feeling of Scotland. At this stage I fear a geat deal of ill-feeling and bitterness was imported into the dispute. I will say nothing more upon that subject because I do not think it is a phase of the proceedings upon which any Scotsman can look back either with pleasure or satisfaction.

Matters, however, were in a condition so painful and so unsatisfactory that the Government felt that the time had come when it was incumbent upon them to step in, and in December of last year a Royal Commission was, as your Lordships are aware, appointed to inquire into the whole matter. In April of this year the Commission reported, and in their Report they declared that the situation was one which demanded Parliamentary interference, and they recommended that an Executive Commission should be set up with powers to deal with the property in question and with other subjects in dispute between the two Churches. They made certain other recommendations, the principal amongst which were briefly as follows. They recommended that the whole of the funds and property of the Free Church as at October, 1900, should be vested in the authority of the Commission; that in the administration of such property the first consideration should be the observance of trusts and adequate provision for the performance of the purposes for which the money was raised; that, in cases where the Free Church appeared unable to execute the trusts, the Commission should be empowered to transfer the funds and property to the United Free Church. They recommended that, consideration having been given to the due performance of trusts, liberal provision should be made for the equipment of the Free Church for its mission as a Christian Church according to the standard which prevails in other Presbyterian Churches in Scotland. Then there were certain recommendations as regards congregational property and as regards foreign missions; and, finally, the Report recommended that the decisions of the Executive Commission should be given authority by Executive Order.

The Bill which is now before your Lordships is founded upon the recommendations in this Report. I do not, of course, pretend that all the recommendations of Lord Elgin's Commission have been rigidly adhered to, but such changes as were proposed have been introduced into the Bill after friendly discussion with both parties to the dispute, and after considerable deliberation and discussion in the other House of Parliament. I would now ask your Lordships to turn to the Bill itself. Clause 1 is the ruling clause of the Bill. By the first subsection of that clause the Commission are empowered to divide the whole of the property between the Free Church and the United Free Church as they think proper, taking into account the whole of the circumstances. The second subsection of Clause 1 deals with churches and other congregational property, and when the Commission find that the Free Church have one-third of those who were at the 30th of October, 1900, members or adherents of the Free Church and are now members and adherents of the Free Church and resident in the district, they are to give the congregational property to the Free Church; but in particular circumstances they are empowered to make special arrangements.

The Commission are required, under Sub-section 3, to make adequate provision for the Free Church for certain objects. This sub-section should be read in relation to the first schedule on page 6 of the Bill. Your Lordships will observe that in the first column of the schedule these objects are set out, while in the second column the funds are specified out of which the Commission are to draw, and, should these funds prove insufficient for these purposes, the Commission may bond hereditable property other than what is specified at the foot of column 2; in other words, they are entitled to put a bond over the Assembly Hall. In making these provisions the Commission are to have regard to congregational contributions and other income of the Free Church. The effect of this schedule, read along with this sub-section, is that trust purposes are respected.

The first sub-section of Clause 2 sets out that the orders which the Commission think necessary for carrying into effect the allocation are to have statutory force. The Commission may also make interim orders which are to have temporary effect. The second sub-section enables the Commission to raise money by way of bond, and I would ask your special attention to the next sub-section. The Free Church and the United Free Church are to receive the property allocated to them on the basis of their present constitution. Accordingly, no conditions as to their power to change this contitution are inserted; such matters must be left to the two Churches. Sub-sections 4 and 5 set forth that no legal proceedings as to the property in question are to be allowed to continue, and that no Court of law is to have power to review the decisions of the Commission. Under Clause 3 the Commission is set up and machinery provided for its working and procedure. Sub-sections 1 and 2 of Clause 4 define the property which is to be dealt with by the Commission. Broadly stated, it includes the whole property of the undivided Free Church immediately prior to the union. By Sub-section 3 of that clause legacies now in dispute are to be determined and allocated by the Commission. All lawsuits regarding them are to be stopped.

Clause 5 deals with the formula of subscription for ministers and professors in the Church of Scotland. It gives the General Assembly power to prescribe what the formula shall be, subject to the approval of the majority of the presbyteries. This latter provision is inserted in order to recognise the check imposed by the Barrier Act—an Act of the General Assembly of 1697, which proceeded upon the idea that important changes should be made by the Church as a whole and not by one representative Assembly, which may be regarded as merely an annual organ of the Church. The Act of 1690, which established the Westminster Confession as the public and avowed confession of the Church of Scotland, may be regarded as the bed-rock of our ecclesiastical constitution so far as we are concerned in the present day. This Act—the concluding one of the Revolution Settlement—insisted upon no formula, and required no subscription; but in that very year the General Assembly, and not Parliament, did prescribe a formula, for it passed an Act requiring that all persons admitted to the Church as ministers, preachers, or elders should be obliged to subscribe their approbation of the Confession of Faith. In 1693, however, Parliament, for special reasons, and at the instigation of King William, passed another Act, which set forth that—

> "No person be admitted or be continued hereafter a minister or preacher within the Church unless that he, having first taken and subscribed the Oath of Allegiance and subscribed the Assurance in manner appointed by another Act of this present session of Parliament made thereanent, do also subscribe the Confession of Faith ratified in the aforesaid 5th Act in the second session of this Parliament, declaring the same to be the confession of his faith and that he owns the doctrine therein contained to be the true doctrine which he will constantly adhere to."

My Lords, there were very strong reasons from King William's point of view why this very rigid sub-section should be insisted upon. At that time there were a large number of men who had before the Revolution acted as Episcopalian clergymen, and who were anxious to come into, and conform with, the Presbyterian Church, but that Church looked upon them with suspicion, and would have none of them. The King, nevertheless, said—

> "If these men are prepared to subscribe to this formula and to make this declaration, both of which I invite Parliament to pass, I do not see that you have any cause for further complaint against them, and you must take them in."

My Lords, we do not propose to touch the Act of 1690. All that we propose to do is to repeal certain words in the Act of 1693, an Act which was forced upon the Church against its will, and which the Church never accepted as a Bill which Parliament ought to pass. The actual words which we propose to repeal will be found in the second schedule on page 6 of the Bill. They are as follows—

> "The same to be the confession of his faith, and that he owns the doctrine therein contained to be the true doctrine which he will constantly adhere to."

We propose this change in the future in regard to ministers, and also in regard to professors appointed to the Church of Scotland Chairs of Theology in the Scottish Universities, as it would be obviously impossible to take one form of subscription for ministers, and another form for those who are charged with the duty of training young men for the ministry. One is the complement of the other.

We are not asking Parliament to do anything revolutionary. We do not propose to tamper with the creed of the Church. All we seek to do is to revert to the state of things which existed from 1690 to 1693, and to give the Church that small measure of relief which she has been asking for for many years past. I could, my Lords, if I felt justified in taking up your time, quote the opinions of many of our ablest and best men, both laymen and ministers, as to the desirability of this measure. I will only quote an extract from a letter which came under my notice a few weeks ago. The writer of it is a parish minister in the North of Scotland, a sensible, temperate, moderate man, an example of hundreds of other sensible, temperate, and moderate men whom you will find occupying parishes all over Scotland. He says—

"We do want this Clause 5 in the interests of getting back our old class of constitution and for the future of the Church. At present, owing to the results of modern research and science, our best University men do not enter the Church because they cannot sign the Confession in its present rigid form. They are quite prepared to sign the Confession as a public Confession of the Church, and to accept any symbol of the reformed doctrine. This the proposed clause enables them to do, and, besides, it only reconstitutes the old law of Scotland which held at the Revolution Settlement. The Bill, including this clause, is wanted by every fair-minded man in Scotland."

Times change, and the theology of 1905 is not the theology of 1693. We are under this Bill fully recognising the claim of the Churches outside the Establishment to complete freedom as regards their constitution, and we feel, therefore, that under the circumstances the time is not inopportune to grant this small, this reasonable, this much-desired boon to the Church of Scotland.

It has been suggested, rather unkindly, I think, that the Church of Scotland and those who favour the Church of Scotland have seized upon an opportunity offered by the dispute between the two kindred Churches to force on their request for this measure of relief for their own Church. To put this contention in somewhat concise and brutal language, it has been hinted that when honest men fall out, thieves may step in and get their due. I belong to the Church of Scotland and am a well-wisher of the Church of Scotland. Those who know me in my own part of the world will tell you that I am not a bad friend to the Churches outside the Establishment, and, therefore, I think I have a right to repudiate once and for all any suggestion that I would allow myself to be made the humble instrument of such a selfish and cruel transaction.

I feel that I have detained your Lordships already at great length, but before I conclude I should like to say a word or two upon two other matters. I am sure that all of your Lordships, upon whichever side of the House you sit, will one and all agree with me that nothing could have exceeded the ability and strength of purpose shown by my noble friend Lord Dunedin, the then Secretary for Scotland, in grappling with the very difficult and perplexing problem which presented itself to him during the closing months of last year. It was a fortunate thing for Scotland that matters were in his strong and capable hands. He has had all the hard work inseparable from preparing the ground. Fortunately for me, and fortunately, perhaps, for Scotland, I have only had to play a humbler part in assisting to put in the crop. I should like also to say a word about the Commissioners who are to be appointed under this Bill. I do not believe it would have been possible to obtain a better Commission. I may remind your Lordships that Lord Elgin, Lord Kinnear, and Sir Ralph Anstruther had already done a great service to their country by sitting on the Royal Commission which was appointed at the end of last year. The work which they had then to perform was no sinecure, and they might, with good reason, have turned round to me when it became my duty to ask them to sit upon this new Commission and have told me to go elsewhere for the Commissioners. But they did not do so. The other two gentlemen who are appointed under the Bill, Sir Thomas Carmichael and Sir Charles Logan, are well known and highly respected in Scotland, and they have accepted service on this Commission at no small inconvenience to themselves.

The Government feel themselves very fortunate in having secured the services of these five gentlemen, and the country will, I know, appreciate their patriotic and unselfish action in taking upon their shoulders what must at the very best be an arduous and troublesome task. Knowing as we do, my Lords, the characters and public records of these five gentlemen, we feel certain that their work will be admirably and expeditiously completed. We cannot, however, hope that the mere passage of this Bill, or, indeed, the mere completion of the work which Parliament has thrown upon the Commissioners, will once for all put a stop to the ill-feeling which unfortunately exists amongst some of our fellow-countrymen in Scotland; but I, for one, have faith in the good sense of Scotsmen, and I believe that when once the questions in dispute have been settled, and when the flame of the acute passions has burnt itself out, as it will undoubtedly quickly do when it is not fed by current events, matters will settle themselves down, and that all that has been best and most noble in this movement for the union of these two great Churches will be remembered, and all that is most regrettable will be forgotten. I beg to move the Second Reading of this Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Marquess of Linlithgow.*)

*LORD ROBERTSON: My Lords, this is a thorny subject, but I am certain the Government have been most fortunate in having an exponent of their measure so well qualified to bring an atmosphere of conciliation and reasonableness with him. I should like to say one word, and one word only, as to the position of the humble individual now addressing the House. I was, as your Lordships may be aware, a party to the judgment out of which this Bill has arisen, and if the question before the House involved the merits or the rightness of that decision I should take no part in the proceedings; but, my Lords, that is not the case. We are now past the stage when any question of that kind is possible. The judgment as a decision is an historical fact, and we are now dealing with the remedies that must be applied to the situation which has arisen, and accordingly, as a Peer connected with Scotland, I feel not merely that there is no delicacy in my touching the subject, but that I should fall short of my duty if, with a very competent knowledge of it, I failed to express my views.

My noble friend has given an account of the Bill which places everyone in possession of its scope, for it was fair and complete; and I may say, at the outset, that I recognise the necessity for legislation. I think it is impossible that Parliament could leave existing the situation which was brought about by that judgment. I think also that the Government are perfectly right in appointing a Commission, and an Executive Commission, to deal with the matter. But, having said that, I am sorry to say that my objection to the Bill is that the Government have not adhered to the principle which they have laid down in the preamble of the Bill, but have embarked the Commissioners upon a course which I think necessarily involves a most dangerous interference with the rights of property. I am quite aware that this is a subject very difficult to explain in its very intricate untheological aspect, but I do hope that English Peers will attend during the Committee stage of the Bill, because I cannot help thinking there are questions raised which involve the most serious consequences to property and to trusts all over the country, and also that in one part of the Bill there are very dangerous precedents laid down which are extremely easy of application to England.

What I hold to be the true principle of this Bill is this. You find here a comparatively small body in possession of very large endowments. That body from its limitations in point of number, is not in a position to administer the money in accordance with the trusts on which it holds it. The obvious remedy is to relieve it of so much of the property as is applied to trusts which it cannot administer. I am speaking in the hearing of very distinguished constitutional authorities. I appeal to any one of my noble friends on the Front Bench whether I have not accurately stated the principle applicable to such a case. You have no right, because a Church or a lay corporation is rich, to take its riches from it. You have no right, because another Church side by side with it is very much more numerous and not so rich, to take from the one and give to the other. I am not speaking of law; I am speaking of justice. All that was settled so long ago as the days of Cyrus, who refused to give the coat which belonged to the little boy to the big boy.

The noble Lord has somewhat ignored one part of the Bill, although he was extremely careful in taking us over it. He has somewhat ignored the preamble. The preamble seems to me to start with an exceedingly good doctrine, only it very soon lapses from it. Here is how it begins—

> "And whereas a Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the matter have reported that the Free Church are unable adequately to carry out all the trusts of the property—

That is exactly the position which I have described—

> "and that it is desirable to provide for the allocation thereof—

and "thereof" is the whole property—

> "provision being made for the equipment of the Free Church."

The true logical sequel is to provide for the allocation of such part of the property as the Free Church are thus unable to apply. That is not a mere verbal criticism, because, unfortunately, the first section, which is the operative part, shows that having made their bow, as it were, to this sound principle, the Government take leave of it altogether, because they say that their Commission shall allocate between the Free Church and the United Free Church—

> "The property in question as defined in this Act, in such manner as appears to the Commission fair and equitable."

Therefore, while the theory of the preamble is a sound one, that the property being that of the Free Church you are only to deal with what is superfluous and what it cannot use for the purpose of its trusts, the first section places the two bodies before the Commission as if they were competitors instead of one of them the true owner and the other not the true owner, and says to the Commissioners: Do whatever you think is equitable.

I have always in the course of my public life had an extreme suspicion o the word "equitable" in matters of this kind. In a law Court we know what we are doing when we use the word equitable, but in my experience if you tell anyone to do what is equitable it means do what you have a mind to and cannot give a good reason for; and that is what I am very much afraid will happen in the present case. It seems to me the mandate to the Commission, if the Act were properly expressed, is this—Do not think about the United Free Church at all in the meantime; concentrate your attention on the Free Church and ascertain her limitations and superfluity of property, and then turn round and proceed to deal with the superfluities. I am well aware that in using the terms "limitations" and "superfluities" I am using terms which require a little ascertainment, but I cannot help thinking that your Lordships will agree with me when I say that this small Presbyterian body ought to be dealt with a little generously by both parties upon this head. You are to consider what it can do, and not take it at a moment when it has been stripped of all its goods—it all being lawfully its own—and left for five years to struggle on with practically no property at all, and then say, "Oh, it is a terrible scandal that all this property should belong to you; we will take away all that it is thought equitable to give to the United Free Church."

I think it is necessary, not merely that fair Commissioners should be appointed, as I daresay has been the case, but that they should understand that they are not to treat these two bodies as co-owners between whom a fair division is to be made, but are only to take away from the Free Church what it cannot deal with, and cannot deal with assuming it to be recuperated and refreshed from the condition in which it was placed by its opponents. Only then will you arrive at a conclusion which is consistent with sound legislation. When I have said sound legislation, observe I am not speaking as a lawyer at all. Do not let anyone say something so trivial as that I am a lawyer, and that I take a strict view. I am here as a Member of Parliament, and I am speaking not on litigation, but on legislation. I say there are limitations which are imposed on legislation not by any strained force of law. You could, so far as Parliamentary power goes, give this property to the Archbishop of Canterbury if you liked to do so, or to any noble Lord, but I say that morally you cannot do that. Such a course would not be within the moral competence of a responsible Legislature; and in like manner I say the only extent to which this Commission is justifiable is to the extent of finding out what are those trusts which cannot be performed, and relieving the Free Church of those only.

I will give an instance or two to show with what an entirely impartial eye I view this situation. I observe from the Report of the Commission that the Free Church—the small body—has now come into a very large sum for foreign missions. I am not aware that the Free Church has any equipment for dealing with foreign missions, and accordingly I should be surprised to hear that a case could be made out for its retaining that money. I should unhesitatingly take it from it because I hold that in that case there is a trust attached that it shall apply that money to foreign missions. I do not think the Church is entitled to melt the foreign mission fund and apply it to general uses, and I arrive at that conclusion more readily because I cannot suppose that in the view of any intelligent Hindoo converted from the error of his ways the question of Establishment in Scotland can bulk very largely.

I do not forget that I am speaking on the Second Reading, and I do not wish to enter into any details, but merely to deal with principles. I have said that the Free Church are entitled to have this matter viewed in a broad and liberal way, but I am bound to say that the circumstances under which this Bill has passed through the other House are not favourable to such consideration. I am speaking now not of noble Lords opposite or of their political friends. But I cannot help knowing that we are now—I must not say on the eve of a general election, because it may recede still further, but let me say that a general election must fall within the next eighteen months. I am afraid that hon. Gentlemen in another place felt the shadow of that election upon them, and had a disposition naturally to cultivate those who have the larger number of votes. I suppose that the number of votes in the Free Church is not very large, and I think that unconsciously it is possible that the views and, still more, the speeches in another place may have been influenced by those considerations. Therefore, I do not think we have had very much criticism of this Bill on such points as I have referred to.

Another difficulty is thrown in the way. The Government have, for reasons which I must not conjecture, introduced Clause 5 into the Bill. I do not intend to discuss the fifth clause to-day, but I think it fair to say that upon constitutional grounds I am opposed to that clause. I think it endangers the stability of the Scottish Establishment and opens a new chapter in the ecclesiastical life of Scotland, and for that reason I am opposed to it. But I am not going to discuss that now. I am aware that amongst those whose opinions I share on questions regarding property and private rights that view does not generally prevail, and I am not going to make differences gratuitously at this stage of the Bill. There are some noble Lords who are extremely anxious for this fifth clause, and I regret to think that their interest in the Bill is to a large extent this—that this is possibly the only opportunity when Clause 5 could pass in a Bill of this kind with the present Government in power, and, therefore, the whole Bill should go through. No one supposes that if a Bill of this kind, caused by the present emergency, were introduced by the Party opposite it would contain Clause 5 as one of its natural parts; and accordingly, what I want to say now is this, that I deeply regret we have not applied to the question which I have been arguing the unbiassed judgment of many men whose judgments I should like to have had. I will name one for the sake of honour—Lord Balfour of Burleigh. He, I know, is immensely interested in Clause 5. I should have liked very much to have had his most just and discriminating mind applied to the question which I have been discussing. I know perfectly well that quite unconsciously he is anxious to get this Bill through, and will think me a troublesome person because I am endangering

Clause 5, not by discussing Clause 5, but the other clauses. Yet, I think, that is the more reason why noble Lords in this House should look at this matter very closely.

I said there were some parts of the Bill which formed dangerous precedents for England, and I will mention one. You are going to make your Commissioners take a sort of head poll of the adherents of the Free Church, and if they fall short of a certain standard then you are going to deprive them of the property. Now, I want to know how far that is to be applied elsewhere. Suppose we have a Welsh Disestablishment Bill, is the property of the Welsh Church to be taken away in those parishes where they fall below a certain standard, and are my noble friends on this side of the House to back up the Government in that system? The noble Lord says the Bill is one and indivisible. You see now the kind of enterprise you are embarking on. When the time comes I shall have other things to say about the application of Clause 5 to affairs in England, but I think that is rather a serious matter even as regards the rest of the Bill. I have said that the proper view of this question is to treat it briefly as dealing with the superfluities of the Free Church, and I should like to read a passage from a public declaration of the Free Church. I mention it because one is very apt to suppose that this is an excessively obstinate and unreasonable set of men, whose ideas are entirely out of date. Here is what they say on this very question—the question of the relinquishing of property which they cannot deal with—

> "We claim, as an undeniable right, possession of Free Church property to the extent the Church may require it, with a reasonable measure of opportunity to ascertain her requirements, but we have no desire nor intention to retain anything which may be beyond the limits of the Church's capacity to use and administer when fairly ascertained. Provided the scope of the judgment in congregational property was first admitted, as has been done in regard to the general property, and, further, provided possession was given to the extent indicated, we should not only loyally submit to, but gladly welcome, the lawful authority which should undertake to administer the remainder. That authority, it seems to us, is to be found only in the Sovereign power of the realm."

Lord Robertson.

Therefore, let no man say that these people are claiming everything. They are not claiming everything, but only what is within the scope of their duty and power to administer. All the rest they place at the free disposal of Parliament. What shall Parliament do with it? I hold that Parliament is absolutely free to dispose of it to that body which is most able to administer it as nearly as may be in accordance with the old trusts. In selecting which ecclesiastical body in Scotland meets that description, I hold that the Legislature has an absolutely free hand. I think, for my part, it being to a certain extent property in peculiar parts of the country, that the Legislature might very well have said that the Established Church of Scotland and not the United Free Church was the better fitted for that duty. I mention that merely by way of illustration; and it would certainly be contrary to the duty of the Legislature to give it to the United Free Church merely because it had claimed it in litigation and had lost it. We have to deal with the state of Scotland as a whole, and, on the whole, I make no doubt whatever that the United Free Church, which in numbers, in character, in ability, and in zeal is so strong, is the proper recipient of this State endowment, but State endowment it is. It is conferred upon them by the Legislature for the purpose of fulfilling trusts which have lapsed in the hands of their proper holders, for that purpose and on that occasion only.

I do not intend to touch at any length on one incident in the progress of these events. I have indicated that the difference between those two bodies is to a certain extent extremely imperceptible and evanescent; but, on the other hand, it touched a point upon which the conscience of religious people in Scotland has always been extremely sensitive. Although I do not in the least degree share in the opinion, I highly honour people who stand to principles, and I think that is the case of the Free Church. But, my Lords, in the course of the proceedings leading up to this Bill, the other body has taken a step which I think the House ought to know. It has made as part of its constitution a declaration that it is absolute master of its own creeds, that it can alter them to any extent and to all extent to-day, to-morrow, and to the end of the chapter; and it holds out its hand to receive the money which the State is now dealing with on the footing that its creed, so far as legal obligations go, is absolutely fluid, and that it is not bound to any doctrine whatever, even in Christian, let alone Free Church, theology, longer than it pleases. If anyone thinks that a strong statement, I will just read the words. They are as clear as noonday. It declares that—

> "This Church has the sole and exclusive right and power from time to time, as duty may require, through her Courts to alter, change, add to, or modify her constitution and laws, subordinate standards, and formulas, and to determine and declare what these are, and to unite with other Christian Churches."

I am sure everyone in the House knows that an appeal to the Bible is an appeal which is made by everybody, and accordingly so far as any restraining power is concerned that may be regarded as nugatory. Further, the General Assembly declares that—

> "A decision of the Court given either unanimously, or by a majority of its members present and voting, is the decision of the Court, and the decision of the General Assembly so reached is final."

I part from this branch of the subject, having pointed out that it is perfectly idle to represent the Church which, I agree, must receive this large sum of money as a Church holding, in the sense of being bound to the standards of the old Free Church. That is not historically the fact.

I would like to say one word in conclusion. The bulk of what I have said, although not the whole, has its drift in favour of the Free Church. Let me say that I have personally no relation or sympathy whatever with either one body or the other. Trojan and Tyrian are alike to me, and I am afraid I stand equally in the black books of both, because I am a Prelatist, and therefore a malignant and a heretic. Accordingly I have no favour to make or conciliation to procure with either body. I am afraid they take a very gloomy view of my future; but, at the same time, when a man has no character to lose he perhaps more boldly faces the consequence. That is my happy position. The other word I want to say is this. I am not without sensibility to the ecclesiastical traditions of my own country, but on an occasion of this kind I do not think it fitting, at least for a layman, to run about holding candles at every shrine all at the same time. I think that on the Second Reading, and particularly in Committee, we had very much better cultivate such mundane virtues as justice and fair play without aspiring in the meantime to any of the other Christian graces; and perhaps at the Third Reading all these things may be added to us.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN: My Lords, I think the House will appreciate the impartial tone in which the noble and learned Lord has addressed himself to this question. The noble and learned Lord quoted a declaration by the legal Free Church in which they say—and a most praiseworthy sentiment it is—that they have no desire or intention to retain anything which may be beyond the limits of the Church's capacity to use and administer when fairly ascertained. Well, my Lords, I understand that one of the chief objects of this Bill is to provide an authority which will ascertain the fair administration of the property. The noble and learned Lord went on to say that he agreed with the further statement of this body, that the authority was to be found only in the Sovereign power of the Realm. After all, the Sovereign power of the Realm is invoked in the proposal to pass this Bill, and a statutory Commission is appointed under no other authority than that of the Sovereign power of the Realm.

If I may refer to the extremely interesting opening statement of the noble Marquess, I venture to think he might have made the review of the past events which have rendered this measure necessary even more fully than he did. In one point the noble Marquess did not, so far as my information goes, give the version which will be received with agreement throughout Scotland as to some of the steps which occurred before the decision of your Lordships' House was given. I mean when he said that after the union of the two Churches in 1900, the United Free Church—that is the majority Church—took action to expel the minority—the old Free Church—from certain churches and buildings. My impression is that the procedure was rather the other way, and that the minority Church took the initiative on that occasion. Then the United Free Church, in order to defend their position, took action in the case of four churches, I think it was, and gave private intimation to the other side that the procedure was in the nature of a test case. No agreement was arrived at, and the minority Church took proceedings against the United Free Church claiming practically the whole of the property in question. The decision of the Scottish Courts was given against them, and they then appealed and, as your Lordships know, the decision of this House was in favour of the minority Church.

I hope no one will suggest that approval of this Bill is in any way inconsistent with due respect for, and deference to, the decision of the noble and learned Lords who formed the Court which dealt with this case. I should have thought that no one in this House would welcome this measure more than the noble and learned Lords who were called upon to take part in that judgment. It is no new thing that the literal application of the law may not really attain the end of justice in the ordinary sense of the word. We were taught at college that the origin of the great department of law, which the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack represents, was simply that it was found in early days that the strict application of the law might work hardship, and in order to bring about an alleviation of that state of things an officer was appointed to cancel decrees and decisions which seemed to be inconsistent with equity and justice. The recognition of that principle may be found in rather a notable decision given by a Judge on a certain occasion when he addressed the accused person thus—

> ' You say that you broke the law inadvertently and in ignorance. Very well, the law says that to keep within the law you ought to have done so and so. Among other things, to put yourself right you ought to have taken proceedings which might have cost you £500, though apparently you do not possess five hundred pence. In the circumstances the sentence of the Court is that you are to be imprisoned for one day, and as you have been detained the whole of this day you are now discharged."

I admit that that particular case was one of bigamy, but I do not think that makes my illustration less appropriate. This Bill has been found necessary because there was a union between two Churches. That union was declared to be irregular, and consequently pains and penalties ensued.

I have spoken as to the necessity of the Bill. In this country we have sometimes heard this matter spoken of as if it were a quarrel or dispute between two bodies, a sort of ecclesiastical tug-of-war; and such expressions as these might be heard, "A plague on both your Churches." But those who know the facts know what a very different aspect the matter really holds. It must be remembered that those who form what we used to call the Free Church of Scotland obtained at a very great price their freedom to manage their own affairs as they thought right. That was in 1842, and they did secure, as they thought, the right to carry out a union with any other body; and the decision which was given in this House was to most people in Scotland a most astounding decision as regards its effects. I do not want to lay too much stress on the disproportion in the membership of the two Churches, though that must not be lost sight of. It might almost be described in the words of a former Prime Minister, who on one occasion during the recess had as a guest at his place in Scotland a distinguished Austrian statesman. When driving through the park the guest remarked to his host, "I see you keep sheep." "Yes," said the host, with modest complacency, "I keep a thousand." "Ah," said the Austrian, "I keep a thousand shepherds." Really, as to numerical proportion, you may almost say that the number of the ministers of the United Free Church constituted a very considerable proportion of the number of the membership of the legal Free Church after 1900.

I am the last person to speak disrespectfully of minorities. Those who sit on this side of the House are not likely to minimise the rights and privileges which attach to a minority, but there is a certain amount of anomaly when we speak of the apportioning of property between such disproportionate bodies in numbers. The judgment of this House laid stress on the importance of recognising the intentions and the wishes of the donors of the property which was being dealt with. Well, my Lords, that sounds as if it referred only to donors who are past and gone, but some of the donors are still alive. I see one in this House who is one of the strongest supporters of the union. I think you would find a great many more donors who are in favour of the union than of the other way of thinking. It is stated in the clause dealing with the proportion which the Commission are directed to keep in view in dealing with the property that if one-third of the congregation can be shown to belong to the legal Free Church they may claim the church building in dispute. Perhaps I may be excused for alluding to the fact that one of the noble and learned Lords who were called upon to give judgment in the recent decision has since suggested that he thought the basis of a mere majority would have been quite sufficient to meet the requirements of the case—I mean that instead of two-thirds of the membership being necessary, a majority should have been sufficient. But that is in some sense a point of detail.

I think it may be maintained that this Bill really does provide what is sufficient and nothing more than sufficient for the purpose in view. I cannot help thinking of a phrase which the noble and learned Lord used in his speech last week when he spoke in a different connection—"the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." Leaving out of the question Clause 5, I would say that the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill, will meet the case before us in order to secure that equity which the Bill speaks of. I do not think I need say anything about Clause 5. I am afraid that the Parliamentary student of the future will be puzzled when he finds the apparition of Clause 5 rearing its head in a Bill which deals with a very different class of matters altogether. The noble Marquess disclaimed with some warmth—and we all know that that is so—that he is incapable of being a party to anything dishonourable. I entirely agree, and I support the insertion of Clause 5 in this Bill. Those who represent in Scotland the United Free Church have shown on the whole considerable self-abnegation and calmness in very trying circumstances. There can be no doubt that this question might have been made a Party political question at a certain period, namely, before the Commission was appointed; but I think it was a wise decision on the part of the leaders of that Church to discourage any such intention. I rejoice to see the Bill before the House, and though my noble and learned friend has rather intimated that it is his intention to move Amendments, my hope is that there may be no material Amendments, so that the Bill may go back to the other House without substantial alteration and have a prospect of being passed into law without delay.

*Lord BALFOUR of BURLEIGH: My Lords, I do not think that I can refuse altogether to take part in this amicable and friendly discussion upon so important a Bill as that now before the House, but I am sure your Lordships will be relieved to hear that as there does not seem to be the slightest chance of any opposition to the Second Reading stage of the measure, it will not be necessary for me to say very much on this occasion. I really could not allow this discussion to close without adding my humble tribute of congratulation to my noble friend the Secretary for Scotland for the manner in which he dealt with the introduction of this Bill. I venture to say that a more calm and temperate and equitable statement was never made with regard to any Bill before the House. But it is such a one as we should have expected from him who has lived amongst us in Scotland from his earliest years, who has held the post of Commissioner to the General Assembly, and who throughout his life has shown his interest in all the branches of the Presbyterian Church.

Although, as has been said, we have our controversies, and sometimes rather bitter controversies, amongst Presbyterians in Scotland, I think there is an over-ruling feeling amongst all of us that the interests of Presbyterianism and of the Church of Christ in Scotland are superior to the special interests of any one particular branch of it; but I venture to say, if ever that feeling seemed by our controversies to have been overclouded during the last few years, and more particularly during the last eight or ten months, at any rate in the case of some of us that feeling has come to the front and has done something to still some at any rate of those bitter controversies. The noble and learned Lord who spoke from the bench behind me was most generous in his acknowledgment of the necessity of the Bill and the necessity of having an Executive Commission, and did not, therefore, contest anything that I should call a Second Reading principle of the Bill, although I understood him to say that in some of its clauses it contained a dangerous interference with rights of property, with trusts, and with some principles which might be extended to the South of the Tweed; and I understood him to say that the right principle to have gone upon would have been to take nothing from the Free Church which it was not absolutely proved up to the hilt that that body could not administer.

*LORD ROBERTSON: I never said anything of the kind. What I said was that I thought that the proper scope of the inquiry for the Commission was what parts of the property the Free Church on a reasonable view of the whole circumstances might be found to be unable to administer.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: I absolutely accept that definition, and I should say that the noble and learned Lord had stated in the most accurate terms what is the intention and purport of the Bill. The Commission is to find out what there is a reasonable chance of the Free Church being able to administer, and only to deal with that which it is not able to administer. The noble and learned Lord, in the earlier part of his speech, quoted a passage from the preamble of the Bill, and contrasted it unfavourably with the words in the first clause. The words in the first clause which he quoted were that the Commission established under this Act are to allocate—

> "The property in question, as defined by this Act, in such a manner as appears to the Commission fair and equitable."

The noble and learned Lord stopped there. But the clause goes on—

> "Having regard to all the circumstances of the case, but subject to the provisions of this Act."

The judgment is obviously one of the circumstances of the case. It could not be anything else. I am quite sure that none of your Lordships would support this Bill for a moment if that were not perfectly clear on the face of it. It is not the case to say that the Commissioners are turned loose upon the property. You do not distribute it under the nebulous conditions of being fair and equitable without any directions, because in the subsequent clauses of the Bill there are, as I think, reasonable, but certainly fairly elaborate, provisions as to the conditions to which the Commissioners are to have regard. All I can say, in addition, upon that point is that when we see the Amendments we shall be able to judge of the points in which the Bill, I will not say offends, but in which the Bill is not pleasing to the noble and learned Lord, and discussions upon such points as those can be deferred until the Committee stage.

What I am anxious to emphasise is this, that those who consider this Bill should come to it carefully remembering the facts of the judgment. The judgment said that the United Free Church had no right or title in the property; it said that the Free Church had a right and title to it according to the terms of the trusts, and those trusts contained different and varying conditions; and I contend that it would be just as great a diversion of trusts, just as great an invasion of the rights of beneficiaries in trusts or in private property, to divert from the purpose designed by the testator or the donor of the special trust as it would be to divert the property from one Church to another. The noble and learned Lord was quite candid about this. He evidently felt that in the case of foreign missions that contention was absolutely correct, and he said so with great fairness. But that does not exhaust the whole of the different trusts. There are funds devoted to the support of aged and infirm ministers, to colonial schemes, to Continental churches, and to purposes for the conversion of the Jews and others; and I think I may say it is a matter of public notoriety that at any rate of the great majority of these cases those who have been adjudged to be the real trustees are not able to administer the funds. That is the point upon which the Commission will have to decide, and the whole scope of the Bill is that on such matters, subject to the conditions laid down in the Bill, we should trust the Commissioners and leave them to decide the matters upon the evidence brought before them.

The noble and learned Lord seemed to think that principles equivalent to these might have effect in, I think he specified, the Established Church in Wales. I do not see how that parallel holds good. These Churches which are concerned in this property are in no sense Established Churches. The Church in Wales could not be the subject of a judgment such as this, and, therefore, I do not see that the parallel indicated by the noble and learned Lord is really germane to the point at issue. At one period of his speech the noble and learned Lord seemed to indicate that either the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Established Church of Scotland might, on principles analogous to these, come in for some part of this property.

*LORD ROBERTSON: I did not say that. I said the competence of Parliament was so absolute that it was within their legislative powers to give it to the head of the Church of England; but in another part of my speech I discussed the question whether the Established Church of Scotland might not be a possible depositary for some of these funds.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: It is obvious on the face of it that that would be a diversion of trusts and an interference with the principles on which the property is held far in excess of anything suggested by this Bill; but I am most anxious not to widen the range of controversy, and perhaps, as it was only used as an illustration, it would have been wiser if I had made no allusion to that part of the noble and learned Lord's speech. In one part of his speech, however, he made a direct appeal to me as to whether I, except for the appearance of Clause 5, would not have perhaps scrutinised the provisions of the Bill rather more closely. I do not think that was, under all the circumstances, an altogether fair insinuation. I do not think that this is an ideal method of doing what is necessary after the judgment. Some of us last year would have preferred if the matters could have been arranged by private negotiation between the two parties chiefly interested. Among others, I did my humble best to bring this about. I failed, and I believe I failed mainly because the spirit of controversy ran high, and because some of those who were concerned thought it was contrary to their consciences to allow the diversion of anything which had been adjudged to them. When people in a case of this kind bring in an argument from what they conscientiously believe it is not possible to go further, and I frankly admit that the effort which I and others made failed, but I would rather have made that effort and failed than that it should not have been made at all. From that moment, I think I am within what is known to a great many more than those who are in this House when I say that I recognised the necessity for the intervention of the Government, and according to my own humble ability I have done my best to bring about a reasonable settlement such as is embodied in the Bill.

I am in favour of Clause 5, and if it is attacked in Committee I venture to say that I shall be able to give good reasons for its retention. I am not going into that now, because it has not been attacked. I do not say that I, like the noble Earl opposite, would not have preferred to see Clause 5 in a separate Bill. But we know the circumstances and conditions under which legislation is transacted in another place, and I cannot say that I think the discretion of the Government to insert this clause in the Bill, to which in some aspects it is certainly much more relevant than many people seem to think, was not a wise discretion. There has been no contest or hardly any contest in Scotland about this clause upon its merits.

It has been suggested that this Bill has been passed in the form in which it stands because a general election is impending, and the votes on one side are supposed to be more worth having than the votes on the other. I do not think that in itself is an altogether worthy insinuation. I believe that the heart of Scotland has been very deeply stirred in this matter, and that in the main this Bill reflects the sound and matured judgment of the people of Scotland as being likely to bring about as fair a settlement as is possible under the circumstances. But if it is contended that Clause 5 would not have passed had it been by itself and judged purely on its merits, surely I am entitled, bearing in mind that a general election is impending, to refer to the vote of the Scotch Members in the House of Commons when Clause 5 was proposed by itself. On July 12th, when in Committee the Question was put from the Chair, "That Clause 5 stand part of the Bill," fifty-four Scotch Members voted for it, and only one against it. Surely, under the political circumstances in which we live, that is as near an approach to unanimity on the part of the representatives at any rate of the people of Scotland as to the merits of Clause 5 as we can reasonably expect. And if a general election is impending, and if the votes of those who are interested in various parts of the Bill are supposed to be reflected by the votes of their Members in Parliament, surely it is a pretty good indication of what is the feeling of the people of Scotland on the merits of this clause that on one occasion the Question of whether this clause should pass or not was carried by fifty-four to one, and on another occasion by forty-two to eight. I venture to say that under all the circumstances that is an ample justification for the introduction of this clause, and is a full answer to those who think that it should not have appeared in the Bill.

I think that most of the other matters which have been referred to are matters which can be much better dealt with when we come to the Committee stage. There is much in this Bill which is of great interest to the people of Scotland, much which has been the subject of great discussion, but I think that on the whole we may fairly pass this Bill with the feeling that it meets with approval in Scotland, and that the Government have done what is right. They and their Commission have had a long and laborious task, and I for one shall be very glad to see the consummation of a hope of a greater amount of peace brought about by the passage of this Bill. I believe with all my heart that that will be a permanent result of the measure, and that it will work for the good of religion and for the peace of the Presbyterian Church.

LORD OVERTOUN: My Lords, the noble Lord, who with so much ability, moved the Second Reading of this Bill, said that noble Lords South of the Tweed might probably have some difficulty in understanding all the divisions of our Scottish Presbyterianism. I suspect that that is true. I would like to add that when one of the largest Churches in Scotland set about trying to heal those divisions the result was that it was despoiled of all its property. I need not go into the question which has been so ably set forth by the noble Lord the Secretary for Scotland, except to remind your Lordships that in 1843 at the time of the Disruption the majority of the Church of Scotland believed that the State was encroaching on their spiritual independence and they voluntarily gave up all the benefits of Establishment—they gave up their manses, their stipends, and their churches—and left the Establishment in order that for conscience sake they might be free.

I shall say nothing about the notable judgment of August 1st last, beyond that the Free Church, having voluntarily left the Establishment and all its emoluments and severed their connection with the State, were certainly amazed to learn that in spite of all they had said and suffered, Establishment was decided to be a vital doctrine of the Free Church, and that by treating it as an open question—which to my knowledge for the last forty years has been done in the Free Church—they had violated their trusts and forfeited their property which was valued at many millions. The Free Church believed, and still believe, that they possess the right of self-government in doctrine and creed. The noble and learned Lord opposite said that the United Free Church claimed to be the master of its own creed. And so we do, and we think it much more reasonable and right, and scriptural too, that a Church should be master of its own creed rather than Parliament, which is composed of many heterogeneous elements. In the Auchterarder case which was decided in the House of Lords, Lord Campbell—one of the Judges—said that clergymen of the Church of Scotland were servants of the State and that they must do what the State bade them, and he added, "It is only a Church self-founded and self-sustained that has a right to self-government." That is a right which we believe we possess. At any rate, the judgment of August 1st came as a thunderbolt and was felt far beyond these Islands. It convulsed Scotland to its centre, and the country was amazed that the Church of at least one-third of the people of Scotland should be dispossessed of property provided by themselves and that it should be handed over to a small fraction of about one-fiftieth of its members who contributed practically nothing to that property, and who admittedly could not administer it. The first instinct of the Scottish people who were thus mulcted was to resist such a decision which appeared to them unjust. But, animated as the Scottish people are by a strong law-abiding spirit, they obeyed the law, though they felt none the less keenly the injustice and the hardship which it involved. The Free Church congregations who entered the Union in 1900 numbered 1,132, while those who refused to enter the Union numbered twenty-seven, and those twenty-seven, though they were assured of generous treatment if they did not see their way to enter the Union, began law proceedings immediately after the Union for the purpose of having it declared that they were the Free Church and that all its property belonged to them.

Besides the question of Establishment, one of the grounds of the charge against the United Free Church was that it had departed from the Confession of Faith by adopting, in 1902, a Declaratory Act as to the free offer of the Gospel. A small secession from the Free Church took place in 1902, and I am afraid that then, as also in this later case, which I suppose I should not call a secession, a great number of people were utterly ignorant of the principles involved. Perhaps I may give your Lordships one illustration of that. In 1902 when the secession took place in regard to the Declaratory Act one of the office-bearers of those who left the Free Church and formed the Presbyterian Church of Scotland called upon me, and I said to him—

> "I am very sorry to hear that you have left the Free Church. Why have you left?" "Well," he said, "I could not stand the Declaratory Act." "Now, my friend," said I, "might I ask you a question? Have you ever read the Declaratory Act?" "No," he replied, "I never did." I asked, "Are you aware of the contents of the Declaratory Act?" "No," he answered, "I am not aware of what is in it at all." "Well," I said, "I honestly think you had better hear it read."

So I told him what was in the Declaratory Act, and he expressed his intense amazement, because he had believed that the Declaratory Act had for its main issue that we were descended from monkeys, and that various tenets of scripture were set aside by arguments such as that. But the body that left the Free Church in 1902 made no claim whatever to property, nor did the twenty-seven ministers who refused to enter the Union suggest that any such proposal should be made. When the judgment of August 1st was given, some imagined that the United Free Church would at once proceed to dissolve the Union for the sake of keeping their property. But those who held that view little knew Scottish character, for now, as in Covenanting days, spiritual independence and sacred rights were involved, and no such course was for a moment thought of.

Happily, by strenuous efforts, as the noble Lord opposite has mentioned, this question has been kept out of Party politics, and the Scottish Members of Parliament, and the people of Scotland, with few exceptions, have insisted that whatever might be said as to the legality of the judgment of August 1st, a cruel injustice had resulted and that it must be remedied by Parliament. It was hoped that a Suspensory Act would be passed to preserve the *status quo* until Parliament should move and decide as to what should be done. But the Government did not see their way to such a course, and the minority at once seized by force twenty-eight churches and then applied to the Court for execution; they evicted nearly 100 flourishing congregations from the churches, and gave notice to 115 clergymen to leave their manses; they evicted Principal Rainy, and the professors and students from the Edinburgh College, and they took possession of our great Assembly Hall. Some noble Lords may perhaps say that, after all, this small body were only retaliating for the harsh treatment they had received. I would like once and for all to put an end to such a belief. At the opening of this Parliament in February last, the noble Lord who in this House seconded the Address, said that it was well known that the minority had been harshly treated. May I assure your Lordships that that was not the case. There was not one minister evicted from his manse; there was not one congregation evicted from their church; and I challenge anyone to prove a single case of harsh treatment in the case of the smaller body. On the contrary, they were personally and officially assured before the Union that they would receive the most generous treatment if they thought it right to remain outside the Union.

At length the Government appointed a Royal Commission to investigate the situation, and after much labour that Royal Commission gave in a Report which everyone viewed as admirable. The United Free Church had vainly tried by negotiation to bring about an amicable settlement by arbitration. The Government succeeded no better, for they appointed Sir John Cheyne to arbitrate, but the small body, the Free Church, refused to fall in with his suggestions, for the Free Church demanded their last pound of flesh and would entertain no proposals whatever. The evictions proceeded, and I can speak with feeling, because I happen to be an officer-bearer in one of the largest congregations who have been evicted from their church. We number nearly 1,000 members, while of the body who have evicted us not more than twenty ever belonged to the congregation. On June 7th the Government introduced their Bill, which, however, did not entirely follow the recommendations of the Royal Commission and it contained provisions to which the Scottish people could not assent. I would like to say that we do not quarrel with the very unusual provision that was suggested by the Royal Commission and is embodied in this Bill, that if a body of trustees were unable to fulfil their trust they should be asked to fulfil such part of it as they are able to do, and that the remainder should be handed over to another body to fulfil. We do not quarrel with that exceptional treatment, because the circumstances are so entirely exceptional that I do not believe in the story of Christendom a parallel case could be found.

I shall not refer to Clause 5 further than to say that while the United Free Church could not think of refusing to her sister Church, the Church of Scotland, the liberty which they themselves claim to have, we do think that it deals with an important question which has little or no relation to the Bill and which ought to have been separately dealt with.

With regard to congregational property, we were under the belief that it should have been dealt with in accordance with the one trust deed of the United Free Church, which provided both for union and for change of name, and which under its model trust deed provided as follows—and I hope noble Lords will notice this—

> "Whatever the Courts of law may determine as to which of the contending parties is to be held to be the Free Church, it shall be competent for each congregation, by a majority of its members in full communion, to decide that question for itself, so far as the possession and use of their place of worship and other property are concerned, with or without compensation to the minority, and such compensation to be settled by arbitration."

The noble Lord, Lord Davey, one of the Judges in the case, was distinctly of opinion, and said so, that the property thus provided for should be arranged in accordance with that deed. His Majesty's Government are fully aware of this, but they think that in view of the minority being successful litigants they ought to recognise the situation by fixing the proportion at two-thirds in place of a majority. Might I draw the attention of the noble Lord the Secretary for Scotland to one word that he used in moving the Second Reading. In speaking of the allotment of property and of the provision in the Bill to allot to the Churches according to their respective constitutions, he put in the word "present" constitutions. Now, while that is all right, and we are glad that the Government in the Bill has recognised our constitution as made since the Union, the noble Lord will notice that we do not intend that we should be tied down to our present constitution, because we hold that we possess the liberty to vary and alter that constitution as within Scriptural authority the United Free Church from time to time may consider it right to do.

In sitting down, let me say that on the whole we feel that the Government have met the wishes of Scotland reasonably in this matter, and while we cannot help feeling that it is a little hard that our trust deed, the only one we have, should be departed from in dealing with property, we are willing to suffer this loss for the sake of a settlement, and while in addition to this important point there are some minor matters which we should be glad to have seen altered, we are glad that the Bill has unanimously passed the House of Commons. We hope that it will now meet with your Lordships' approval, so that the Commissioners appointed by His Majesty may be enabled to enter on their labours, and that in the wisdom of the Commissioners and their noble Chairman, all of whom have the full confidence of the country, the distracted condition of Scotland may soon be brought to an end, that the controversies and litigation which unhappily have done so much to injure the highest interests of the country may cease, and that the Churches may be thus enabled to pursue in peace their great and divine work.

*THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: I will not detain your Lordships many moments, but I should not like this Second Reading debate to close without my having said a single word upon a matter which must be profoundly interesting to all those who are specially concerned in the religious welfare of Scotland and of England too, even though they may stand quite outside and have little or nothing to do with the actual litigants in the recent controversy. Exactly a year has passed since the decision was given upon which our attention has been concentrated to-night, and your Lordships know how many were the offers and how many were the endeavours that were made a year ago by those who had very closely at heart the great interests which are at stake, in order, if it were possible in any voluntary way, to compose so wide and important a difference. When I came down to the House to-night I anticipated that we should hear some objections at least raised to this Bill upon questions of fundamental principle. We have heard one speech from a noble and learned Lord—a speech as lucid in its argument as his arguments always are, and as pointed in its phraseology as his phraseology always is, but it did seem to me—it may have been due to my inadequate appreciation of some of the points of his argument—that he was dealing not with the fundamental principle which underlies this Bill, and with which alone we are concerned on Second Reading, but with the question of whether or not the words set forth in the preamble as the principle upon which the Bill should go had been adequately given effect to in the subsequent provisions of the measure. If I understood the noble and learned Lord rightly, his argument amounted to this: that when the property claimed by the larger body had been decided to be in fact the property of the smaller body, the money then allotted to the smaller body could be legitimately administered by them only in so far as they were capable of effectively using those trusts, and that any balance which lay beyond was at the disposal of Parliament absolutely without any direct or prerogative right on the part of the disinherited body to claim the money thus set at liberty. If that be so, is it not—I shrink from saying it—purely a legal rather than a general argument, for this reason? If I understand the story of these monies aright, their origin and source all date back to donors who belonged to one or other of these two bodies, the United Free Church and the Free Church. If that be the case, common sense would seem to say that it was between those two bodies alone that the money could be legitimately and fairly allocated, inasmuch as it was not derived from sources which lay outside the two taken together. If I might venture with some trepidation to say so to one who argues with the weight and authority of the noble and learned Lord, that appears to me to cut away somewhat the ground from the argument on which he laid stress to-night.

On the practical issue now before us, I do not understand that the noble and learned Lord or any other Member of your Lordships' House thinks for a moment that the money ought to go elsewhere than to one or other of the two bodies who are at present concerned in the controversy, and, that being so, it is, as it seems to me, a question for the Committee stage of the Bill rather than for Second Reading whether or not the allocation, such as it is, which the Bill proposes, has been fairly arranged for in its provisions. When the time comes we shall all be prepared to give attention to the matter in its details, and I, for one, shall look with the most respectful care at any suggestions or Amendments that may emanate from so high a source as the pen and brain of the noble and learned Lord.

But, my Lords, I should intensely regret if anything were to happen which should imperil a measure which does seem to have commended itself to the common sense of the country, both north of the Tweed and south of the Tweed, as being likely, with whatever modifications of detail may be necessary, to bring about peace where peace is so sorely desired, and, as I venture to hope, to bring about peace on lines which may lead to a yet larger reconciliation and to a wider area of union or at least of unity than we should have dared to anticipate a year or two ago. Therefore, my Lords, I hope a Second Reading will certainly be given to this measure.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: I intervene to say only a word or two on the Second Reading of this Bill, not because the subject is one that is not full of interest, because it is full of interest to all Scotsmen and to me personally, and not because there is not plenty of subject of debate, because undoubtedly you can hardly conceive a subject which could more naturally give rise to debate, because your Lordships have heard from various noble Lords different accounts, but all agreeing in the main, of what has taken place during the last eighteen months. The events of those eighteen months, so far as the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland are concerned, have been full of incident and full of danger, and it seems to me that the first duty that is laid upon Parliament is to meet the danger which has arisen amongst our Scottish Churches. I will not for a moment attempt to go into the causes which led to this condition of danger and risk. I think that the great majority both of Englishmen and Scotchmen will agree that the time has come when this condition of things must be abated. I do not say that the proposals in this Bill are absolutely ideal, or that they please me or would perhaps exactly please anybody who takes an interest in the subject. But they do seem to me to give good grounds for a settlement that will, on the whole, satisfy the people of Scotland and meet the difficulties which have arisen. I believe, therefore, that the less debate and the less controversy we have, and the less we attempt to amend the Bill in this House the better. I would remind your Lordships that this Bill is, after all, to a large extent an agreed Bill. It is a Bill of which the proposals have been carefully discussed by the Government on the one side, and by the representatives of the Churches on the other, and an agreement has been come to on the terms of the Bill itself, even though there had to be a certain amount of give and take on either side. It was a rather remarkable thing, I think, to observe the last Notice Paper of the House of Commons on, I think, the Report stage of this Bill, when throughout that Notice Paper Amendments were down in duplicate in the names of the Lord-Advocate for Scotland and of my hon. friend Mr. Thomas Shaw, the Member for the Border Burghs. Amendment after Amendment appeared on the Paper in exactly the same terms, and those Amendments were accepted by the House of Commons as a whole, and the Bill passed by consent of the House. I hope that English Peers will not be led astray by the arguments of one Scottish Peer, however eminent a lawyer he may be, but that they will grant us again, as they have before granted us, some share in the management of our own affairs and in dealing with questions which pertain especially to Scotland.

THE EARL OF LEVEN AND MELVILLE: I hope I may be allowed to express my most earnest hope that this Bill may pass unanimously through your Lordships' House. My wish is founded not entirely on the grounds which have been put forward this evening, but largely because of the effect it will have on the religious life of Scotland. It is impossible not to sympathise with all the Churches in question in view of the magnificent work which they have done. I make no distinction between them. The United Free Kirk, which has sprung to arms during the troubles of the last year or two in a way which does it the highest credit; the Free Kirk, small though it may be, which sacrificed all it had for the sake of principle, and the Established Church, to which I myself belong, which through the centuries has done a work which has formed, I think I may say, the best part of the Scottish character—all these three deserve, I think, the deepest sympathy of everyone in the difficulties in which they have been placed. They have all done good work; they all work from principle, and the only difference between them, I think, is entirely one of sentiment. In Scotland the other day I was asking members of these three different Churches whether, if there had never been any rupture, there was any ground for such a rupture now, but I could not find anyone to say that there was. The difference, I think, is purely one of sentiment, and it requires an adept to say what the difference really is. In my opinion this Bill, if it passes, will tend to broaden the foundations on which these Churches stand, to help them to work together in the cause of religion, and to humanise hundreds of thousands of men who at this moment, owing to the divisions between these three Churches, are left entirely outside the pale, not only of Christianity, but of civilisation. In our great towns—Glasgow and elsewhere—hundreds of thousands of men never go to Church, but we have these three Churches, practically in agreement one with another in all essentials, but counteracting one another's good work, overlapping in many directions, and one preventing the good which another might so well accomplish. I do most earnestly hope that the condition of the country and the religious life of Scotland will be borne in mind, and that any questions of detail that may arise will receive only their due amount of consideration in view of the great importance that this Bill may have with regard to the religious life of the country.

***LORD KINNAIRD**: May I echo the hope of the noble Lord opposite that we may be able speedily to pass this Bill without any Amendment? I can assure your Lordships that the feeling in Scotland is very keen upon it, and I believe that the sooner we get out of the present position, in which we have been placed by the decision of the House of Lords on August 1st last, the better. Take one point as an illustration, namely, the Aged and Infirm Ministers' Fund, to which over a thousand men have been subscribing, many of them for forty or fifty years. At the present moment, according to the legal position, the fund to which they have been subscribing has been transferred to other hands, and, but for the expectation that the people of Scotland will back them up, these people, owing to that unfortunate decision, are, so far as the legal position is concerned, without any certainty of pension or relief should occasion necessitate it. This and other points which might be urged will, I think, convince every Member of your Lordships' House that the sooner this Bill is passed the better. As the measure is a compromise, it will not be wise to go into it too closely or to amend it to any large extent. I venture to think that the unanimity of Scotch Members with reference to Clause 5, to which Lord Balfour of Burleigh alluded, was possibly due to the feeling that unless the Bill went through as a whole it would not be passed at all, and not because they approved of the provisions of this clause.

The only other matter to which I would refer on the present occasion is that portion of the speech of the Secretary for Scotland in which he said that it was assumed on all sides that the religious opinions of the people in the Church of Scotland had changed, and that therefore the creed and formula of subscription of the Church of Scotland must be amended so as to meet that change of opinion. I understand that in another place it was asserted that no change in the creed of the Established Church is proposed by this Bill and that all that is proposed is that the terms of subscription should be changed for Ministers and professors.

THE MARQUESS OF LINLITHGOW: I do not think I used the word "creed."

*LORD KINNAIRD: Belief or dogma.

THE MARQUESS OF LINLITHGOW: I said that the theology of to-day was different from the theology of 1693.

*LORD KINNAIRD: I will not enter into any theological argument, but the creed is the outcome of the theology of the people, and I do not think that that has been to any serious extent changed. I do not think those who have signed a certain creed and departed from it, and who are filling certain ecclesiastical appointments, are the proper people to come forward and ask for a change in the terms of subscription. This argument applies not only in Scotland but also in England, and, therefore, I did not wish this opportunity to pass without contradicting the idea that because a few people in a Church change their theology, therefore the creed of the Church in England, Scotland, or Wales should be altered. With these few words I beg to express an earnest hope that the Bill will go through, so that we may have in Scotland the assurance that we shall be able to continue the work of the Churches, as it has been through so many years, for the glory of God and for the benefit of the nation.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: I shall not detain the House a moment, but I should not like this discussion to close without saying one word, not to disturb, but to swell the general chorus of harmony which has prevailed throughout this discussion. The only exception, perhaps, has been the singularly brilliant and interesting speech of my noble and learned friend opposite, who, I think, took some intellectual pleasure in the differences which he indicated, because they did not seem to me to be founded on any very deep principle of objection, or based on anything more than the Committee spirit of looking at a Bill, which has much larger aspects than the merely legal condition to which it applies. My noble and learned friend seemed to think that this was an almost piratical measure, containing certain principles of a noxious and dangerous kind which had been set afloat like a fire-ship on the waters of controversy, and which might in the long run set on fire many institutions, many trusts, and even one Church Establishment which at present conceived itself to be free from its dangerous operations. With great humility, I venture to say that that is a very narrow view to take of this measure.

I think we have all recognised, and I have observed with great pleasure in the discussion of to-night, that the one important preliminary in considering the Bill is this—that we are bound to respect the soundness and the legality of the decision given by this House last year. I have not heard a word of criticism of that decision, although I think I caught a tinge of regret in the speech of my noble friend Lord Overtoun; and it would have been most unmeet if any such word of criticism had been offered. But, at the same time, we must recognise the fact that that decision, legally sound as it no doubt was, did appear to the great majority of Scotchmen, to whatever Church they might belong, to have effected substantial injustice, to which at the first blush, at the first agony of that decision, it did not seem easy to offer any effectual remedy. We turned to the right and to the left; efforts at conciliation were made, among others, by my noble friend at the Table, as he has mentioned to-night; but it was felt from the beginning, I think, by some of us, that the only possible remedy for the anomaly which had been created by the undoubted operation of the law was by the interference of the Government and the Legislature. And the result of that has been that we have had one Commission already; we have had now this Bill, which is setting on foot another Executive Commission, with the largest discretion and the most effective powers, to put in order that which has been put in some disorder by the law. It is a rough and ready remedy for a condition of things which had arisen in that strange fashion. In these circumstances I would appeal to my noble and learned friend not to apply too much of his legal acumen in Committee to the various clauses in which he sees a germ of danger.

This is, after all, a remedy, perhaps unprecedented, for a state of things which I hope will have no repetition in this country. We must not be tied absolutely in large matters of policy of this kind by considerations of rather nicely-drawn disquisitions on legal points. We must apply ourselves to this matter with a broad wish to meet the equities of the case; or, let me say, as I know my noble friend objects to the word "equity" in this connection, with a broad wish to meet the necessities of the case. I, for one, having lived for some months last year in Scotland, when the feverish passion and stress of this matter were at their height, do offer my hearty thanks to the Government for having brought forward a measure which has received the acceptance of the United Free Church and the submission, I cannot say more, of the smaller Church which claims and has a legal title to the epithet "Free." I thank the Government for having made this effort, and I thank my friend the noble Marquess for the spirit and largeness of view with which he has presented it; and I hope, in view of all the considerations, that this Bill will return at this late period of the session to the other House as it came, because even a word or two of amendment might retard the beneficent operation of a measure which every patriotic Scotchman desires to see passed.

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Friday next.

THE LOSS OF THE "KHYBER."

Lord MUSKERRY: My Lords, I rise to ask His Majesty's Government whether they have given their consideration to the report of the formal investigation into the loss at Porthloe Cove, Cornwall, of the British ship "Khyber" with twenty-three lives; whether, with a view to avoiding, as far as possible, similar sacrifices of life in the future, they are intending to take any steps in carrying out the four suggestions contained in the report made by the three magistrates and three nautical assessors constituting the Court; whether they can assist in carrying out the recommendation of the Court regarding the Sennen lifeboat; and, further, whether they can see their way clear to act on the recommendation that a reward should be given to Charles Trenerry for his energy and promptitude in bringing intelligence regarding the "Khyber" to the coastguard station at Sennen.

The UNDER-SECRETARY of STATE for the COLONIES (The Duke of Marlborough): My Lords, in replying to the noble Lord I would remind him that the report of the Court of inquiry suggested in the first place that the coastguard staff should always be kept up to such a strength at all times that every part of the coast might be properly patrolled. I understand that the Admiralty, in reply to that recommendation, state that it is not a part of the duty of the coastguard to patrol the coast for the purpose of watching for casualties, and that the force must be always liable to be withdrawn or reduced at the discretion of the Admiralty.

With regard to the second and third recommendations, I understand that the Admiralty are prepared to consider them in a favourable light and are trying to carry them into effect. With regard to the fourth recommendation, that some improved method of communication between the mainland and adjacent lighthouses and lightships should be provided, a system of wireless telegraphy is now being tried to see whether these different points can be connected up, but no conclusion has yet been arrived at. The next recommendation was to the effect that improvements were required to enable the Sennen lifeboat to be launched in all weathers and at all states of the tide, and in connection with this it has been suggested that improvements should be made for the protection of the harbour against storms. As regards the first point the board are in communication with the Royal National Lifeboat Institution; and, as regards the second, they have intimated to the town authorities that they would approach the Treasury with a view to obtaining a grant for these purposes, provided that the town itself would contribute an adequate sum, but at present no reply has been received from the town.

There was another recommendation, that lighter transport carriages should be supplied for the rocket apparatus for use in this hilly country; but the Board of Trade cannot agree to the suggestion that the apparatus should be carried in three different carriages, because it is probable that in the event of the apparatus being required only a portion of it might be brought up. They, therefore, think it desirable that the strongest transport carriage should be used. As to the last Question, I am informed that both the Board of Trade and the Lifeboat Society gave Charles Trenerry adequate remuneration, and they do not see their way to increase it.

THE CHANTREY BEQUEST.

THE EARL OF CARLISLE rose "To ask whether the Government had received any communications from the Royal Academy in answer to the Report of the Committee on the administration of the Chantrey Bequest; and, if not, whether they intended to take any steps to carry out the suggestions of that Committee." He said, my Lords, may I, as shortly as possible, state my reasons for asking my noble friend this Question? Last year a Select Committee was appointed, on the Motion of my noble friend Lord Lytton, to inquire into the administration of the Chantrey Bequest. That Committee sat a considerable number of times, had a great deal of evidence before it, and arrived at a practically unanimous decision. They made certan recommendations which, if I may say so, were excessively conservative and moderate in their character. These recommendations were aimed, not at any revolutionary change, but were intended to give the Academy power of fulfilling the obvious intentions of the testator, which, owing to different words in the will and regulations, it fails to do at present.

I will give but one instance of my meaning. Chantrey stated that the fund which he provided was to be used for the purchase of works of Fine Art of the highest merit in painting and sculpture that could be obtained, and he added that this fund should be allowed, if at any time thought desirable, to accumulate for a term of not exceeding five years. It is obvious, I think, that the accumulation was to be allowed in order to make it possible to purchase works of the highest merit, but that accumulation has practically never taken place, because the council of the Academy, which is the purchasing body, changes from year to year, and they have always spent the income of the year in the year and have never been able to have that accumulation which Chantrey directed that they should have. In fact, one of their members, giving evidence before the Committee, said—

> "You must remember the limitation of our funds; £2,000 a year does not go very far."

That is not an imaginary case. Only this year, I believe, a very important work of art, which has received admiration and applause almost universally, was not purchaseable by the trustees of the Chantrey Fund on account of their not having at their disposal the accumulations they were directed to have by the will.

One of the recommendations of the Committee—and the most important recommendation, I think—was intended exactly to meet that case. The Committee recommended that the elected members should be appointed to hold office for five years in order to enable them to accumulate money and buy important works of art. It seems to me clear that the Royal Academy have not availed themselves of that advice. The advice of the Committee was that effect should be given to these provisions, either under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners on the application of the trustees or by Act of Parliament. It seems pretty clear that no application has been made, because we understand that purchases have gone on in the usual way, and that no advantage has been taken of the suggestion that has been made to them. I do not think it at all likely that an Act of Parliament will be passed this year, or probably next, to remedy this state of things, but I should like to point out to His Majesty's Government that they have in their hands a certain remedy, though perhaps only an indirect one. At present the purchases made by the trustees of the Chantrey Bequest go automatically to the National Gallery. They are handed over to the Government, who direct the trustees of the National Gallery to house them. The trustees have no power of selection or elimination. This collection is increasing very rapidly.

By the generosity of Sir Henry Tate, who built a gallery at Millbank, there is at present still some room for the housing of pictures; but if the pictures go on accumulating at the present rate it will shortly become a question as to where they are to be placed. At present the nation has no control over the number or quality of the pictures sent. If the Government, and I believe they can do it without any difficulty, were to alter that restriction, and make it possible for the Board of the National Gallery to exercise some selection and discrimination, it would at all events be some sanction on the action of the Chantrey Trustees and would show them that they are not entirely and solely masters of the situation. I very much regret that Lord Crewe, who was Chairman of this Commission, has not brought forward this question, as I believe he intended doing. I can only say that I have consulted with him on the subject, and he heartily concurs with me as to the propriety of this Question being put to His Majesty's Government. I beg to ask the Question standing in my name.

*THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Lord WINDSOR): My Lords, I am sure that His Majesty's Government do not complain of the action taken by my noble friend in asking this Question. They do not desire any more than he does, or any more than the members of the Committee do, that the recommendations which the Committee have made should be lost sight of or in any way ignored. A reply has been received by the Government from the Royal Academy in answer to the Report of the Committee on the administration of the Chantrey Bequest, and that reply will be laid on the Table of the House. The Royal Academy in this Memorandum having stated that although they do not accept all the conclusions arrived at by the Committee they are anxious to meet the suggestions it contains, it is the view of His Majesty's Government that a reasonable time at least should be given to see how the proposals of the Royal Academy and their manner of acting upon these suggestions, work out before any further steps if any further steps should be necessary, are taken by the Government. The noble Earl in the latter part of his remarks made suggestions as to the possibility of the Government taking a course with regard to the powers of the trustees of the National Gallery in making some selection or elimination from the pictures of the Chantrey Bequest before taking charge of them in the Tate Gallery. That is a suggestion which I am sure the noble Earl will not expect me to give any definite answer to at this moment; but I can assure him that the suggestion will be carefully considered.

LORD BURGHCLERE: Can the noble Lord inform the House when this reply was received from the Royal Academy, and whether it will be laid on the Table before the end of this session?

*LORD WINDSOR: I do not remember exactly when the reply was received, but it will be laid on the Table at once, certainly before the end of the session.

RUSSIA AND NEUTRAL SHIPPING.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN rose to call attention to the sinking of the British ships "St. Kilda" and "Ikhona" by the Russian converted cruisers "Dnieper" and "Terek" on the 4th and 5th June respectively; to ask whether representations have been made to the Russian Government with regard to the disobedience of their naval officers to the orders issued to them on this subject; whether the Russian Government have agreed fully to compensate the owners and crews of the two vessels; also, whether these converted cruisers are admitted by His Majesty's Government to be ships of war.

The noble Earl said: My Lords, I venture to think that Parliament ought to take under serious notice the violation of international law by vessels belonging, or purporting to belong, to the Russian navy, which I regret to say has become almost habitual. I would remind your Lordships of the facts in the two most recent cases which have occurred. On June 4th last the "St. Kilda," a Liverpool-owned ship, left Hong-Kong for Yokohama carrying a mixed cargo of goods, which were consigned, not to the Japanese Government, but to private persons. When she was about sixty miles from Hong-Kong she was met by the Russian cruiser "Dnieper," which had previously gone by the name of the "Peterburg." She was boarded and on the next day was sunk without any confirmation having been obtained of her having any contraband goods on board. Her crew were detained on board the "Dnieper," and were brought home on their way to a Russian port. When they reached Port Said, on urgent representations received from the Government, they were liberated.

On the day after the seizure of the "St. Kilda," the "Ikhona," a ship belonging to the British Indian Steam Navigation Company, which also had a cargo of mixed goods, and, I believe, some mails on board, was stopped about 140 miles from Hong-Kong on her way to Yokohama. She was detained by the Russian cruiser "Terek" and sunk on the next day. That these two cases were a clear violation of international law I think there can be no doubt. I cannot state it in clearer words than the noble Marquess used in this House on July 28th last year in the case of the "Knight Commander." The noble Marquess said—

> "Upon no hypothesis of international law can we conceive that a neutral ship, even if it be that her cargo included contraband of war, could be destroyed upon the mere *fiat* of the commanding officer of the capturing squadron and without reference to a properly constituted Prize Court."

In the cases that I have quoted the captains deny that they had any contraband of war on board, and at all events there was no proof brought that they had any. Not only were these violations of international law, but they were in contravention of distinct assurances which had been given to the British Government; and, curiously enough, with regard to one of these ships especially the noble Marquess on August 11th last year said—

> "As for the "Peterburg"—

that vessel is now called the "Dnieper."

> "—and the "Smolensk," we know that the instructions that have been sent to them to desist from further seizures have reached their destination—"

the instructions, as we know, were delivered by British cruisers.

> "And we may assume that no further seizures will be made by them."

That assumption has proved to be entirely unfounded, and the fact is that the captains of these two vessels allege that they were obeying orders received from Admiral Rozhdestvensky, which, of course, were in distinct opposition to the orders which had been delivered to them from the Russian Government by British cruisers last year.

What does the Russian Government say to this? Unfortunately, generals, admirals, and apparently some captains, as soon as they leave the shores of Russia are a law to themselves, and act according to what they think right and without any reference to international law, or, unfortunately, to any instructions received from their Government. But the Government, nevertheless, cannot possibly repudiate responsibility for their action. The noble Marquess, I am sure, will admit that he has been completely misled and that what has happened shows that the assurances which were given to him were really not worth the paper on which they were written. I have seen it alleged that the Russian Government contends that there is some justification for sinking ships which you cannot take into port so that they may be adjudicated upon by a Prize Court. I want to know whether the Russian Government have in any way changed their position in regard to that matter, and whether His Majesty's Government in any way admit that that position can be defended.

Then with regard to the question of compensation. Hitherto the payment of compensation by the Russian Government has admittedly been very slow. I want to know whether in these two cases the right of compensation has been admitted, and whether the Russian Government are prepared fully and immediately to compensate the owners and crews for the detention, the harm, and the damage they have sustained. Lastly, what is the *status* of the cruisers which were at one time volunteer cruisers? A year ago their *status* was under discussion between His Majesty's Government and the Russian Government, and on July 26th Mr. Balfour in the other House of Parliament said—

> "The whole question of the *status* of the volunteer fleet is under discussion between this Government and the Russian Government."

I suppose that that discussion has had some issue, and, if so, I should like to know what it is. I see that the noble Marquess on July 28th, when speaking with reference to the seizure of the "Knight Commander" by the "Peterburg," said—

> "Volunteer ships have been withdrawn from the Red Sea to some other destination, and we understand that it is not intended that they shall in future be employed upon a similar service."

The *status* of the "Peterburg" may in some way have been altered for aught I know. It has been suggested to me that she went into a Russian port and received a commission. Possibly that may have been the case when her name was changed to that of the "Dnieper," but, at all events, the result remains the same, she continues her former practice, and while there is no Russian Navy there are several of these vessels detaining merchant ships belonging to various nations, and which, of course, detain more ships belonging to this than to any other nation because of the great size of our mercantile marine.

I am sure that neither I nor anyone in this House, nor, indeed, anyone in the country, would desire to act in any way ungenerously towards the Russian Government under present circumstances; but, at the same time, surely Russia cannot be permitted to continue as a practice to disregard international law and to allow her cruisers to sink, in violation of all international law, the mercantile ships belonging to other nations. In these circumstances I do not think that we can be surprised if British shipowners are a little impatient and feel indignant when their ships are taken under the guns of British vessels, as was the case the other day at the Isthmus of Suez. I hope that some stop will be put to this very objectionable practice. I beg to ask the Question standing in my name.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, my noble friend, I think, correctly stated the circumstances under which these two vessels were sunk by Russian cruisers, and it is therefore not necessary that I should recapitulate them. The sinkings took place on June 5th, and, as soon as possible after the news reached us, we instructed our Ambassador at St Petersburg to address urgent representations to the Russian Government on the subject. Sir Charles Hardinge dwelt on the great irritation created in this country by the news of these incidents, and pointed out more particularly that the conduct of these cruisers was in direct contravention of the statements which had been made to us by Count Lamsdorff in August, 1904—the statements which, no doubt, my noble friend has in mind

We asked for a disavowal of the action of the "Dnieper;" we said that compensation would be claimed; and we called for some security against the repetition of such occurrences. We also asked that the officers of the "St. Kilda" should be transferred from the Russian cruiser at Port Said, and that an assurance should be obtained from the captain of the "Dnieper" that, during the remainder of his voyage, British ships should not experience a recurrence of such treatment; and, in order that there might be no delay in conveying the necessary instructions to these cruisers, we offered to place at the disposal of the Russian Government a British cruiser to which would be entrusted the task of conveying the instructions. We addressed similar representations a few days afterwards, when the news of the sinking of the "Ikhona" had reached us.

On June 28th, Sir Charles Hardinge reported the result of his conversation with Count Lamsdorff, who attributed the sinking of these vessels to instructions issued independently by the Russian Admiral owing to the state of disorganisation in which the Russian navy had fallen in consequence of the recent disasters that had overtaken it. He promised to send orders to these vessels to come home at once, and to abstain from similar action, and he accepted the offer of His Majesty's Government to convey the necessary instructions by a British cruiser. There were four Russian cruisers altogether; my noble friend mentioned only two. The necessary instructions were, in fact, delivered to three of the cruisers at Jibuti, and to the fourth at Batavia, where she was, and is now, interned. The whole of these four cruisers may therefore be considered as no longer in a position in which they are likely to interfere with our commerce. The "Dnieper" has already arrived at Kronstadt, the "Rion" has passed Gibraltar, the "Kuban" has passed Port Said, and the Russian Consul has informed our Consul that she will not interfere with any more British ships. The "Terek," the fourth vessel, was interned on July 1st at Batavia.

My noble friend asked me whether claims for compensation are to be presented. They will be presented as soon as they have been formulated by the owners and shippers of the vessels, and we have intimated that these claims will be pressed irrespective of the decision of the Russian Prize Court. The claim on account of the "St. Kilda" is in a forward state of preparation, and the owners' claim will be sent in at once. The claim of the shippers is not complete, and the claim on account of the "Ikhona" has not yet come in. My noble friend asked me a Question as to the view of the Russian Government as to the right of these cruisers to sink neutral prizes. I gather that the Russian Government consider that, in an extreme case, a belligerent ship is justified in sinking a neutral prize. We have, as my noble friend knows, taken a different view.

The last Question my noble friend asked me had reference to the *status* of these ships. In our view, such vessels, whether they belong to the Russian Volunteer Squadron, as did the "Dnieper," or whether they are merchant vessels acquired and properly commissioned in a Russian port, as the "Terek" was, are ships of war, and are entitled to be so regarded. The question of the *status* of these vessels is, of course, distinct from the general question of the right of a belligerent ship to sink a neutral prize. My noble friend referred to the discussions which took place in 1904, discussions in which the case of the "Peterburg," as she then was, the "Dnieper," as she is now, played a conspicuous part. But I daresay my noble friend will recollect that, at that time, we were discussing more particularly whether vessels of this class which were in the Black Sea had a right to emerge from the Black Sea in the guise of peaceful vessels and then suddenly to transform themselves into ships of war and behave as ships of war. We protested strongly against that view—but that is a circumstance which, of course, is not present in the matter we are now discussing.

The Earl of CAMPERDOWN: The noble Marquess has said that these claims for compensation will be pressed irrespective of the decision of the Russian Prize Court. I should like to ask the noble Marquess how the Russian Prize Court can give any decision, because the vessels in question are at the bottom of the sea, their goods are there also, and their crews have been released. I do not see, therefore, how the Russian Prize Court can have anything to adjudicate upon.

*The MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: I imagine it would be possible for the owners to produce evidence as to the circumstances in which the ships were sunk, the nature of their cargo, and their destination.

COLONIAL APPEALS.

*LORD LUDLOW: My Lords, I rise to ask the Lord Chancellor whether his attention has been called to observations made by Sir Robert Stout, Chief Justice of New Zealand, as reported in *The Times* of July 17th, to the effect that he was surprised that the Colonies endured the present state of things under which cases were delayed by the Privy Council for two or three years; whether, in his opinion, the complaint as to the delay in the administration of justice in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is well founded, and, if so, what remedy he proposes.

*THE LORD CHANCELLOR (The Earl of HALSBURY): My Lords, my attention had been called to the statement before the noble Lord put down his Question, and I had directed a Return to be made of causes which had been before the Privy Council during the last two years. I regret very much the information which has been given to the Chief Justice of New Zealand, and I very much regret that he should have used the words attributed to him. I can hardly believe that they were correctly reported. But what is most material is what foundation is there for the observations? I do not pretend that the state of things is absolutely satisfactory—I have had to adjourn the judicial sittings of this House several times in order that I might sit in the Privy Council, as there are not enough of us to form two Courts in very important cases—but the statement of the Chief Justice, if correctly reported, is wholly and absolutely inaccurate.

With regard to the list which I have had prepared, I think it will be well to explain that, where a case comes on appeal from New Zealand, or, indeed, from any other colony, the date on which it is set down for hearing is entirely the act of the parties, and the tribunal has no control over it at all. Of the whole of the cases heard from New Zealand, three cases were decided in less than two months, including not only the hearing, but the judgment; two cases in between two and three months; one case between three and four months, and three cases between four and five months. There was one case which occupied about nine months in these circumstances. There were three consolidated appeals, which began to be heard in the beginning of August. After hearing the appeals for two days, and after consultation with the counsel, it was felt to be impossible that the case could be finished until after the long vacation. That case lasted, if we count the whole of the long vacation in, about nine months before judgment was given. There was another case in the list for February and March of this year, but it was adjourned from time to time until June by, and for, the convenience of the parties.

In view of these facts, I think it will be seen that the statement of the Chief Justice—if he really used the words attributed to him, and I should be very sorry indeed to think he did use them—was manifestly a ridiculous exaggeration. I trust to lay the Return which I have quoted on the Table of the House, and I hope notice will be taken of it, because it seems to me that, although it does not disclose an entirely satisfactory state of things, it shows that the delays in the law are not so remarkable in these days. The Privy Council, through its Judicial Committee, hears cases not only from New Zealand, but also from India, Canada, Australia, and other colonies, and, therefore, I do not think the extreme limit I have mentioned is extraordinary delay. I hope this matter will be brought to the attention of the Chief Justice, and that he may see reason to correct the observations he is reported to have made, attributing to the Privy Council the habit of delaying cases for two or three years. There is not the smallest foundation for such a statement.

EARL CARRINGTON: My Lords, I should like to say one word on this matter. I am certain that Sir Robert Stout is the very last person in the world who would be guilty of ridiculous exaggeration and——

*THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I am sorry to interrupt the noble Earl. I suggested that there was some mistake or that the Chief Justice had received inaccurate information. I should be very sorry indeed to say he was guilty of wilful exaggeration.

EARL CARRINGTON: I did not in the least understand the noble and learned Earl to say that. I only wished to say that Sir Robert Stout is the very last person who would make any statement that could be described as a wilful exaggeration, and I agree with the Lord Chancellor that there must be some mistake in the report. I should like to call the attention of the House for one moment to what lies behind all this. Sir Robert Stout also complained, as far as I understand, of the fact of these cases having to come to England to be tried at all, and I think the House might take notice of that. I am well aware that in this country most people, and especially those who have never been to the Colonies, look upon the Supreme Court of Judicature as the last link which joins the mother country to the Colonies, and they would be very sorry to see it interfered with; yet that is not altogether the way in which the Colonies consider it. I remember that when I was in New South Wales a land case was decided one way by the Supreme Court of New South Wales, but when it was sent home to be adjudicated upon by the Supreme Court in this country the decision went the other way. The result of that was that when the decision was telegraphed out a Bill was passed unanimously through both Houses of Parliament in New South Wales and Australia making it a crime punishable by fine or imprisonment to do—what ?—to do exactly what had been stated to be the law by the Supreme Court of the Empire. I think it is as well that it should be known that there is some little dissatisfaction amongst people in the Colonies on that score, more especially at the Cape, where, as your Lordships are aware, the law is Roman law.

*THE LORD CHANCELLOR: Roman-Dutch law.

EARL CARRINGTON: Where the law is Roman-Dutch law and quite different from the law in this country. I think we have had an object-lesson to-night. The debate earlier in the evening turned on the great dissatisfaction felt in Scotland at the reversal of the decision of the Supreme Court in Scotland as regards Church matters; and when we hear such language as was used by the noble Earl on the Cross Benches, Lord Rosebery, who talked, apparently with the approval of the entire House, of the anomaly of the law, of the agony of the decision, of the disorder in which the Church had been put by the law——

*THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I must ask the noble Earl whether he considers he is in order in going into the Scottish Church Bill in this discussion.

EARL CARRINGTON: Am I not in order ?

*THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I think not.

EARL CARRINGTON: Then I will not say another word.

*LORD LUDLOW: I may state that I put the Question down with the sole object of learning what was the state of things. I was careful to refer to the observations made by Sir Robert Stout "as reported in *The Times*."

PUBLIC ROADS (IRELAND) BILL.

Read 3ª (according to order), with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 31*st July*, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Liverpool Corporation Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Blackpool Improvement Bill [Lords]; Bristol Blind Asylum Bill [Lords]; Corbett Estate Bill [Lords]; County of London Electric Supply Company Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Humber Conservancy Bill [Lords] (King's Consent signified). Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Littlehampton Urban District Council Bill [Lords] (King's Consent signified). Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill [Lords]; North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill [Lords]; Nottingham Corporation Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Shepton Mallet Gas Company (Electric Lighting) Bill [Lords] (Prince of Wales' Consent signified). Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Central Electric Supply Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation Bill [Lords]. As amended, to be considered To-morrow.

Oldham and Saddleworth District Tramways Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Preston Corporation (Ribble Navigation) Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; clauses added; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time.

Rhymney and Aber Valley Gas and Water Company Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Sandgate Urban District Council Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; a clause added; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time. [New Title[

Edinburgh Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment.

Esk Valley Power Gas Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with an Amendment.

Stonehaven Harbour Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment.

Glasgow University Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Considered; to be read the third time upon Wednesday.

Glasgow Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Glasgow Corporation (Tramways Consolidation) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Paisley District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Considered; to be read the third time upon Wednesday.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [Lords]. Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed on consideration, as amended [27th July], further adjourned till To-morrow (Evening Sitting).

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill, without Amendment.

Malvern Water Bill; Rathmines and Rathgar Extension and Improvement Bill; Ealing Corporation Bill, with Amendments.

Amendment to—Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Acton District) Bill [Lords].

Amendments to—Workington Harbour and Dock Bill [Lords]; South Lancashire Tramways Bill [Lords]; Matlock Bath Improvement Bill [Lords]; Llandrindod Wells Urban District Council Bill [Lords]; Formby Township Bill [Lords]; Sheffield University Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Wemyss Tramways." [Wemyss Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.]

Wemyss Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and ordered, under Section 9 of The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, to be read a second time upon Wednesday, and to be printed. [Bill 303.]

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CHARITABLE DONATIONS AND BEQUESTS (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPPLY OF FOOD AND RAW MATERIAL IN TIME OF WAR (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Copy presented, of Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the subject of the Supply of Food and Raw Material in Time of War, with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices (Vol. I. Report. Vol II. Minutes of Evidence. Vol. III. Appendices) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ROYAL PATRIOTIC FUND CORPORATION.

Copy presented, of First Report of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation, for the year 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904 (CLOSING ORDER, BOROUGH OF NEWPORT, MON.).

Copy presented, of Order made by the Corporation of the Borough of Newport, Mon., and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the Hours of Closing for Barbers' and Hairdressers' Shops within the Borough [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

BY-LAWS IN RURAL DISTRICTS.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 17th April; *Mr. Henry Hobhouse*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 272.]

LOCAL TAXATION RETURNS (ENGLAND).

Copy presented, of the Annual Local Taxation Returns for 1903–4 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 273.]

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES.

Copy presented, of Annual Report of Proceedings under the Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries Acts, etc., for the year 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

HORSE BREEDING (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Copy presented, of Tenth Report of the Royal Commission on Horse Breeding, with Appendices [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

CUSTOMS.

Copy presented, of Forty-ninth Report of the Commissioners of Customs for the year ended March 31st, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TAXES AND IMPOSTS.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered April 12th; *Mr. Goddard*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 274.]

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered July 20th; *Mr. Mount*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 275.]

IRISH LAND COMMISSION.

Copy presented, of Report of the Commissioners for the period from April 1st, 1904, to March 31st, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

EAST INDIA (RAILWAYS).

Copy presented, of Administration Report on the Railways in India for the year 1904, by the Railway Board [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Supreme Court (Rules). Copy of Rules of the Supreme Court, dated July 27th, 1905 [by Act].

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.

Copy ordered, "of Statement of Particulars of Loans of which the Balances outstanding are proposed to be remitted or written off (in whole or in part) from the Assets of the Local Loans Fund."—(*Mr. Victor Cavendish.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 276.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions in India.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE (Bethnal Green, N.E.): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he has received from the Government of India the Report of the results of their consideration on the subject of the separation of judicial and executive functions, which he called for in his despatch to that Government of March 10th last; and, if the Report is not yet received, will he, in view of the fact that the reform is urgently needed and has been under consideration for many years past, ask the Government to expedite the Report.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) I have not yet received from the Government of India a reply to my despatch of March 10th last, in which I have already drawn the special attention of that Government to the matter. I do not think it necessary at present to take any further steps.

The Land Act, 1903—Trinity College Estates.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR (Kildare, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state which two of the estates of Trinity College are the subject of proceedings for sale under the Land Act of 1903.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The estates consist of 140 acres of the lands of Dromomarka, county Tipperary, and 397 acres of the lands of Rossmakay, county Louth.

The King-Harman Estate.

MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners can explain the delay in issuing orders to the tenant purchasers on the King-Harman Estate, seeing that the negotiations as to the terms between the tenants and vendor were concluded in November, 1903; and if he can state definitely when the vesting orders will be issued.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) It is anticipated that the holdings will be vested in the tenants in October.

Imprisonment of Seamen at Hong-Kong for Refusal to Sail in Vessels Carrying Contraband of War.

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can state the number of foreign seamen who have been convicted and sent to prison by the marine magistrates at the port of Hong-Kong for refusing to proceed in British vessels from that port, on the grounds that the vessels were carrying contraband of war, for the period covered from November, 1904, up to June 30th, 1905.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I am not in possession of the information, but I will ask the Governor for a report on the point.

Mr. NANNETTI: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any men are imprisoned at Hong-Kong at the present time under sentence for refusing to proceed in vessels loaded with contraband of war; and, if so, whether he will order the release of these seamen.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the negative.

Mr. NANNETTI: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that the crew of the British steamer "Franklyn" were convicted by the marine magistrate at Hong-Kong in the early part of this year and sentenced to ten weeks imprisonment for refusing to proceed in the "Franklyn" on the grounds of the vessel being loaded with contraband of war; that the men, on receiving the sentence, were handcuffed together and marched through the streets of Hong-Kong, whilst Chinamen followed them and jeered at them; that the men, on receiving the sentence, demanded an appeal to the Superior Court of Hong-Kong; and whether, seeing that the marine magistrate refused to allow them to appeal and refused to allow the men to have legal aid, any steps will be taken to remove the marine magistrate.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) As I stated on June 23rd,† in reply to the hon. Member, I have asked the Governor for a report on this case, but there has not yet been time to receive his reply.

South African Company Promoting.

Mr. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cav n, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state whether the attention of the Government has been called to the condition and financial *status* of a number of Rhodesian and other South African mining companies, whose shares are daily quoted; whether any steps are taken by the Government to safeguard the public from investing in such mining companies as are on the verge of bankruptcy and whose condition is withheld; and further, in view of the fact that the public have already suffered loss in consequence of reckless South African company promoting, will he have inquiry made with a view to remedying this evil by suitable legislation.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The Answer to the first part of the hon. Member's Question is in the negative; and, as regards the remainder of the Question, His Majesty's Government are not prepared to take upon themselves the hopeless enterprise of safeguarding the public in its choice of investments.

Movement of Troops and Ships of War at Cape Coast, West Africa.

Mr. JOHN O'CONNOR: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether additional troops are being landed at Cape Coast, West Africa, and ships of war are being placed on the coast; and, if so, what is the object of such military and naval demonstration.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The officer administering the Government of the Gold Coast has not reported any such movement of troops or ships of war as the hon. Member refers to.

Consular Reports—Irish Trade.

Mr. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, in preparing their next Reports, all Consuls will be requested to report whether any, and, if so, what, trade is carried on between their respective districts and Ireland, and, in particular, whether the following Irish exports find a market in their districts: agricultural machinery, bacon and hams, biscuits, butter, carpets, condensed milk, cured fish, eggs, hides and sheepskins, homespuns, lace (crochet, Carrickmacross, needlepoint), linens (including yarn and thread), manures, mineral waters, poplin, porter, whiskey, wool, woollens (including tweed, serge, and frieze).

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxlvii., 1438.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) As the hon. Member has already been informed, His Majesty's Consuls will be asked to state in their Reports for 1905 whether, so far as they can ascertain, any trade is carried on between their respective districts and Ireland; and there is no objection to including in this request a reference to the particular articles mentioned in this Question.

Closing of the Pentland Firth to Trawlers.

MR. HARMSWORTH (Caithness-shire): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will take the necessary steps for securing from the signatories to the North Sea Convention an agreement to the closing of the Pentland Firth to trawlers.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) We have no reason to believe that any of the parties to the North Sea Fisheries Convention would be willing to forego their rights of fishing in the Pentland Firth outside the limits of territorial waters without similiar concessions in return. Nor would the assent of those Powers alone be sufficient for the effectual closing of that area of the high seas.

Erection of Boatslips on the Caithness Coast.

MR. HARMSWORTH: To ask the Lord-Advocate whether, in view of the recommendation of the Departmental Committee on the Sea Fisheries of Sutherland and Caithness, he will state at what points on the coast of Caithness he proposes to erect boatslips for the use of the fishermen.

(*Answered by Mr. Scott Dickson.*) Any applications for the erection of boatslips in the congested parishes of Sutherland and Caithness will be referred by the Secretary for Scotland to the Congested Districts Board for consideration. I am not in a position to suggest the points at which the construction of such boatslips may be considered advantageous and, from the point of view of expense, justifiable.

Scotch Herring Fishery—Loans for Purchase of Boats.

MR. HARMSWORTH: To ask the Lord-Advocate whether the Fishery Board for Scotland are to be empowered to make loans or advances for the purchase of large herring boats, such as are now necessary for the successful prosecution of the herring fishery, to approved crews of fishermen in Caithness and Sutherland on the share system, as recommended by the Departmental Committee on the Sea Fisheries of Sutherland and Caithness.

(*Answered by Mr. Scott Dickson.*) The Secretary for Scotland is in correspondence with the Fishery Board and the Treasury in reference to the question of provision of boats for fishermen in the crofting counties on the share system, and hopes to be in a position to make an early announcement on the subject.

New Post Office for Tralee.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General when it is proposed to build the new post office in Tralee.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The plans for the new office are almost complete, and it is hoped that it may be found possible to begin the work during the present financial year.

Postal Rank.

MR. NANNETTI: To ask the Postmaster-General if he will say what classes in the circulation office and the metropolitan head district offices are equivalent to the second-class assistant-superintendents' class which exists in the central telegraph office and in the provincial sorting and telegraph offices.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) In the circulation office and the metropolitan district offices there is only one class paid on the same scale, if that is the point to which the hon. Member refers, as the second-class assistant-superintendents at the central telegraph office, viz., the class of inspectors in charge (lower section) attached to the counter and telegraph staff. The duties, are, of course, dissimilar.

Ballyshannon Post Office.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the representations made on behalf of the people respecting the inadequacy of the accommodation afforded at the premises occupied as a post office at Ballyshannon, in the county of Donegal, any steps have been taken towards providing suitable premises.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The post office at Ballyshannon is provided by the sub-postmaster, and for some years past he has sought improved premises, but none which would be suitable have been offered on terms that he could afford to pay. The present office, though not all that could be wished, is well situated, and the accommodation it affords is not altogether inadequate, especially in view of the fact that the business of the office remains almost stationary.

Ballyshannon and Bundoran Postal Arrangements.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that appeals for an improved postal service in the district of Ballyshannon and Bundoran have been frequently addressed to the postal authorities by the residents and visitors; and whether, in view of the increased postal traffic due to the large military camp at Finner, near both towns, and the number of visitors at Bundoran, it is proposed to take any steps to provide an improved service, having regard to the fact that letters by the morning post are not delivered at Ballyshannon till after 9 a.m., and not delivered at Bundoran till a later hour, and that the last hour for posting letters to Dublin at Ballyshannon is 7.30 p.m., and at Bundoran an earlier hour.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The postal arrangements in this district received careful consideration a few months ago, when it was found that the cost of the existing services was so high in proportion to the amount of correspondence as to preclude further expenditure on their improvement. I have no reason to suppose that there has been any material alteration in the circumstances, but I will make further inquiry, and communicate with the hon. Member.

Ballyshannon Morning Delivery of Letters.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that a change has recently been made in the route of one of the town postmen in Ballyshannon, in the county of Donegal, whereby the morning delivery of letters in one portion of the town is delayed; whether he has received communications from the Ballyshannon Town Commissioners addressed to him and to the Secretary of the Post Office objecting to this change; and whether he will give directions to revert to the course of delivery which existed prior to the recent change.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The change in the order of the first delivery at Ballyshannon, to which the hon. Member refers, was made in the interests of the residents generally nearly a year ago. This was explained to the Ballyshannon Town Commissioners in December last, and they were also informed that I should not be prepared to sanction a reversion to the former arrangement unless they would furnish me with an assurance that the residents generally are in favour of such a course. Up to the present I have not received the necessary assurance.

Authenticity of Telegrams.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether it is any part of the duty of a supervising officer in the telegraph service to satisfy himself as to the authenticity of telegrams originating in or passing through his office.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The duty of a supervising officer in this matter would be dictated by circumstances, which vary so greatly that I am unable to give an Answer in general terms.

Ulster Spinners and the New Factory Regulations.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether any complaints had been received from Belfast and Ulster spinners with regard to No. 2 of the new regulations for flax-spinning and weaving factories; if so, what was the nature of them, and whether any official action has been taken regarding them; and whether, in view of the ambiguity of the wording of Regulation No. 2, and with the object of preventing complications and litigation, he will look into it with a view to its alteration.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) A certain number of objections to the regulation referred to have been received from Ulster manufacturers. The regulation prescribes the means of ventilation to be used in rooms in which certain processes are carried on, and the objections taken are partly to the wording of the rule, partly to the means of ventilation prescribed. The regulations are at present in draft only, and the objections are being carefully considered. I hope it will be possible to arrive at a settlement on the points in question; but, should that not be the case, the regulations will be made the subject of an inquiry by a competent person under the provisions of the Act, at which all objectors will be entitled to appear.

Customs Tea Office.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will see that, in reference to any impending promotions in the Tea Office of His Majesty's Customs, or the awarding of any further checking allowances in that office, due consideration shall be given to the claims of seniority and long service in the Customs Department.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) It is the practice of the Board of Customs, in making selections for the appointments in question, to give due consideration to the claims of officers in the different branches of the Department, and there is no intention to depart from this practice.

The Lancashire Electric Railway Accident.

MR. MARSHALL HALL (Lancashire, Southport): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade if, in view of the disaster on the Southport branch of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, he will take some measures, in addition to the usual inquiry, to ascertain, if possible, the exact cause and responsibility for the accident, so that all possible precautions may be taken to prevent the recurrence of such a calamity in the future.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) When the Board of Trade have received the report of the inspecting officer who opens his inquiry into this lamentable accident to-morrow, the question whether any further measures are necessary to clear up the cause of the accident will be carefully considered.

Calcutta Jute Tax.

SIR JOHN LENG (Dundee): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether the Indian Government, for the purpose of local improvements in Calcutta, proposes to tax jute, both raw and manufactured; if so, what are the definite proposals; and whether time will be given jute merchants and manufacturers in this country to make representations respecting them.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) A tax on jute has been proposed by the Government of Bengal as one of the special taxes for meeting the cost of extensive sanitary improvements in Calcutta. The tax would not exceed 10s. on £100's worth of jute. It would take the form of an export duty on jute, raw and manufactured, shipped from Bengal, and of an Excise duty on jute made up in Indian mills, but not exported. Legislation will be required before the Calcutta improvement scheme or the taxation it entails can take effect. Full opportunity will be given to the affected classes of the community to consider the proposals and to make any representations that they may deem necessary.

Major Brooke Murray.

SIR SEYMOUR KING (Hull, Central): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been drawn to the case of Major Brooke Murray, who, having been incapacitated from active service by wounds, has recently been compulsorily retired from his civil employment in the Cantonment Magistrates Department in India and deprived of his wound pension; why he has been refused the furlough to which he was entitled under the rules; whether he is aware of the pecuniary loss and hardship this action has entailed on Major Murray; and whether he will reconsider the matter, with a view of seeing whether the one year's furlough to which he is entitled, and the second year's extension which might be granted on his application, may still be awarded him, and his wound pension restored.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) The case of Major Brooke Murray has received very careful consideration. It is impossible to state it fully within the limits of an Answer to a Question; but I may say that Major Murray was disabled, not by wounds received in action, but by his pony slipping down while on duty, and that for his injury he received a pension annually renewable. It was granted in 1902 and renewed in 1903; whether it should be further renewed is a question which will be decided when Major Murray has appeared before the Medical Board at the India Office. No officer can claim furlough as a matter of right; but the military authorities in India were prepared to sanction Major Murray's furlough on certain conditions as to his ultimate retirement which, after careful consideration of his representations, and for reasons unconnected with his accident, they regarded as desirable. To these conditions, however, he would not agree. Nothing has come before me which would appear to justify the reconsideration of any of the various decisions which have been arrived at in his case.

Caherdaniel Evicted Tenant.

MR. BOLAND: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have received the application of Patrick Sullivan, a tenant evicted from his holding at Behihane, on the Burns-Hartopp Estate, Caherdaniel; and, if so, what steps they have taken in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The application has been received, and will be duly considered by the Commissioners in the event of the estate concerned coming before them.

Catholic Clerks in the Irish Agricultural Department.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will make inquiries to ascertain if in any other branches of the Agricultural Department, besides the veterinary branch, the Catholic officials are compelled to serve upwards of eleven years before reaching a salary rate of £100 per annum, while performing duties regarded by the Treasury and the Civil Service Commissioners as of a superior character.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I have nothing to add to the replies which I have given to the hon. Member's numerous Questions on the subject. I may, however, repeat that the suggestion that religion enters into the question of promotion is entirely unfounded.

Belfast Tram Fares

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the dissatisfaction which exists amongst the ratepayers of Belfast, and amongst the working classes particularly, at the refusal of the corporation to introduce halfpenny fares in connection with the new corporate tramway scheme; and whether, in view of the pledges on this subject given to the House of Commons during the passage of the recent corporation Bill, he proposes to make representations to the corporation on the subject.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I have no information on the subject of this Question. The Local Government Board have no function in the matter, and I do not propose to make any representations to the corporation.

Dundonald Cemetery.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that a portion of the new city cemetery at Dundonald, near Belfast, has been allotted to the sole use of Catholics, he will state what person or persons are named in the deed of allotment as representing the Catholic people; whether the allotment is final, or subject to revocation or alteration on the motion of either the corporation or the Government authorities; whether the jurisdiction of the Catholic authorities over the ground allotted is absolute or is subject to interference by the corporation; and whether, since the sole claim of Catholics is to maintain the burial in their allotments in accordance with the rites of their Church, and considering that they represent more than one-fourth of the population, the Local Government Board will direct that the interests of the Catholics of Belfast in this matter shall be safeguarded.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The corporation have by resolution allotted the cemetery among the different religious denominations. Their action has been sanctioned by the Local Government Board, and no deed of allotment is necessary. Subject to the provisions of Sections 177 and 183 of the Public Health Act, 1878, the cemetery remains under the jurisdiction of the corporation as the burial board of the district. The present allotment holds good until the corporation, with the consent of the Local Government Board, makes any alteration in it.

Irish School Buildings Grant.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what is the total amount of the new grant towards the expense of school buildings in Ireland; within what period it is proposed that this grant should be spent; and what is the average amount of the annual grant for this purpose for the last ten years.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The total amount of the substituted grant is £210,000, consisting of £140,000 to be voted by Parliament from public funds and £70,000 to be voted from the Ireland Development Grant. This amount will be spent in six years or more, as may be arranged. The average amount of the annual grant voted for the last ten years was £34,100.

Marlborough Street Training College.

Mr. DILLON: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what is the amount proposed to be spent on the new residences for the students of the Marlborough Street Training College; whether this amount will provide accommodation for both male and female students; what is the amount of tenders sent in; and have plans and specifications been submitted to the whole body of the Commissioners of National Education and been approved by them.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The amount proposed to be spent cannot at present be stated. The new buildings, when completed, will provide accommodation for both male and female students, but tenders have as yet only been invited for the residence for the male King's scholars. As the terms for the contract for the male students' residence have not been finally settled, the amount of the tender which has been provisionally accepted cannot be made public. The plans of the new buildings were submitted to and approved by the whole body of Commissioners.

Cost of Ammunition for Rifle Clubs

Captain SINCLAIR (Forfar): To ask the Secretary of State for War how it comes to pass that the Government charges £5 per 1,000 for ammunition to affiliated rifle clubs, while Messrs. Kynoch offer to supply affiliated clubs at the rate of £2 19s. per 1,000.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The present vocabulary rate which is charged for ·303 ball cartridges is £4 15s. This includes inspection and store charges. It is not known what cartridges are supplied by Messrs. Kynoch for £2 19s. per 1,000, but they have not passed the War Office inspection.

Messrs. Cox and Company, Army Agents —Contract with the Government.

Dr. HUTCHINSON (Sussex, Rye): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether there is a contract between the War Office and Messrs. Cox and Company in regard to the receipt and disbursement by the latter of officers' regimental pay; if so, is it in writing, what is its date, and when does it expire; will he lay a copy of it upon the Table of the House; and at its expiration will he make arrangements that the firm in question shall enjoy no preference over other London bankers.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The proposal of Messrs. Cox and Company to act as agents for the regiments and departments which they represent was accepted by letter on April 20th, 1891, in the following terms:—"I am directed by Mr. Secretary Stanhope to inform you that he approves of your appointment as agents for the regiments and departments for which you now act for the period of twenty years from the 1st January, 1892, on condition that the work is performed by you without charge to the public, and that security for £50,000 is given by you as offered in the letter above referred to. It will be left to the choice of every officer as at present to be paid by you or by an Army paymaster." The arrangement will, consequently, expire on December 31st, 1911, and the question of its continuance or otherwise will doubtless be fully considered by those then responsible. It will be observed that officers are under no compulsion to draw their pay through Messrs. Cox or any other Army agent.

War Office Contracts with Maconochie Brothers.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil): To ask the Secretary of State for War what contracts have been placed by his Department with the firm of Maconochie Brothers, Limited, since the year 1900, with the date and value of each contract.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) Contracts with Maconochie Brothers since 1st January, 1900:—

Date.	Supply.	Value.
		£
5—1—00	290,000 lbs. Bacon - - - - -	13,140
21—2—00	250,000 „ - - - -	11,459
24—3—00	87,600 „ - - - -	3,970
30—7—00	275,000 „ - - - -	12,526
22—1—01	188,000 „ - - - -	8,713
5—3—01	80,000 „ - - - -	3,708
28—8—01	300,000 „ - - - -	14,479
18—9—01	123,000 „ - - - -	5,958
23—10—01	200,000 „ - - - -	9,688
26—11—01	240,000 „ - - - -	11,708
4—2—02	100,000 „ - - - -	4,844
28—5—02	44,400 „ - - - -	2,128

Date.	Supply.	Value.
		£
28—8—01	100,000 lbs. Ham	5,208
18—9—01	72,000 "	3,750
23—10—01	60,000 "	3,125
26—11—01	280,000 "	14,583
4—2—02	300,000 "	15,625
28—5—02	79,400 "	4,135
19—2—00	250,000 Rations M. and V.	12,890
22—2—00	25,000 "	1,289
17—3—00	168,000 "	8,663
20—6—00	333,000 "	17,170
13—7—00	500,000 "	23,696
14—7—00	500,000 "	22,655
25—7—00	500,000 "	22,655
24—8—00	1,000,000 "	45,310
18—10—00	1,000,000 "	45,310
10—11—00	1,000,000 "	55,208
11—12—00	1,000,000 "	55,208
3—1—01	3,000,000 "	160,937
6—3—01	2,000,000 "	107,291
24—3—01	800,000 "	35,000
28—4—01	1,000,000 "	47,917
15—5—01	489,456 "	19,884
5—1—00	100,000 Rations Emergency	7,083
6—2—00	500,000 "	33,333
14—3—00	450,000 "	29,062
27—4—00	220,000 "	14,208
22—5—00	220,000 "	14,208

Date.	Supply.	Value.
		£
24—2—00	9,260 lbs. Roast Fowl	578
14—3—00	1,800 ,,	112
21—3—00	8,500 ,,	531
24—3—00	380 ,,	24
27—4—00	4,800 ,,	300
29—5—00	6,600 ,,	412
22—6—00	11,520 tins Roast Fowl	720
20—7—00	42,000 lbs. Roast Fowl	2,625
27—7—00	20,000 ,,	1,250
23—10—00	26,400 ,,	1,650
22—11—00	27,500 tins Roast Fowl	1,719
19—12—00	8,100 ,,	506
15—2—01	35,000 ,,	2,115
22—6—01	23,400 ,,	1,170
27—9—01	17,640 ,,	882
31—10—01	7,840 ,,	457
23—11—01	22,500 ,,	1,219
29—1—02	19,680 ,,	1,066
10—2—02	17,880 ,,	970
13—5—02	4,032 ,,	218
2—7—02	1,008 ,,	55
19—7—00	33,000 pints Calf's Foot Jelly	962
22—1—01	15,900 ,,	497
23—5—01	19,500 ,,	623
12—6—01	19,500 ,,	623
28—9—01	22,050 ,,	750
15—4—02	46,125 ,,	1,345

Date.	Supply.	Value.
		£
19—1—00	250,000 lbs. Jam	4,687
	250,000 lbs. Marmalade	3,385
30—6—00	264,000 lbs. Jam	4,950
21—7—00	500,000 ,,	6,250
3—8—00	308,560 ,,	3,857
8—9—00	660,400 ,,	8,255
28—2—01	200,000 ,,	2,361
30—4—01	1,528,270 ,,	19,200
30—1—02	1,020,000 ,,	13,562
7—4—02	70,000 lbs. Marmalade	778
24—8—03	1,000 lbs. Jam	16
18—11—03	1,200 ,,	20
26—4—01	14,448 lbs. Pepper	557
26—6—00	10,000 lbs. Oatmeal	125
2—8—00	14,000 ,,	194
2—8—00	9,000 lbs. Arrowroot	163
31—5—02	480 lbs. Sago	4
18—7—02	2,240 ,,	16

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Repair before Sale of Obsolete Cruisers.

Sir A. HAYTER (Walsall): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what is the justification for the expenditure of £160,000 upon the refit of nine cruisers, which within eighteen months were to be sold as of being no further use in the Navy; and whether he agrees in the view, expressed before the Public Accounts Committee, that the refits had not added much to the value of the ships, because they are not sold for commercial purposes and fetch little more than the price of old iron.

The CIVIL LORD of the ADMIRALTY (Mr. Arthur Lee, Hampshire, Fareham): At the time these cruisers were refitted they were still on the active list, and were necessarily kept in repair in case any emergency should arise. For this purpose the amounts expended did add to their seagoing efficiency.

General Sir Forestier Walker.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether General Sir Forestier

Walker, the newly-appointed Governor of Gibraltar, was Commander of the Forces in Cape Colony for two years during the existence of the meat contract with the Cold Storage Company, and had, as Commander-in-Chief, under him the men who passed the meat and had complete control over the Cold Storage Company, which it is estimated made a clear profit of £6,000,000 sterling from the contract; whether General Sir Forestier Walker, while in command of the Cape, or shortly after his relinquishment of that command, obtained, or was presented with by the Cold Storage Company, an interest in that company as holder of 200 and joint holder of 100 ordinary shares; whether Sir Forestier Walker subsequently became a director of the South African and Australian Cold Storage Company, to which the Cold Storage Company sold its business as a running concern with all its assets, a company which was formed for the sole purpose of buying the Cold Storage Company; and, if so, what explanation, if any, can be offered for the appointment of General Sir Forestier Walker to the Governorship of Gibraltar, having regard to his close connection with companies whose interests with the War Office have been the subject of public comment.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): The relations of General Sir Forestier Walker with the Cold Storage Company were fully discussed in this House in debate on Army Estimates of August 4th, 1902. He did not join the board until after he had ceased to be on full pay. There was nothing in General Sir Forestier Walker's action with regard to these companies which contravened any Army regulation.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Is it true or not that, immediately after resigning his command at the Cape, Sir Forestier Walker became director of a company whose contracts are now the subject of investigation by a Royal Commission?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Yes; but I am prepared to say that Sir Forestier Walker has done nothing either dishonourable or illegal.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Is he going to succeed Sir George White?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Yes, Sir.

Subsequently—

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask leave to move the adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, viz., the appointment of Sir Forestier Walker to the position of Governor of Gibraltar, having regard to his relations with the Imperial Cold Storage Company, of which he was a shareholder, immediately after his resignation of the command at the Cape, and his appointment as director of the Australian Cold Storage Company, a company whose contracts with the War Office have been the subject of public comment, and will be a matter of investigation before the Royal Commission on War Office Contracts now sitting

*MR. SPEAKER: I should have thought the proper course would be for the hon. Member to wait and see what the decision of the Stores Commission is.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Long before that decision is published, Sir Forestier Walker will be comfortably ensconced in Gibraltar, the very place where the cold storage is.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member can raise the question on the Appropriation Bill.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: With great respect, I shall not be able to raise it; for the moment I stand up, that instant the First Lord of the Treasury will move the closure.

Employment for Ex-Soldiers.

SIR CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if his attention has been called to Lord Roberts' statement, on May 15th, that only nine places had been found for retired soldiers in twelve months in Government Departments; if the statement is based on the Report of the Director-General of Recruiting; and what explanation he has to offer on the matter.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: My attention has already been drawn to this matter by my hon. and gallant friend. The statement in question referred only to the vacancies amongst messengers in public offices, other than the War Office, which had been filled by ex-soldiers. The numbers of ex-soldiers for whom employment generally has been found in the various public offices or Departments is shown in detail in the Report of the Director of Recruiting. The Post Office alone has found 1,461 places for ex-soldiers in the year concerned. The number of ex-soldiers employed at the War Office is 407.

MR. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil) asked if it were the practice for ex-soldiers to have preference over civilians with equal qualifications.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said the War Office certainly always desired to do so so far as that Department was concerned.

Armament of Volunteer Artillery.

MR. SAMUEL ROBERTS (Sheffield, Ecclesall): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War when the new field guns, repeatedly promised to the 4th West York Volunteer Artillery in lieu of the present antiquated muzzle-loading ones, will be issued; and whether, if it be not possible to issue new guns, he will give instructions that some of the guns now in use by the Royal Field Artillery, when replaced by the new quick-firing ones (now in course of manufacture and delivery), be delivered to the corps.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I think my hon. friend is under a misapprehension; there has been no intention of giving this corps any of the new field guns now under construction. In reply to the latter part of the Question, I have no further information to give the hon. Member beyond what has been already given to the House this session.

SIR ALBERT ROLLIT (Islington, S.) asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he considered that troops could be adequately trained by the use of obsolete guns.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That is a matter of opinion.

Officers' Addresses.

MR. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether any, and, if so, what, facilities are given to tradesmen and others to ascertain the addresses of officers with whom they may desire to communicate in regard to accounts due.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The addresses of officers are not furnished by the War Office. Applicants are referred to the officers' regimental agents or to the Paymaster-General.

The Judge-Advocate-General.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, under the new terms of appointment, the Judge Advocate-General will report upon the findings and procedure of Courts-martial to the Army Council, or whether he will, as heretofore, tender his advice in person to the Sovereign; whether he will have power to quash convictions, or whether the Army Council will be at liberty to disregard or reject his reports and advice; whether he will be a member of His Majesty's Privy Council; what salary will be paid to him; and for what period will his appointment be made.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The whole question of the position, duties, and salary of the Judge Advocate-General is still under consideration.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Did you not say the other day that the office of Judge Advocate-General had been abolished?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: No, Sir.

Military Sports on Sundays.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the military sports which took place at Rush, county Dublin, on Sunday last; whether these sports were held with the consent of the commanding officer; and if such proceedings have the sanction of the War Office.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The sports in question were held on the date mentioned with the sanction of the general officer concerned. Instructions will, however, be sent to the general officer commanding-in-chief that military sports should not in future be held on a Sunday.

Epizootic Lymphangitis in Ireland.

MR. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that South African disease has been imported into Ireland through the transfer of Army horses; and, if so, whether he will have a full inquiry made into the circumstances so as to place the responsibility on the persons through whose negligence loss has been sustained by Irish horse breeders and promoters of race meetings and shows.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The introduction of the disease of epizootic lymphangitis, which is not peculiar to South Africa, may have been due to Army horses. There was, however, no reason to suppose that the horses were infected when they left South Africa or when they arrived in England. The period of incubation is a very long one. It does not, therefore, appear that the suggested inquiry would serve any good purpose.

MR. CULLINAN: As this very serious disease has been imported into Ireland by Army horses through the negligence of the authorities, with the result that horses have died, stables have been closed, and race and other meetings stopped, will the Government compensate the people for the losses they have thereby sustained?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I cannot admit the accuracy of the hon. Member's assertions.

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.): In how many districts in Great Britain has it appeared?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: In several. I cannot say how many.

Lord Curzon and Indian Army Administration.

SIR HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether he has any further statement to make with regard to the speech of the Viceroy of India on the subject of the administration of the Indian Army. In putting the Question, may I explain that on perusal of the text of Lord Curzon's speech I found that I was not justified on a recent occasion in using the words in relation to that speech that the decision of His Majesty's Government and the despatch of the Secretary of State conveying that decision to the Viceroy were criticised "severely if not offensively." I wish, therefore, to withdraw the word "offensively" altogether and substitute for it "unconstitutionally."

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): I am glad the right hon. Gentleman has seen his way to withdraw the word in question. His Majesty's Government have carefully considered the text of Lord Curzon's speech of July 18th in reference to their decision as to military administration in India. The speech was delivered in terms which might easily give rise to misconception, but the questions at issue having been settled on lines accepted by the Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief, His Majesty's Government are content to regard it as closed, and to accept unreservedly Lord Curzon's declaration in the speech of July 18th of "his utmost desire to carry out loyally a policy decided upon by His Majesty's Government."

The "Allanton."

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any claims have been put forward by His Majesty's Government to the Russian Government demanding compensation for the sailors and firemen of the British steamer "Allanton," which vessel was wrongly captured by the Russian naval authorities; whether he is aware that some of the crew of the "Allanton" were kept prisoners on the Russian warships whilst these vessels were being chased by Japanese cruisers; whether he is taking any steps to secure for foreign seamen employed on British ships the same protection as British seamen; whether he can state the position of the negotiations at the present time; and whether His Majesty's Government intend to press for a settlement of the claims of the crew of the "Allanton."

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.): Complaints have been made on behalf of the sailors and firemen on board the "Allanton" for hardships sustained by them during their detention, but no specific claims for compensation have as yet been forwarded to us. Their statement makes no reference to the Russian warships to which some of the crew had been transferred being chased by Japanese cruisers. As regards the third paragraph of the Question, no steps for asserting generally the position of foreigners on board British ships are, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, necessary, as each case must depend on its special circumstances.

SIR ALBERT ROLLIT: May I ask whether the claims put forward on behalf of the sailors are admitted, and what is the reason for the great delay that has taken place.

EARL PERCY said they were still waiting for further information, as they had only got the preliminary statements. They had not made any statement to the Russian Government pending the further statement of the case of the seamen.

Photographs of Dartmoor Convicts.

MR. MOSS (Denbighshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if his attention has been called to the fact that convicts who are undergoing punishment at Dartmoor are photographed in their convict garb; that these photographs are publicly sold in shops; that they also take the form of picture postcards, and are sent through the Post Office, enabling convicts to be identified by the ou ide world; whether he will take any, and what, steps to prevent in future anyone except the properly authorised prison authorities from taking photographs of convicts; and whether he will take any, and what, steps to prevent such photographs from being sold, or made public, or used for any other purposes except in the interests of justice.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): My attention has been called to the postcards in question, but the photographs that appear on them are old ones and do not contain the likeness that can be identified of any convict now in Dartmoor. For several years past the officers at Dartmoor have had instructions not to allow the photographing of convicts by visitors, and to take every possible action to prevent "snap-shots" being taken of convicts working outside the prison. I may add that in some cases the directors of convict prisons have allowed photographs to be taken of the interior of prisons for use in illustrating articles on prison life; but such permission has always been given subject to the condition that no recognisable photograph of any individual prisoner should be taken and that prints should be submitted to the directors before publication in order that this condition might be strictly enforced.

MR. MOSS: Has the right hon. Gentleman seen the photographs?

MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS: I have seen the cards and photographs and have ascertained they are old ones taken before 1897, when the present orders were made.

Prison Photographs of Unconvicted Prisoners.

MR. MOSS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, by the prison regulations, the prison authorities are entitled to take photographs of an accused person against his will while he is under arrest but before he is tried or convicted, and who, after trial, may be acquitted; if so, whether the authorities retain the photographs of these accused persons, even after their acquittal; and, if so, whether he will take any, and what, steps to prevent any accused person from being photographed before his conviction.

Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS: Provision is made in the Penal Servitude Act, 1891, for the photographing of untried prisoners when their photographs are required in the interests of justice; but it can be done only in certain cases and under certain conditions which are prescribed in the regulations made by the Secretary of State on June 20th, 1895, and laid before this House. The regulations require, *inter alia*, that if the prisoner is either discharged by the magistrate or acquitted on trial, both negatives and copies must be either destroyed or handed over to the prisoner. It is in many cases absolutely necessary in the interests of justice that prisoners should be photographed before trial; but it appears to me that the interests of those who are found innocent are completely safeguarded by the regulations.

Mr. MOSS: Will steps be taken to prevent the photographing of prisoners before trial?

Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS: In certain cases it is absolutely necessary in the interests of justice that a prisoner should be photographed before his trial, but it appears to me the interests of these men are completely safeguarded in the way I have suggested.

Mr. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): What means have you of being assured the negatives and copies are destroyed?

Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS: Distinct orders are given that that shall be done. I have made inquiries and no complaints have reached me.

Mr. FLAVIN: The pictures are developed outside the prison, and it is easy to print any number of copies.

Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

Mr. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he has yet seen the report of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children for the month of June; is he aware that 3,690 cases, affecting the welfare of 10,470 children and involving 4,734 offenders, were dealt with; that 2,944 children were insured for £15,263; and, if so, can he say how many of these children died of their treatment, distinguishing between the various parts of the United Kingdom; and what was the amount struck in fines and imprisonment inflicted.

Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS: I have seen the figures quoted by the hon. Member. According to the statement issued by the society, forty-seven of the cases with which they dealt had resulted in the death of the child. I have no information enabling me to give the other particulars asked for.

Relief Works and Voters' Qualifications.

Sir A. HAYTER: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he proposes to issue any instruction from his office to the overseers and town clerks throughout the constituencies, directing them not to omit any names from the voting lists of persons whose sole disqualification is their having been employed upon any relief works.

The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central): I have no authority to issue any instructions on this subject.

The Unemployed Workmen Bill.

Mr. CROOKS (Woolwich): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether the Amendment which he proposes to introduce into the Unemployed Bill (lines 38 to 40), and which gives power to the central body to apply public money in the form of rates to the acquisition of land, with the consent of the Local Government Board, would enable them to lease or to purchase land for the purpose of creating farm colonies.

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR: Yes, Sir. Under the Amendment a central body would be enabled to defray out of funds supplied by contributions from the rates the expenses of purchasing land or taking it on lease for the establishment of farm colonies. But the consent of the Local Government Board would be required.

MR. KEIR HARDIE: May I ask whether, under the clause as re-drafted, there will be any power to keep these colonies going out of public funds.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: No. Such farm colonies will depend for maintenance entirely on voluntary contributions.

Ireland and the Swine Fever Regulations.

MR. LIDDELL (Down, W.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether he is aware that in twenty-seven weeks ending July 8th there were 444 cases of swine fever in Great Britain, and that during the same period there were only twenty-one cases in Ireland; and whether, in view of the fact that young pigs are admitted into Ayrshire from England, where swine fever is much more prevalent than in Ireland, he will cancel the regulations which at present prevent farmers in Ireland from availing themselves of the Ayrshire market, and thereby place them on the same footing as English farmers.

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. AILWYN FELLOWES, Huntingdonshire, Ramsey): I regret that under existing circumstances I am unable to withdraw the regulations to which the hon. Member refers. Ireland is not yet free from swine fever, and experience has shown that the conditions under which the trade in store pigs brought from that country is necessarily carried on are much more conducive to the spread of the disease than is the case where pigs are moved into the county in comparatively small numbers at a time. I may add that swine brought into Ayrshire from England are subject to the provisions of the Swine Fever (Regulation of Movement) Order of 1903, which require that no swine shall be moved into Ayrshire without a licence, which is only granted if they have been for twenty-eight days on the premises from which they are to be moved. On arrival the swine must remain for twenty-eight days at the place of destination.

MR. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.): Is it not the fact that swine fever is more prevalent in England than in Ireland?

*MR. AILWYN FELLOWES: There are more cases in England, no doubt.

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company's Steamers.

SIR WILLIAM TOMLINSON (Preston): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade what action he proposes to take with reference to the statement made to him by the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company, that they have chartered their steam vessel "Altona" for hire from Goole to a port not within the limits of The Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company (Steam Vessels) Act, 1904, for the compelling that company to desist from exceeding the powers conferred upon them by Parliament.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. BONAR LAW, Glasgow, Blackfriars): I am not prepared to agree in the suggestion of my hon. friend that the railway company have necessarily exceeded their powers under the Act of 1904 by chartering one of their vessels to an outsider, neither is it clear that keeping the vessel laid up would be obviously in the public interest. The Board of Trade do not propose to take any action.

SIR WILLIAM TOMLINSON: May I ask the hon. Gentleman if he is aware that traders engaged in the coasting trade look with the gravest apprehension on what they regard as the unfair competition of the railway companies in making use of the Parliamentary powers beyond the prescribed limits?

MR. BONAR LAW: I am not at all aware of it. I should be surprised if it is so.

SIR WILLIAM TOMLINSON: I can tell the hon. Gentleman it is.

The Vice-Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster when did the late Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy retire from that position; why has not the Vice-Chancellorship been filled up; and why has Mr. Hopkinson, K.C., the Principal of Owen's College, Manchester, since January, 1898, who has since then ceased to practise at the Bar, been appointed to discharge temporarily the duties of the office; and whether the post is to be offered to a Member of this House.

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER (Sir WILLIAM WALROND, Devonshire, Tiverton): The late Vice-Chancellor of the County Palatine resigned on June 19th, 1905. I appointed Mr. Hopkinson to act as my deputy on account of arrears of work in the Palatine Court, owing to Sir Samuel Hall's illness, and he has consented to act until the long vacation. As the office is an important one, I have taken time to consider the claims of those eligible for it. I propose to make an appointment shortly.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL said he understood the appointment was to be given to the hon. Member for the Eccles Division of Lancashire, and asked whether the right hon. Gentleman had any precedent for keeping open a judicial appointment until it was convenient for the Government to give it to a Member of that House, who had at the last election a small majority. Was it not an evasion of the privileges of the House?

*MR. SPEAKER: I think not.

*SIR WILLIAM WALROND: This appointment rests entirely in my hands.

SIR LEES KNOWLES (Salford, W.): And there have been many applications for it.

Cooscroum Harbour Improvements.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the constant applications from the local authorities to the Congested Districts Board for the carrying out improvements at the harbour of Cooscroum, the Board will put this application at the head of those to be considered for the next financial year.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): The Board will consider this suggestion in due course, but cannot now give any undertaking on the subject.

Bi-Lingual Schools in Ireland.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will state the number of schools in Ireland in which the bi-lingual programme is in operation; how many of those schools have been inspected by inspectors competent to judge of the progress made; how many such schools whose year terminated June 30th have not yet been inspected; and will he explain the cause of the delay.

MR. WALTER LONG: The number is thirteen. None of these schools have yet been inspected. In two cases, in which the school year ended on June 30th, inspection will shortly take place. In the remaining cases the school year will not terminate till September 30th.

Constable Masterson's Disappearance.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is yet in a position to state what is the result of the inquiry made by the Inspector-General of Constabulary into the disappearance of Constable Masterson, of Maryborough, while under a rule of bail to appear at the assizes; and whether the inquiry was made on oath.

MR. WALTER LONG: The constable's disappearance was fully inquired into by the Inspector-General, who found that the police were in no way to blame in the matter. The inquiry was not held on oath.

Labourers' Cottages in Antrim.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the

Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a representation under the Labourers Acts was made to the rural district council of Antrim by three men named Megarry for cottages in Crumlin district more than five years ago, that the rural district council decided that the cottages should be built, that building operations were only begun after four years delay, and that when the cottages were half built operations were suspended and no work done for some time past; and whether the Local Government Board will make inquiries as to the cause of the delay which has taken place in this case.

MR. WALTER LONG: There has been considerable delay in this matter, but the district council have now informed the Local Government Board that the cottages will shortly be completed.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say how many schemes under the Labourers Acts the rural district council of Antrim have prepared; what were the dates of each scheme; and how many houses have been built under each scheme.

MR. WALTER LONG: Two schemes; one, dated June 12th, 1902, for twenty cottages, of which six have been completed, and four more are nearly finished; and the other, dated June 9th, 1904, for thirty-six cottages, of which none have been completed.

MR. KILBRIDE: How long were the Labourers Acts in force before county Antrim built any cottages at all?

[No Answer was returned.]

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will cause an inquiry to be held by the Local Government Board into the general working of the Labourers Acts in the rural district of Antrim, and particularly into the alleged difficulty of procuring tenders for the erection of cottages, and the delay which has occurred in so many cases between the lodgment of the representation and the completion of the cottages.

MR. WALTER LONG: The Board have already held a special inquiry into the general working of these Acts in county Antrim. The alleged difficulty in procuring tenders is not a matter on which the Board could take effective action. In the absence of reasonable tenders it would be open to the council to have the cottages built by direct labour under their own architect.

Police and Public Meetings at Kilkenny.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a placard posted in Kilkenny, calling a public meeting in the town hall of that city on the 24th instant for the purpose of organising a public fund to secure proper defence and fair trial for a young man named Michael Dwyer, who is returned for trial at next winter asssizes on a charge of sedition, has been torn down by the police; whether he can say on whose authority and for what reason these placards were interfered with; and whether he intends to take any, and, if so, what, action to punish the police officers concerned.

MR. WALTER LONG: The placard was of a highly objectionable and inflammatory character, evidently offensive to a religious confraternity in the town, and calculated to promote turbulence and disorder. Some of these placards were torn down by members of this confraternity. The police, in order to promote the peace and order of the town, removed the remainder, acting on the instructions of their officers.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN; What portion of the placard was illegal?

MR. WALTER LONG: There is no necessity to read it. I take full responsibility for my Answer.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Was it not a placard calling a meeting for the purpose of organising a fund to secure the proper defence of Dwyer and to prevent the packing of the jury? Is that the seditious part of the placard? Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the meeting has actually taken place and that there has been no disturbance in the city?

Mr. WALTER LONG: That is not the only part of the placard to which objection was taken.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Was it this, then? "Men of Kilkenny, remember the infamies of ex-Sergeant Sheridan, the infamous. Remember Mitchelstown. Remember Talbot, who was also a confraternity man—a police spy who got into the Church pretending to be a Catholic while entrapping young men in the country into illegal societies." Was that the objectionable part? Why was this placard torn down?

Mr. WALTER LONG: I have said distinctly because I considered it contained undesirable statements.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): This is a somewhat serious matter. Is it contended that the right hon. Gentleman has a right to tear down any placard which contains matter displeasing to him?

Mr. WALTER LONG: No, Sir, certainly not.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: That is the effect of your Answer.

Mr. WALTER LONG: No.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN: In consequence of the unsatisfactory nature of the reply I shall later on ask leave to move the adjournment.

Subsequently—

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN: I beg to ask leave to move the adjournment of the House for the purpose of calling attention to a definite matter of urgent public importance, viz., the interference with the right of public meeting in Ireland by the removal and effacement of placards by the Royal Irish Constabulary in the city of Kilkenny, calling a meeting for organising a fund to secure the proper defence and fair trial, and to prevent the packing of the jury in the case of Michael Dwyer, who has been returned for trial on suspicion to the Wicklow Winter Assizes.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think the hon. Gentleman can hardly bring this within the rules of urgency. It appears that the occurrence took place more than a week ago, and the hon. Member himself informed the House that the meeting actually took place which was summoned by these placards; therefore, it can hardly be said to be a matter of urgent public importance.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN handed one of the placards to Mr. Speaker.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is no part of my function to decide whether this placard is likely to cause a breach of the peace or not. I cannot undertake to say that. All I can undertake to say is that the tearing down of this placard a week ago is not a matter of urgent public importance to-day.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN: I submit that if the Chief Secretary was in this young man's position he would think it a matter of urgent public importance if he knew someone was preparing to pack a jury and send him to prison.

Wexford Prison.

Mr. FFRENCH (Wexford, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Wexford Prison has been closed by the prison authorities; as a result, will it fall on the hands of the Wexford County Council; will they have to pay out of the rates the sum of £200 a year although the prison buildings are of no use to them; whether he can state if any saving has been effected by sending prisoners to Waterford Prison; and, if not, will he take steps to have Wexford Prison reopened.

Mr. WALTER LONG: The prison was closed on September 29th last, and will, by law, become vested in the county council upon the expiration of twelve months from that date, unless in the meantime it should be required for some public purpose. Should it become so vested in the council, that body will be liable for the payment of the rent. A yearly saving, estimated at £780, has been effected by the closing of the prison. It is not intended to reopen the prison.

Alleged Outrage at Boyle.

MR. JAMES O'KELLY (Roscommon, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will state the date of the alleged outrage on the house of Mr. Maginnis, near Boyle, county of Roscommon; how soon after the alleged occurrence was it reported to the constabulary; when did the police commence their inquiries, and how many were engaged in them; how many police are stationed in the Boyle district; whether any report on the subject and, if any, what report, has been made by the police; and, if not, whether he will state when such a report may be expected.

MR. WALTER LONG: The date of the alleged outrage was the night of July 11th. The occurrence was reported to the police at 4 o'clock on the morning of the 12th, and they at once commenced their inquiries under the supervision of the local police officers. Forty-four police are stationed in the Boyle district, which is an extensive one. I hope to receive a special report as to the occurrence in a day or two.

MR. HAYDEN: It is exactly twenty days since the case was reported to the police. Does it take forty policemen three weeks to find out that this, as everybody in the district knows, is an inaccurate report?

MR. WALTER LONG: There are not forty policemen engaged on the inquiry; there are forty policemen in the district, which is a very wide one. To the best of my belief, no time has been lost in making the investigation, and my sole desire is to publish the facts directly I receive them.

MR. HAYDEN: How many men are engaged on the investigation of this sham and bogus outrage?

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Three weeks have lapsed since this accusation was published in the papers alleging a serious outrage. Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether it really occurred at all?

MR. WALTER LONG: I am expecting the special report to-morrow. I desire the facts to be made known.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Do you not know the facts now?

MR. HAYDEN: How many men are engaged in investigating this alleged outrage? Has the right hon. Gentleman received any report at all?

MR. WALTER LONG: I have said inquiry is being made and I am expecting the report to-morrow. If the hon. Gentleman believes it to be a bogus outrage, surely I am doing what he desires in having the matter thoroughly investigated.

MR. HAYDEN: May I ask the hon. Member for the Altrincham Division of Cheshire on what information he based his original Question on this subject?

*MR. SPEAKER: A Question of that kind is not permissible to a private Member.

MR. HAYDEN: This is a serious matter to us. It was alleged there was a fight lasting five hours, and that one man, at least, was wounded. We want to find out from the hon. Member who gave circulation to the slander if he has made any inquiries as to whether it is true or false.

*MR. SPEAKER: That Question cannot be put to an unofficial Member.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: But surely it would be in order for an hon. Member who had been the innocent means of circulating a false statement to make a personal explanation.

MR. DISRAELI (Cheshire, Altrincham): I am awaiting the report of the Chief Secretary just as anxiously as hon. Members opposite.

Intermediate Education Inspectors in Ireland.

Mr. FLYNN (Cork, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the resolution of the Intermediate Education Board, passed in June, 1903, impressing upon the attention of the Lord-Lieutenant the great urgency of appointing permanent inspectors as a necessary part of the reforms aimed at by the Act of 1900, with a view to the inspection being carried out in a thorough and comprehensive way, and with fairness to the schools; and will he say what steps, if any, have been taken to provide the system of inspection recommended by the Board.

Mr. WALTER LONG: The whole question of inspection has engaged the attention of the Irish Government, and if the hon. Member will refer to the recently-published Report of the Commission on Intermediate Education in Ireland he will find that it was one of several matters which the Commissioners were required to investigate. The appointment of a permanent inspectorate is not recommended by them so long as the existing system of intermediate education remains unchanged.

Mr. FLYNN: Is the Treasury blocking the appointment of these inspectors?

Mr. WALTER LONG: No, Sir.

Evictions in Ireland.

Mr. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that 679 eviction notices have been issued under Section 7 of the Land Act, 1887, during the three months ending June 30th last; and, if so, whether, in view of the operations of the Land Purchase Act, 1903, and the desirability of still further facilitating the sale of land to tenant occupiers, he will consider the advisability of introducing a short measure to repeal this Section 7 before the close of the present session.

Mr. WALTER LONG: In reply to a similar Question on June 1st,† I informed the hon. Member that it was not proposed to introduce legislation of the character suggested.

Mr. FLYNN: Not if it were to be treated as uncontroversial?

Mr. WALTER LONG: I am afraid there is no chance of its being so treated.

Mr. Arthur Deane, J.P.

Mr. EDWARD BARRY (Cork County, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, seeing that Arthur Deane, J.P., is in occupation of several evicted farms in the county Cork, he will state on what grounds and on whose recommendation he received the appointment of justice of the peace for the county of Cork.

Mr. WALTER LONG: Mr. Deane was, in the usual way, appointed to the commission of the peace by the Lord Chancellor upon the recommendation of His Majesty's Lieutenant of the county.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL: Was not his sole recommendation that he had grabbed all the farms he could?

Mr. WALTER LONG: I can say nothing about the recommendations on which magistrates are appointed.

Clonakilty Evicted Tenants.

Mr. EDWARD BARRY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in the event of the completion of negotiations for sale between landlord and tenants in the townland of Tullineasky, Clonakilty, steps will be taken to reinstate an evicted tenant, Mrs. O'Brien, on the farm at present in occupation of Arthur Deane, J.P.

Mr. WALTER LONG: Mrs. O'Brien's application for reinstatement has been received, and will be considered in the event of the estate concerned coming before the Commissioners.

Mr. EDWARD BARRY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have been communicated with regarding the reinstatement of the representatives of Mrs. O'Driscoll, evicted tenants, to the farm in Ardfield, Clonakilty, in occupation of Arthur Deane, J.P.; on what grounds is Deane refusing to vacate the farm; and what steps will be taken to restore the representatives of the evicted tenants to the farm.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxlvii., 443.

MR. WALTER LONG: No proceedings for the sale of the estate concerned have come before the Commissioners. It is not possible to identify any application which they may have received from the evicted tenant's representatives unless the names of the latter be given. If the hon. Member will communicate this information to me further inquiry will be made.

Trinity College Estates.

MR. CULLINAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether sales of any of the estates held by Trinity College have been completed; if so, will he state in how many cases, and where situated; and in how many offers of sale have been made but not completed.

MR. WALTER LONG: No sales have been completed. Proceedings for the sale of two estates are pending.

MR. KILBRIDE: Where are these two estates situated?

MR. WALTER LONG: I will find out and communicate with the hon. Member.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: What is being done with the £5,000 handed over to Trinity College? Is any use being made of it?

MR. SPEAKER: Notice should be given of that Question.

Evicted Tenants on the Coltsmann Estate, County Kerry.

MR. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can now state that anything has been done for the evicted tenants on the Coltsmann Estate, county Kerry, which estate has been before the Estates Commissioners for a considerable period.

MR. WALTER LONG: The advances of purchase money in respect of this estate have not yet been made. The Commissioners are about to further consider the question of assistance to the evicted tenants.

Gortumloe Grazing Farms.

MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state what steps the police have taken to bring to justice the authors of the notices posted on July 23rd last, threatening the tenants selected by the Estates Commissioners for new holdings on the grazing farm of Gortumloe, near Mullingar; what has been the result of the police investigation as to the shooting alleged to have taken place in connection with these lands last May; and will he take steps to prevent graziers and their friends making similar attacks on persons selected by the Estates Commissioners as new tenants for divided portions of grazing lands.

MR. WALTER LONG: It was reported in a local newspaper that threatening notices had been posted up in connection with this matter, but the police failed to discover the notices or any persons who saw them. The police have not succeeded in tracing the perpetrators of the outrage referred to in the second part of the Question. The police will continue to use their best efforts for the prevention and detection of outrage.

MR. TULLY: Can the right hon. Gentleman give the name of the local paper?

MR. WALTER LONG: No, Sir.

Case of Mr. Murphy.

MR. ROCHE (Galway, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been drawn to the report which appeared in the *Cork Examiner* of Friday last regarding the serious illness of Mr. Murphy, at present undergoing a sentence of six months in Cork gaol for his defence of Watergrasshill; whether it is true that his condition is so serious that the two doctors who attended and operated on him ordered a Catholic clergyman to be sent for, who administered the last rites of the Church; whether, seeing that he has already served four months in prison, steps will be taken to have him released immediately.

Mr. WALTER LONG: The prisoner suffered from tonsilitis. The prison medical officer was sent for on Thursday last, but before his arrival the chaplain's substitute administered religious rites to the prisoner. Subsequently the medical officer lanced an abscess in the prisoner's throat, since when his condition has improved. His life was not and is not in danger. The doctor did not send for the clergyman. Any memorial in favour of a mitigation of sentence will at once be considered.

Mr. KILBRIDE: Did not the Solicitor-General tell the right hon. Gentleman that this man was in a dangerous state at the time of his conviction? Is it the right hon. Gentleman's intention to convert the sentence into a death penalty?

Mr. WALTER LONG: I received no such information from the Solicitor-General.

Mr. ROCHE: Will you reconsider the case without a memorial?

Mr. WALTER LONG: If the medical reports say the man is in danger I will certainly do so.

Galway Assize Trials.

Mr. ROCHE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the number of persons charged with unlawful assembly at last Galway Assizes, the amount expended by the trials, also the amount of fees received by the Attorney-General, the number of convictions obtained, and number of special jurors told to stand aside by the Crown.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.): The number of persons tried for unlawful assembly was forty-one. Convictions were had in three cases, involving thirty-five defendants, and the jury disagreed in one case, involving six defendants. The amount expended is estimated at £176, but accounts have not yet been vouched. The Attorney-General has not received, and is not entitled to receive, any fees in respect of these prosecutions. In the four cases referred to 117 jurors were ordered to stand by, but this number does not represent 117 persons, as many jurors were ordered to stand by more than once.

Irish Loan Funds.

Mr. EDWARD MITCHELL (Fermanagh, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can say what is being done with the money collected by receivers appointed to various loan funds in Ireland; whether the debenture-holders will soon get payments out of the amount collected; and, if so, can he say when.

Mr. ATKINSON: The Loan Fund Board have as far as practicable authorised the payment, by the receivers appointed by the Board, of dividends to the debenture-holders out of the money collected; but owing to the fact that the Loan Fund Societies did not within six months from the passing of the Act of 1900 sue the persons liable on notes, the collection of the outstanding loans is now suspended pending the passage through Parliament of the amending Bill introduced on the 15th of March last. Until that or a similar measure has been passed, the payment of the borrowers' debts cannot be enforced, and as a consequence dividends cannot be paid to the debenture-holders.

City of Galway Woollen Mills.

Mr. CHARLES DEVLIN (Galway): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is aware that on July 12th last a communication was sent to the Board of Works by the City of Galway Woollen Manufacturing Company, Limited, calling attention to the accumulation of loose stones and rubbish in the mill race, to the detriment of the company's mills; if so, what answer was sent by the Board of Works; whether a further communication was sent on July 25th on the same subject by the Board of Works; and, if so, what reply was sent, and what action was taken.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): The Board of Works have made arrangements to inspect again the alleged obstruction, and have written to the company to state that the inspection will take place shortly.

Proposed Irish Telegraph Extensions.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether any further steps have been taken to provide the largely-populated districts of Cloonagh and Aghnacliffe with a telegraph service.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): The matter rests with the hon. Member himself. As I have informed him more than once, I am willing to open telegraph offices at Cloonagh and Aghnacliffe if guarantees are given for those offices. A guarantee has been promised for Dring, and I am taking steps to have that guarantee executed.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: The objection is the Dring route. We are quite willing to give a guarantee if that is withdrawn.

LORD STANLEY: I think the objection is unreasonable.

Status of Irish Sub-Postmasters.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General to state whether he is still of opinion that the *status* of sub-postmasters in Ireland is not one calling for improvement; whether he can state why no salary for a clerk to such offices is allowed even when the members of the family discharge this office to the knowledge of the district surveyor; and will he now direct a full inquiry into the whole subject.

LORD STANLEY: Increased remuneration has recently been granted to sub-postmasters in Ireland and elsewhere, and I am not of opinion that there are sufficient grounds for further improving their pay. The salaries and commissions of sub-postmasters are calculated to cover the cost of the provision of the necessary staff for the duties of the office.

Irish Language in the Irish Post Office.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether steps will be taken to withdraw the Post Office regulation to the effect that parcels addressed in Irish cannot be received except there is also an English translation, in view of the fact that letters addressed wholly in Irish are received at the various post offices and delivered.

LORD STANLEY: I see no ground for altering the rule in question. Parcels, unlike letters, have to be handed in at a post office, and it is reasonable that the opportunity should be taken of requiring the sender to give a translation of the address in English. If there is genuine difficulty on the part of the sender in furnishing a translation, the officer to whom a parcel is tendered may add it, if he can.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL: For what reason is a distinction drawn between letters and parcels? The former, if addressed in Irish, are delivered, the latter refused.

LORD STANLEY: Parcels have to be handed in over the counter. Both are delivered when the address is deciphered.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can inform the House of the present intention of the Government with regard to Friday next, in the event of the Appropriation Bill being introduced on Thursday.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (MR. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): It is not in my power to answer this Question until I see what progress is made by the House with the necessary business of the session.

POST OFFICE (TELEPHONE AGREEMENT).

Report from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence, brought up, and read.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 271.]

EXTRADITION BILL [LORDS].

Read the first time; to be read a second time To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 304.]

NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1903–4.

Motion made, and Question put, "That this House will, To-morrow, resolve itself into a Committee to consider the Savings and Deficiencies upon Navy and Army Grants for 1903–4, and the temporary sanction obtained from the Treasury by the Navy and Army Departments to the Expenditure not provided for in the Grants for that year. That the Appropriation Accounts for the Navy and Army Departments, which were presented upon the 20th day of February last, be referred to the Committee."—(*Mr. Victor Cavendish.*)

The House divided:—Ayes, 210; Noes, 122. (Division List No. 316.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allhusen, AugustusHenryEden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.HughO.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hon.SirH
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hon.A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, RtHnGeraldW.(Leeds
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bathurst, Hon.AllenBenjamin
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Campbell, Rt.Hn.J.A.(Glasgow
Campbell,J.H.M.(Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt.Hon.J.(Birm.
Chamberlain, RtHnJ.A.(Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt.Hon.SirJosephC.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. SirJohnE.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt.Hon.SirWilliamHart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Faber, George Denison, (York)
Fellowes,RtHn.AilwynEdward
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.SirJ.(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Rt.HnSirRB.(Inv'rn'ss
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Sir Frederick William
FitzGerald, SirRobertPenrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. EdwardAlgernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, MajEvans-(T'rH'mlets
Gore, Hon. S; F. (Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Greene, HenryD.(Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thos. F.
Hamilton, Marqof(L'nd'nderry
Hardy, Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton(Tynem'th
Heath, ArthurHoward(Hanley
Heath, SirJames(Staffords.NW
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, Sir A.(Stafford,W.)
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard,John(Kent,Faversham
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks. N. R.)
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. ArthurFred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hon.Geo.T.(Denbigh)
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool
Lawson,Hn.H.L.W.(Mile End
Lee, ArthurH(Hants,Fareham.
Lees, Sir Elliot (Birkenhead
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, FrederickN.S.
Liddell, Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. CharlesW.(Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft
Lucas,ReginaldJ.(Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Marks, Harry Hananel
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell,RtHn SirH.E.(Wigt'n
Middlemore, JohnThrogmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Morgan.DavidJ.(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Peel, Hn. Wm Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Rankin, Sir James

Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie, Rt.Hon.Chas.Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Sackville, Col. S. G. (Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Samuel,Sir HarryS.(Limehouse
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith,Rt.HnJ.Parker(Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hon.Arthur(Ormskirk
Stanley, EdwardJas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbat, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thompson,Dr.E C (Monagh'nN
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Walrond, Rt.Hn.SirWilliam H.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby,Lt.-Col.A.C.E.(Taunton
Welby, SirCharlesG.E.(Notts.)
Willoughby, de Eresby, Lord
Wills, Sir Frederick (Bristol,N.
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E.R.(Bath
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C.B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Benn, John Williams
Boland, John
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, SydneyCharles(Poplar
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Clancy, John Joseph
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Cullinan, J.
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Hammond, John
Hardie, J. Keir (MerthyrTydvil
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Higham, John Sharp
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Kilbride, Denis
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex.(Donegal, W.
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, SirJosephF.(Accrington)
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mooney, John J.
Moss, Samuel
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan,Col. John P.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, W,)
O'Kelly,James(Roscommon,N.
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parrott, William
Pearson, Sir Weetman D.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Reckitt, Harold James
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E.(Waterford)
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J. Compton
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Roche, Augustine (Cork)
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Rose, Charles Day
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L.(Cleveland
Seely,Maj. J.E.B.(IsleofWight)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer,RtHnC.R.(Northants..
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. MacVeagh and Mr. Flavin.

NEW BILLS.

PURCHASE OF LAND BILL.

"To provide for the purchase of land by local authorities," presented by Mr. George White; supported by Mr. Cremer, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Higham, Mr. Mansfield, Mr. Richards, and Mr. Shackleton; to be read a second time upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 299.]

SECRETARIES OF STATE FOR TRADE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT BILL.

"To make the Board of Trade and the Local Government Board Offices of a Secretary of State," presented by Mr. Balfour; to be read a second time To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 300.]

LORD WARDEN OF THE CINQUE PORTS BILL.

"To make provision with respect to the office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports," presented by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas; supported by Mr. Cochrane; to be read a second time To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 301.]

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.

"To grant money for the purpose of certain local loans out of the Local Loans Fund, and for other purposes relating to local loans," presented by Mr. Victor Cavendish; to be read a second time To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 302.]

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (GOVERNMENT BUSINESS).

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The Motion which I now have to make has been made at one period of the session or another for many years past; and it has usually been necessary for the Leader of the House to make an elaborate survey of the Bills which he still hopes to pass into law. In moving this Resolution on July 31st I think I can compress all that I have to say in order to recommend the Resolution to the House within the compass of a very few minutes indeed. That the time has come when the twelve o'clock rule should be suspended, will I imagine, be denied by none. Indeed, though there have been examples when this Resolution has been proposed at a later period of the session, the more common practice has undoubtedly been to propose it somewhere about July 20th, ten days or a fortnight earlier than the moment which the Government think appropriate on the present occasion.

I mean to reverse the ordinary mode of exposition in this matter, because I would rather enumerate to the House what are the Bills and Resolutions which must absolutely be passed before the close of the session. That session ought, in my judgment, as the House well knows, to be brought to an end in the course of next week; and before the end of next week we must pass the following Bills and the following Resolutions, which either deal with Bills or deal with one form or another of Supply. As regards Supply, we have an excess Vote for the Civil Service and one for the Navy, which ought to be passed at once in order to bring our proceedings in Supply to a conclusion. We have a Vote for a new service which under the Standing Order must be introduced before the termination of Supply—a new service connected with the relief of distress in Ireland. Then there are, in addition to these and to the ordinary Supply of the year, two expenditure Resolutions connected with the Navy and the Army. This is an annual proceeding which always has to be carried out before Supply is finished, and it is a proceeding which has led, in my own recollection, to a good many prolonged sittings; and it is not for me to say whether the modern practice, under which we discuss these matters at great length, or the ancient practice of having little or no discussion on them, is the better. But, at any rate, they have to be passed, with or without prolonged discussion.

With regard to Bills, there is, of course, the Appropriation Bill itself; the Naval Works Loan Bill, of which the Second Reading has been passed and the Committee stage not touched; the Relief of Distress (Ireland) Bill; the East India Loan Railway Bill, which is absolutely necessary in order to enable the Government of India effectually to carry on its schemes in this branch of its work; the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill; the Public Works Loans Bill, and the Isle of Man Customs Bill. There are, in addition to these Bills, and in addition to the Supply work, the Report of the Telephone Resolution, discussion on which was promised under a pledge given by the Postmaster-General with my full knowledge and consent. It is possible if and when these measures are passed to bring the session to a close. I do not know, and I do not think anyone can tell at present, what amount of discussion the House will desire or insist on having in regard to these matters, which for the most part might be treated uncontroversially, but which, no doubt, are capable of being treated controversially.

There were some expressions which fell from persons of importance in this House to the effect that His Majesty's Government was not to be allowed to get through any business at all except by *force majeure*, by the actual weight of long discussion and majorities. Of course if that is true, and those counsels prevail, then the prospect of doing anything but the necessary business becomes extremely small. If, however, as I venture to think, wiser counsels prevail, and if we are permitted to consider the phrases I have referred to as hasty phrases used in the heat of debate, without carrying with them any serious or vital consequences, then I should greatly hope that other measures besides those I have enumerated would pass this House. It is manifest that at this period of the session, and in the circumstances which I have briefly and uncontroversially referred to, no measure which receives serious opposition from any quarter of the House has any chance of passing into law. But I hope, and I may almost say I believe, that there are measures, some of them small and wholly uncontroversial—such as the Cinque Ports Bill just introduced—which the House may desire to pass. But in addition to smaller measures of that description there are, of course, larger measures on which, if the House is agreed, I think we might make not only substantial progress but actually come to a final conclusion. Whether that hope of mine will be fulfilled depends not upon me nor upon anything I can do; it depends entirely upon the attitude of the House in general and of hon. Gentlemen opposite in particular. I will, therefore, say no more on that, contenting myself with having told the House when it is that I think our labours should be brought to a conclusion and what are the measures absolutely necessary in order to obtain that result.

Before sitting down I want to say one word on a part of the Resolution which appears on the Notice Paper now for the first time. It is that part which deals with the introduction of Bills under what is called the ten minutes rule. So far as my recollection serves me, no unofficial Member has ever introduced a measure under the ten minutes rule until the present session. It is a novelty. I do not express an opinion as to whether it is a desirable or an undesirable novelty; but I will remind the House that this rule was introduced, not in order to give unofficial Members an opportunity which practically they did not before possess of making a speech on the First Reading of their Bills—it was introduced for a very different purpose, namely, that of enabling the Government to explain briefly any measure they desired to bring before the House, and to permit a brief comment upon that explanation, avoiding the prolonged debate which occasionally took place upon even second-rate Government Bills, and was the ordinary practice upon first-class measures. The innovation introduced by that rule was, I think, a great advantage so far as Government Bills were concerned. Whether it is a useful innovation if it is to be habitually used by any unofficial Member who wishes to explain his Bills, I will not say; but at the present time of the session at which we have now arrived there is no possibility of any private Members' Bills becoming law, or even making the smallest progress towards becoming law. No man whom I am addressing has the smallest doubt that every Bill introduced at the present time by an unofficial Member is destined to remain at the stage of the First Reading, and will not and cannot make the smallest further progress towards its final consummation.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): What about Government Bills?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I have already said that no Government Bill that receives serious opposition, other than those I have mentioned, can be proceeded with. But if the hon. Gentleman meant that the Government ought not to introduce Bills under the ten minutes rule at this stage of the session, I hope that he will notice the excellent example which I ventured to set just now when I introduced a Bill, which I have long promised, without the statement which in different circumstances and earlier in the session I should have been very much tempted to make.

Mr. LOUGH (Islington, W.): Will the right hon. Gentleman mention any other Bill except the Cinque Ports Bill that he hopes to pass?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will allow me to finish. I would remind the House that of course nothing in this rule prevents private unofficial Members from introducing what measures they like. They may cover the Order Paper with their projects of legislation and have them printed at the public expense.

An HON. MEMBER: We are equal to you.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): Prior to you. You are no superior person. [" Order."]

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: All that the addition to the rule provides is that, if any hon. Gentleman introduces a new project of legislation, he will require to follow the example just set by the Government and introduce it without any preliminary explanation. It will be noticed that, if the so-called ten minutes rule was used to its full extent, it might be possible on any measure introduced by an unofficial Member to have a ten minutes speech proposing the measure, another of ten minutes opposing it, and a division, which would last a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes; and forty minutes in that way might be exhausted on one measure alone. So much for the addendum to the Resolution.

The hon. Member for Islington asked me just now to give an idea of what Bills I hoped to pass or expected to pass if there was time for them. I think the hon. Gentleman will feel that his request is rather an unreasonable one. I have already told the House that the amount of time which has to be spent on business which, in large measure at least, is not controversial, depends not upon me, but upon the House, and it is not until I have some conclusive indication of the course which the House desires to take in regard to the list of necessary measures which I have read out, that I can offer the hon. Member, or anyone else, anything in the nature of a correct forecast of the business we shall be able to perform outside the relatively narrow limits of the necessary business which must be passed before the session comes to an end. With this brief, and, I hope, adequate explanation [Cries of " No."] I beg to move.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That, for the remainder of the session, Government Business be not interrupted, except at half-past Seven of the clock at an Afternoon Sitting, under the provisions of any Standing Order regulating the Sittings of the House, and may be entered upon at any hour though opposed; that at the conclusion of Government Business each day Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House without Question put, and that no Motions be made for leave to bring in Bills under Standing Order No. 11." (*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): The right hon. Gentleman was quite right in what he said at the beginning of his remarks as to this being the usual time, in an ordinary session, for a Motion of this sort being made. There has always been a little by-play as to the particular day selected for the process. Some say it is too early; others that it is too late; but as a rule the House has been accustomed in past years for the most part to agree to it without much difficulty. The session is supposed to be practically over. The harvest of legislation has been accomplished, and the wearied harvestmen are anxious, one and all, to take their harvest home, to go home carrying their sheaves with them. That is the usual situation. There are usually some measures which have been unfortunately, and to the regret of all, omitted; there has been no time to overtake them, and they are, to use the common phrase, massacred. But where are the innocents to-day? Not only are there no innocents, but there are very few measures. There never has been a more barren field than that which we see before us to-day. The Aliens Bill, a measure of first-class importance according to hon. Gentlemen opposite, also a measure capable of very rapid transformations in the course of its two years experience, has been practically saved by being sent into harbour in another place; but the Unemployed Bill, what of it?

The right hon. Gentleman has taken a course which I think was never taken before. He has stated certain pieces of business which must necessarily be got through before we rise, and then he says "It depends on how long you take in transacting that business whether we take anything more." He has not even told us that, if there is any superfluous time, such a Bill or such Bills would be those that he would pass. Evidently he does not expect that there will be any time, and he knows that the measures which he could proceed with are of little value. Of course there are great measures—the Unemployed Bill, which has been wrecked, I presume; the Scottish Education Bill, which I am afraid was dead a good many weeks ago; and there may be one or two other useful Bills; but except those there is nothing to regret, nothing to mourn over, and nothing to look forward to if we find any time. Sir, we never were in such a situation in the course of anyone's experience.

But I think that not only is there this extraordinary barrenness of the session, but there is another element in the case which goes deeper, and is, I think, more worthy of attention. What is the authority of the Government for asking us to allow ourselves to be worked overtime? What is the authority of this Government to conduct the business of the House, whether it be before midnight or after midnight? That is the primary question with which we are faced. What is the authority of the Government derived from? Is it from the country? Is it from the House? Or is it simply from a sense of their own indispensable character? I wish we could get an Answer to this. The hon. Baronet who represents the Education Department is our great authority on constitutional questions. I will not quote again those words of his which have been so often quoted and with such irresistible effect; but at the end of those words he goes on to say that a Ministry in certain conditions, which he describes, and which are an actual picture of the conditions existing in this year of grace—a Ministry in that position ceases to be a Ministry and becomes a mere group of personages. I should like to ask one of the personages to tell us what their authority is. The fare provided for us this session is of quite a minor and trivial character. It has been so all along. The single aim of the Government, apparently, has been to devote all their ability, and, what has been more useful, all their agility, to staving off expulsion from office.

Why is it we were called upon to meet late and are now being invited to retire early? Why was there so much delay in proceeding with these Bills, which, out of respect for their comparative position, I will call the principal measures of the session? They would not have been the principal measures in any other session, but they occupy that position now. "Oh," we are told, "the Opposition wasted so much time over the fiscal question." Who introduced the fiscal question? It was not the fault of the Opposition in any sense that the country has been distracted and the time of this House occupied by the fiscal question. The fiscal question was introduced by a member of the Government, the Colonial Secretary of the day, who, of course, would never introduce such a huge and all-absorbing subject unless he had the full consent and approval of the Cabinet to which he belonged. It is they who have created the fiscal controversy at this moment and they must take the consequences. And when I ask why there has been this delay, I think the answer is that it is because of this single pre-occupation of theirs, this single settled belief that, whether in action or in repose, whether advancing to the attack or fleeing away, present or absent, in a majority or in a minority, they are the men of destiny, and the country and the Empire would totter to their fall were it not for their Titanic support. It is that which is the underlying supposition of all we see going on now-a-days. It is about the worst compliment which could be paid to the country. I am not questioning for a moment—it would be sacrilegious to do so—the merits of the Government. I merely ask what are their credentials? What is their right to be there? How came they to be there? I am not thinking of the more recently adopted members of the family, who, of course, are there on their merits, such as the Colonial Secretary and the Secretary of State for War. But what of the older and original members of the Government which took office in 1900? The Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, the President of the Local Government Board—I think those are all that I can recall—they have the 1900 certificate. Most of the Government then formed sits on the Back Benches, and those whose merits and claims probably conduced as much as if not more than many of their colleagues to win that victory, they are on the Back Benches.

The Government took their place on the Treasury Bench after the 1900 election, which was a snatch election. ["No, no!"] There was no seven years proscription then. The election was taken much sooner than it might have been because of the advantageous circumstances. It was taken also, which is another feather in their cap, on false pretences. It was taken to carry out a definite and defined policy limited by a great emergency. What is my authority for that, my main authority? I have my own powers of observation, but I have something much better. At Blenheim on August 12th, 1901, there was, as we all remember, a great glorification. Perhaps if I called it a "Maffickation" it would be a good description. The Prime Minister was there, but the hero of the day was the then Colonial Secretary. What he said was this—

> "This great question"—which was the cutting down of the Irish representation—"was not before you at the last general election. Then it was the question of the war we have been waging in South Africa which was the question; which Party should conduct it to its conclusion, which Party should make the settlement, the satisfactory and final settlement, at its close. You know that our opponents tried to confuse the issue."

Since the wolf sat down with the lamb I know nothing better than that—

> "They were not allowed to do so. They had to fight on that line whether they liked it or not, and they did not like it."

We like still less the use which has been made of it—

> "But the result has been such a mandate from the people of this country as has never been given before to any Government, so clear, so defined, or by such an enormous majority—a mandate on which we are acting and on which we intend to act."

This alone is enough to show that some of these wasted and mischievous years have been years of usurpation. But the Government do not take that view. They take the election of 1900 as all-sufficient for all purposes. We do not hear of a mandate of a definite kind, and they make no account, of course, of any possible number of by-elections; and yet there are indications that the Government are not altogether easy in their minds as to the terms on which they stand with the country.

There are one or two extraordinary features in what is disclosed to us of their view of the question. For months past they have been putting it about that the next Government will certainly not be a Unionist Government. For a Ministry to indulge in this kind of prophecy is an absolute novelty. The main defensive argument of the Government, when they are pressed, generally is a warning against the dreadful kind of people who will succeed them; but when men or Ministers abandon making claims on their own merits, and merely use the sort of argument to which I have referred, saying, practically, we may be bad, but there are others who will be worse—[MINISTERIAL cheers]—I am glad to find I so accurately represent the views and main motive principles of hon. Members opposite—when either Ministries or Parties are driven to this, they are at their last extremity. But then they have gone further. They have actually fallen into a habit of addressing us as if we had already been put in as official receivers, as if we were already in some way responsible for the government of the country. It is, "What are you going to do?" They say, "How are you going to unravel this knot or clear up this mess that we have made," not "if you come in," but "when you are in?" It has been carried to such a length that we have even in a premature way actually had a vote of confidence made against us by the hon. Member for Rochester. In fact, we might be in apprehension any day that some other hon. Member, exhausted by the pleasant pastime of inventing blocking Motions, might come down and move some Motion expressing detestation of the heinousness of our policy.

This is all very new and very curious, but what it shows is this. They have realised, to a greater extent than they would like it to be known, perhaps, the fact that the country has exhausted its appreciation of their services. They are in a position, with which we are familiar in domestic affairs, of having had notice given them, and I do not know why they do not leave before their month is up. If we penetrate beneath the surface, I think we shall find that this tenacity is the outcome of a solemn and settled conviction that if they are to go to the country disaster will overtake them. I do not hear any violent contradiction of that assertion. It is a mere supposition on my part, but it is not objected to. So long as they can contrive to sit there and use this Assembly as a sanctuary and a rest-house the catastrophe can at least be postponed. To avert it, of course, is beyond their hope. If they stay here, talk a little about Imperial defence, spend lots of money, and pass occasional votes of confidence in themselves, then they may still pass for a Government of some sort. They allege, I believe, that they have still the confidence of this House. ["Hear, hear!" from the MINISTERIAL side.] Yes, "a sort of confidence" which cannot be in any way a substitute for constitutional representative authority; and this confidence with which the Ministry is blessed is a kind for which the leaders have seldom in our history been thankful. So long as the Prime Minister leads them to the edge of the precipice and does not take them over, then he has their formal and unfailing support. But if it is anything else, whether redistribution or no redistribution, whether the loaded revolver or the unloaded revolver, whether free food or penal tariff—what do these things matter? There is nothing under the sun on which a shivering vote of confidence might not be obtained by a little dexterity. Defeat in this House was the test to which the Prime Minister appealed. Therefore, we attached unusual importance, perhaps, to the event the other day on that account.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Will you quote?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: One of the right hon. Gentleman's colleagues said it. Some influential person on that side in the immediate neighbourhood of the right hon. Gentleman said so. [Cries of "Who?"] I am not sure that it was not a blood relation. [Cries of "Quote" and "Gerald."] I do not think it is necessary to quote; the passage has been quoted again and again. There is no ambiguity about the matter. But when a defeat in the House comes the right hon. Gentleman quotes a string of precedents in which Governments have not heeded. Of course you can find any number of precedents; but when the right hon. Gentleman derived the greater number of them from Lord Melbourne's Government I think that he must have been conscious of the character which that Government bore in respect of this very matter. But if appeals are made to precedents, where is the precedent of a Government that dares not defend in this House its own policy which is put in the forefront, of a Government which is driven to withdraw its forces bodily in order to avert defeat? Such a Government is a beaten and discredited Government, and there is no room for it within the bounds of our Constitution.

To sum up, whether you view their presence here in going on with the business and in moving the suspension of the twelve o'clock rule and so forth as if they were a real Government; whether you view them from the standpoint of the general election or the by-elections, or have regard to the fact that the country is exasperated by their retention of office; or whether you look at the tenure on which they hold office from this House, namely, that neither incidental defeats nor carefully-planned strategical withdrawals can effect their freehold, their moral authority has gone. And this is the Government which to-day asks us to express our willingness to give the whole twenty-four hours of the day, if necessary, in order to pass a few Bills for which nobody cares, not even the authors of them. Never, I trust, will any of us, even the most long-lived among us, see again so damaged and disqualified a Ministry treat with such insolent disregard at once the will of the country and the rights of Parliament.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) said the statement of the Prime Minister was of so extraordinary a description that, full and admirable as had been the comment by the Leader of the Opposition, there were other points which certainly ought to be alluded to. The Prime Minister had not told the House, according to unbroken practice—and the House had a right to demand, and would demand, a statement on this occasion—what were the measures he intended to proceed with in this session. It was only by inference that they were able to gather that such a measure as the Unemployed Bill was not to be proceeded with. Why? It was alleged by the Prime Minister that that was a measure to which he attributed supreme importance a short while ago. That measure was being abandoned not on account of the obstruction of business by the Opposition in that House. The right hon. Gentleman did not make that allegation. He was challenged on three occasions to say whether there had been any obstruction by the Opposition, and on each occasion he had said the contrary. The right hon. Gentleman had alleged that the only time that was wasted was early in the session, on a discussion of the Army proposals of the Government. Why was time wasted on those proposals, if it was wasted? Those hon. Members who through the whole of the Army debates in the early part of the session had been interested spectators without taking part in them knew that time was not wasted except in so far as it was wasted owing to the inability of the Government to state what their proposals were, a fact which, after the promises of last year, was certain to lead to waste of time, if it was wasted, in the Army debates. Nothing else had been alleged by the Prime Minister for the session being short in legislation. There had been a total failure of the Government to legislate since their authority had been destroyed by the raising of the fiscal question without that question being brought to a solution in the proper way by a general election and by the people of the country. The total loss of authority by the Government was a great danger to the country. There were not only enormous arrears, as the Government themselves had admitted by the language they had used in regard to their own legislative programmes of the last two years, but great danger existed in the case of the Unemployed Bill by the mere raising of the question and then dropping it—the raising of it in such a way as to excite hopes in the country in that class whose hopes were most easily excited and most easily disappointed. An hon. Member of the House the other day alluded in the gravest way to what might occur in the country if the Unemployed Bill were not passed. It was stated that it was a matter of urgency that this matter should be dealt with, and the Government, while disappointing the hopes which had been raised, had not accompanied the abandonment of the Bill by any reason for the determination to which they had come on the subject.

There had been nothing said that day as to what should have been the main topic of the session, and which they were now told would be the main feature of a future session. What were called the Redistribution proposals were the first proposals in the short list in the King's Speech. Personally, he did not think the present Government would be able to legislate on that subject. The only interesting thing about it was "Who killed Cock Robin?" He said it was his hon. friend the Member for Waterford. He had the credit of being the executioner on that occasion. He himself was afraid from what members of the Government had said that they looked forward to the resuscitation of this interesting animal in the course of next session. Personally, he believed the proposals were dead. These were the main proposals which the Government had stated that they intended to put before the House, and they had been withdrawn without any definite statement to the House in regard to the future intentions of the Government. This was a matter which, at all events, was of first-class importance. He had alluded to the first, second, and third items of the programme of the Government. The Prime Minister that day, in speaking of what was called the ten minutes rule, told the House that it was made use of for the introduction of secondary measures. The Aliens Bill was introduced under the ten minutes rule, and, therefore, the only one of the legislative proposals of the Government which had a chance of passing into law—the only one of the first nine items in the King's Speech—was one which the Prime Minister himself looked upon as a measure of secondary importance. That was their record. There had never been a session which had shown such legislative failure.

There were measures abandoned which the Government had claimed to be essentially necessary and of immediate importance. The Workmen's Compensation Bill, for instance, figured fifth in the King's Speech this year, and it stood higher in the Speech from the Throne last year. That Bill was really urgently demanded by the whole of the labour world without any difference of opinion. He submitted, as he had done in regard to the Unemployed Bill, that it was a great danger to the country if it came to be felt that the House of Commons was unable to pass into law measures of first-class importance which were put high up in the programme of the Government. But was the House of Commons unable to do so if it were properly led? Was it the fault of the House of Commons? The real reason was the loss of authority of the Government since the fiscal question was raised, and not any loss of power on the part of the House of Commons to legislate on subjects of this kind. The Scotch Education Bill merited that a word more be said. How had that measure been used before the House of Commons? Last year when the Scotch Education Bill stood very high up in the list in the King's Speech and had made more progress than this year, strong remarks were made that that Bill had been made use of as a stop-gap for Ascot week. This year the scandal had been even greater, because, notoriously, at no time had the Bill had any chance of passing, and yet on two occasions it had been used to waste time. Everybody engaged in those procedings was perfectly aware on both occasions that it was all a waste of time. Again, nearly all the Bills dropped last year were the Bills which this year had been dropped for the second time. One of these was the Irish Labourers Bill, which was the subject of a positive pledge the year before last. Then, last year there was a Bill mentioned which was brought forward again this year for the establishment of a Ministry of Commerce and Industry. A day or two ago the Prime Minister, in answer to a Question, said that he was going to redeem his promise in regard to that Bill and the right hon. Gentleman had that day brought in a Bill which was of an entirely different kind, and one unheard of before. The Bill did not establish a Ministry of Commerce and Industry, but was a Bill to make the Board of Trade and the Local Government Board offices of a Secretary of State—for which a great deal was to be said.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said he thought the right hon. Gentleman had misdescribed the Bill mentioned in the King's Speech.

SIR CHARLES DILKE said that the note he had of the King's Speech was that the Bill was for the establishment of a Ministry of Commerce and Industry, but if he was wrong he apologised and would not press the point. His case of waste of time was sufficiently strong without it. At the end of the list of nine Bills mentioned in the King's Speech, there was one which interested his hon. friend near him. Year after year the whole rating system of the country had been condemned; and the Government had said that they were burning to deal with it. Every Party said it ought to be dealt with. But the Government said they must first pass a Valuation Act as the first step in dealing with the rating question. Last year the Government placed such a Bill very high up in their programme and introduced a Bill, but it was dropped. This year the subject had again been brought forward, but had again been abandoned without a struggle; in fact, the Bill had never been introduced at all. The only labour Bill passed last year was a sham; and this year the only Bill claiming to be a labour Bill—the Aliens Bill—that had been passed by the House of Commons was also a sham measure. He did not know how far he would be in order in saying that those Bills which were killed last year and many of those introduced this year and abandoned without the slightest struggle, were also dead for next year as well; for it was an undoubted fact that the Government had stated that the leading item in their programme for next year—if the Government did intend to meet the House at all next year—damaged, discredited, weak as they were to conduct legislation —was their Redistribution proposals. He need hardly say that it would be almost impossible to carry such a measure except at the sacrifice of almost all other Bills. And therefore these Bills were dead for next year to all intents and purposes.

That was not a state of things which some Conservatives would regard as a state of things favourable to Conservative opinion in the country. Of course there were a few Conservatives in that House like the late Mr. James Lowther and a few noble Lords in another place who asked why Conservatives should desire such legislation? But that view could not be openly taken here or in the country. There were a few Conservative Members and even Conservative constituencies who desired legislation, and the old high Tory view was dying out. The modern Conservative's cry was that their Party was as well able to deal with measures for the benefit of the people as the Liberal Party. The Government did not present themselves as representing the Party which opposed legislation desired by the people; but they introduced measures and then abandoned them. The Government told the House and country that it was necessary to introduce legislation for the unemployed as it was required; but without alleged obstruction against the Opposition they said that unfortunate circumstances had occurred which compelled them to withdraw that proposed legislation. These unfortunate circumstances were the weakness of the Government, and their inability to carry out their own measures. This proposed legislation was not of a reactionary character. The Government was strong enough—wrongfully, as the Opposition thought—to carry reactionary legislation into law. But now, when the proposed legislation would have been beneficent to the people, the Government had lost the strength to carry it. That he ventured to describe as essentially a revolutionary situation. The constituencies knew the evils under which they suffered; they knew the measures which they desired; but the Government this year and last year had to confess that it was impotent to pass it. The Government was impotent because they had lost that confidence, that spring of life which alone gave a Government a right to the continuance of its existence.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) said he wished, with clearness and brevity, to state to the House his reasons for objecting to the Motion of the Prime Minister. But before doing so, he wished to say a word or two with reference to the statement of the Prime Minister that afternoon. The right hon. Gentleman commenced by reminding the House that it had been the habit of the Leaders of that House to make an elaborate survey of the legislation of the session which the Government had been able to accomplish in the time at their disposal. And the right hon. Gentleman went on to say that he would not on this occasion make that elaborate survey, but confine himself to a few words. He was not surprised at that; for how could the right hon. Gentleman, or anyone else, make an elaborate survey of the programme of legislation of the session when that would pass even the ingenuity of the right hon. Gentleman. There had been practically no legislation that session. He would not labour that point, which had been already put with sufficient clearness and great ability to the House.

In the list of Bills which the right hon. Gentleman mentioned must be passed was The Relief of Distress (Ireland) Bill. That was the only Bill dealing with Ireland. Let him recall the facts. At the commencement of that session the Members of the Irish Party impressed on the Government that there were matters for inquiry and legislation in connection with the relief of distress in Ireland and they were told that such legislation would be introduced at an early date; but it had only been introduced in the closing days of the session. What was the nature of that Bill? It was in the nature of an Indemnity Bill, giving indemnity to certain local authorities for taking necessary action in relief of acute prevailing distress. But it was not a Bill which it was necessary to pass within any definite time; and as there were some matters which were gravely defective in the principles on which the Government had acted, and as these matters were connected with that problem of distress in Ireland which must be discussed at some time, he thought that they had better postpone the Bill until next year, until the Government of the day could give the Irish Members adequate opportunity for discussing these matters.

One other word with reference to the programme of the Government. He had listened with very great attention to the speech of the right hon. Member for Forest of Dean in reference to the Unemployed Bill. The right hon. Baronet went on the supposition that that Bill had been abandoned by the Government, and he was justified in that, for the reason that the Prime Minister had omitted all mention of that Bill. He, himself, would like to be clear on the point. Had or had not that Bill been abandoned? He insisted on a definite Answer being given to that Question, because there was no sacrifice which the Irish Members of that House would not be willing to make in order to secure that that Bill should be passed into law. The measure was demanded by those who professed to have, and had, the right to speak in the name of the people concerned. That being so, as he had already said, there was no reasonable sacrifice which the Irish Members would not make to enable the Labour Members to obtain a measure which they thought it worth their while taking. Therefore, he would like the right hon Gentleman in his reply to say something on the question as to whether the Unemployed Bill had been actually abandoned or not.

His reasons for objecting to the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman were twofold. His first reason referred to Ireland, and the treatment of Ireland in that House during the present session; and his second reason was entirely higher and much wider and much more important than the first. So far as Ireland was concerned hon. Members must know well that since the House met there had been absolutely no attempt at legislation. That was not due to the belief that there were no great Irish problems awaiting solution, for everybody admitted that there were plenty of such problems. They existed, no doubt, in this country as well as in Ireland, but probably he would be forgiven if he looked at this matter from his own point of view, and, anxious as he was to see great reforms carried for England, his first anxiety was to see them carried first for Ireland. All those great problems which were awaiting solution in Ireland had not been touched, and no attempt whatever had been made to deal with them.

What were these problems? Notwithstanding the fact that the great measure of land reform was carried in 1903, which he took leave to say was yet destined to do an enormous amount of good in Ireland, and which would remove, he believed, a great many of the difficulties and bitternesses which existed between the two great classes in that country—notwithstanding that it was universally admitted that that Act in its working had proved defective owing to mistakes which were made by that House—he might say entirely through ignorance and not through malice, but nevertheless they were mistakes—which made that Act inoperative in many of its most important respects, yet no attempt had been made by the Government to deal with the question by legislation. He did not think the Chief Secretary would contradict that statement, because he would not venture to say that the little Land Bill which he had suggested a few days ago had anything of the character of the legislation of which he was speaking. That was a Bill to enable landlords to accept stock instead of cash in payment of the price of their property. The object which the right hon. Gentleman had in view was a most important one, viz., to remove the block in the working of the Act. No one denied the importance of that object, although they differed as to the means proposed to achieve it. That was not what he meant when he said that it was necessary to have legislation to remedy the defects of the Land Act.

At the present time large classes of the Irish people were shut out from the benefits of the Act, and they were just those classes of people who must be dealt with if the Land Act was to effect the appeasement and regeneration of that country. No attempt had been made, and no suggestion had been made that it could be dealt with by this Parliament. Take the labourers' question. As the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean had said, this was a subject upon which they had received the most distinct and unequivocal Parliamentary assurances. It was a question upon which everybody in Ireland was agreed. Landlords and tenant farmers and labourers were all agreed as to the essentials for a proper settlement of the Irish labourers' question, and the late Chief Secretary had promised that it should be dealt with. Last year a very defective Bill was introduced to deal with this question, and in Grand Committee, after Amendments had been agreed to by all the Irish Members, the Bill was dropped by the Government, and this year no Bill at all had been proposed to deal with the question.

There was a case where the Irish Members themselves attempted to legislate—he alluded to the Town Tenants Bill. The necessity of introducing some legislation to protect tenants' improvements under proper limitations and conditions was admitted on both sides. A proposal to that effect was introduced as a private Bill in that House, it was passed by an overwhelming majority on its Second Reading, and was supported by hon. Members opposite as well as by the Nationalist Members. Even the Attorney-General for Ireland did not vote against the Second Reading, so that Irish Members, including those who sat upon the Treasury Bench, either voted for the Bill or abstained from voting against it. That Bill went before a Grand Committee, and for ten weeks it was obstructed before that Committee by hon. Members for English constituencies and by members of the Government. Although that was a very modest and a very small measure, and extremely moderate, that was its fate. Not only did the Government refuse absolutely to deal with Irish problems when an attempt was made by private Members to deal with a question which had the support of all sections of opinion in Ireland, but the Bill was obstructed by English Members and defeated by the action of members of the Government sitting upon Grand Committees. He might go through all those problems which were waiting for settlement; he might recall the repeated pledges given by the Prime Minister upon University education in Ireland and the housing of the working classes in Ireland. There were on all sides in Ireland grievous and most urgent problems waiting for treatment, and that House from the commencement of the session down to the present moment had not devoted one single hour of time to any legislation dealing with those matters.

How was the administration of Ireland treated? What had been their experience in regard to Supply? Supply was of the gravest importance to English Members in that House, but he respectfully submitted to them that the value of ample opportunities to them for discussion in Supply was not one-tenth as great as the value of such discussions must necessarily be to Ireland, because Ireland was shut off from this country to a large extent. English Members knew little or nothing about the administration of affairs in Ireland or how the money raised for Irish services was spent. The whole of this business was in the hands of a little knot of men in Dublin Castle who were entrenched there and were quite irresponsible so far as public opinion in Ireland was concerned. It was absolutely true that the public opinion of Ireland was powerless to alter one single jot of the policy of those gentlemen in Dublin Castle. There they sat entrenched behind the ramparts of Dublin Castle, and the only possibility which existed for Irishmen bringing a flood of light upon their work, or any influence upon their policy, was by discussion of Irish matters in that House. Although Irish discussions were not attended by very large numbers of English Members, nevertheless he valued opportunities of discussing matters affecting Irish administration. He had seen those opportunities dwindling year after year, until now it might be almost said that such opportunities did not exist at all.

What had been their experience that session, and what had been their experience every session? Simply that the fringe of Irish Supply was scarcely touched in the debates in that House. No less than twenty days were allotted for the Supply of the United Kingdom, but if the whole of those were devoted to Irish Supply they would not be too much. Out of the twenty days only three were devoted to Irish matters, and in those three days it was manifestly impossible to touch more than the fringe of those great questions which affected Irish administration. Ireland was governed by about forty different boards, each one independent of the other and each spending money lavishly out of the public purse. Every few years a new board was created, and the latest was the Agricultural Board, which was the most expensive of them all, and yet in that House no opportunity was given to them of going into details to examine the expenditure in order to see whether it was excessive or not.

How great and serious for Ireland questions like these were might be gathered from the fact that the cost of governing Ireland was double that of governing Belgium, and the cost of governing Ireland had increased in amount by over £3,000,000 within a comparatively short period of years. Why was that? Many people imagined that England was getting a great benefit out of the amount of taxation raised in Ireland, but it was nothing of the kind. The Imperial contribution of Ireland had not increased, although the total taxation had increased by three or four millions a year. The whole of that went in the increased cost of the most inefficient and the rottenest system of government which was to be found in any country in Europe. The rivers of Ireland were undrained, her railways were 50 per cent. more expensive than those in other countries, her harbours were falling to pieces, and millions of acres of waste land were waiting reclamation, and yet nothing was done by the Government for the promotion of the welfare of the people, although the population was steadily going down year by year. He was not speaking of the additional cost of the war, but of the additional cost for Irish services. Within the last ten or fifteen years millions had been added to the cost of Irish government without the slightest benefit to Ireland, and without the slightest benefit to this country. Was that not a serious state of things?

He thought English Members ought to help them in endeavouring to get a searching examination in Committee of Supply into these questions. Instead of doing that, what had happened? An hon. friend of his had called his attention to the figures for the last two or three years. In 1903, only four subjects affecting Ireland were discussed in Supply, viz., the Board of Agriculture Vote, the Development Grant, the Vote for Criminal Prosecutions, and the Vote for National Education. The total amount of those Votes was £942,000, and there remained undiscussed for that year Estimates amounting to nearly £4,000,000, which were passed under the guillotine without a single word of discussion. Last year they had the same experience; somewhere about £500,000 of the money expended was discussed and nearly £4,000,000 remained undiscussed. It could not be put forward that the reason for this state of things was that Irish Members had taken too long discussing that half million of money. Last year the Irish Estimates amounted to £4,379,101, out of which they only discussed Estimates to the amount of £411,919. They discussed National Education, Board of Agriculture, Land

Commission "A" Vote, the Chief Secretary's Salary, Queen's Colleges "A" Vote, and the Equivalent Grant. All the rest were passed without discussion under the closure. Was it not natural, where the administration of all these bodies was put into the hands of a little ring of irresponsible men who were quite out of touch with the sentiments of the people, and where these vast sums of money were never discussed—was it not natural that the charge for the Government of Ireland should go on year by year increasing, while the population of the country was steadily diminishing, and the efficiency of the Government was going down.

He took the opportunity of protesting against the way in which the Imperial Parliament managed Irish affairs. Nothing, in his judgment, would justify the Act of Union, but, at any rate, they would have been able to make a good and plausible plea before the world if they had been able to show, after a hundred years of that Act, that Ireland was well, reasonably, peacefully, and successfully governed; that the population was not diminishing, and that the taxation was not increasing; that the country was contented, and that the Government had the confidence of the country. But they could not say that. The exact opposite was the truth. The population was going down; the taxation per head of the population was 50 per cent. more than it was fifty years ago. They could not say that the people were contented, and they had not got the confidence of all classes of the community. There was only one section of men in Ireland who invariably supported the Government—the men who were the expectant place-hunters of the country. None of the business men in the great cities had any confidence in Dublin Castle government, and even the landlords, despite the Land Act, could not give a vote of confidence to the present Government. Every class was profoundly dissatisfied with and divided from Castle rule by reason of the sentiments of the country.

He protested against the way Ireland had been neglected that session. He objected to the House giving the present Government any facility for any business. He agreed with the Leader of the Opposition that the Government had no authority to sit on that side of the House. The Prime Minister had alluded to words which he said had been used in the heat of debate with reference to this matter. He did not know to whom the Prime Minister referred, and he was not going to put on any cap that the right hon. Gentleman might dangle before his eyes. But he would repeat what he had said the other day, that in his judgment the Opposition in the House would be justified in using every means at their disposal to prevent the possibility of the present Government continuing to hold the reins of office. He believed they had lost the confidence of the country, and they dared not challenge the confidence of the House of Commons except upon some put-up Resolution upon some occasion selected by themselves. Whenever a vote of censure was proposed on the most vital issue of all, the fiscal policy, the Government ran away. They either moved the previous Question, as was the case in another place recently, or they abstained from coming into the House altogether, and left the Government Benches empty, with the result that two or three votes of censure had been carried against the Government and stood recorded on the Journals of the House. Therefore, he said that they had lost the confidence of the country and the House, and it was little short of a scandal that they should carry on the Government at all. He was recently reading with interest a speech made in 1884 by the late Lord Salisbury, who was at the time opposing a Liberal Government and a Redistribution Bill brought in by a Liberal Government. Lord Salisbury then said, and he would commend these words to the Prime Minister—

> "The House of Commons was elected upon issues that have passed away."

Was that, or was that not, true of the gentlemen now sitting on the Front Bench?

> "Its life has been nearly spent. It is the most servile House of Commons—servile to the Minister, servile to the caucus—that the Palace of Westminster has ever seen."

That also was nearly true of the present Government, because although they might linger out for a few months longer an ignoble existence the House could congratulate itself that the end could not be far off—

> "We are denounced because we will not allow this House of Commons, so discredited—discredited by every circumstance, discredited by every by-election that takes place—to settle upon an unsound, partisan, and inequitable basis the Constitution which we are appointed to protect . . . The Ministry profess to appeal to public opinion against the House of Lords, but what sort of public opinion is it? They will not come to the constituencies, to the polling booths, where alone the public opinion of Englishmen can be pronounced. They dare not do so. They know that deluded hopes, broken promises, oceans of blood unnecessarily shed, a weakened prestige of power abroad, a distracted Empire, a discontented Ireland—that all these will be brought up against them, and that an account will be demanded of them."

It was for reasons such as those that he opposed the Government; it was because it was discredited in the House and in the country; it was because the continued existence of the Government was, in his judgment, an outrage on the Constitution that he declined to give them any facilities to carry on their business; and because, in his opinion, the proper way to deal with the Government would be on a broad constitutional basis he said that the Government had no right to carry on the government of the country, and if this attitude was taken up by the Opposition he believed the Prime Minister would soon be forced to have recourse to the provisions of the Constitution and to ask from the electors a verdict of "guilty" or "not guilty."

Mr. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil) said the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition spoke of the Government as harvestmen who might be expected to return home carrying their sheaves with them. Those words did not lead those who represented labour in the House to anticipate any harvest for those whom they represented. All that they had hoped was that they might, as gleaners in the field of legislation, be able to pick up a few ears of grain which the harvesters had left behind them, but from the statements made that day by the Prime Minister when moving his Resolution it would appear that even that meagre hope was to be blighted.

There were two Labour Bills mentioned in the King's Speech—the Workmen's Compensation Bill and the Unemployed Bill—to which not the slightest reference had been made by the Prime Minister. Probably when the session was over the Government would take credit for having passed a labour measure in the form of the Aliens Bill. But the workers of the country were not blind to the fact that, whatever else that Bill might be expected to do, it was not expected to assist them in their struggle for better conditions. The one proviso suggested as a means for helping the working classes, namely, to declare blacklegs who were being brought in under contract to be undesirable aliens, was defeated by all the power which the Government was able to comand. So far as he was able to judge from the speeches made by supporters of the Government, the real object of the Bill was to protect the pockets of wealthy Jews who objected to having to contribute to the support of their poor compatriots who had come over, as they themselves came before them, either to seek refuge from persecution or to improve their conditions of life. That being so, labour representatives had a right to ask why the Workmen's Compensation Bill and the Unemployed Bill had been dropped. The Workmen's Compensation Bill was the product of a special Committee, and, though there were points in it to which objections were taken, and omissions which ought to be remedied, it was not a highly controversial measure, and the differences which existed in regard to it could easily be adjusted if time were given for discussion.

If it were true that the people of Ireland had reason to protest against neglect of their interests, it was a thousand-fold more true of the working people of England. A Supplementary Estimate was now before the House providing a grant of £20,000 to relieve distress in Ireland, but the Government refused to contribute a single penny for the relief of distress in England, although it was by the votes of British working men that the Party opposite owed their return to this House. He desired specially to ask why the Unemployed Bill was not referred to by the Prime Minister. It was perfectly true that the unemployed problem was no new one. The winter was approaching, when the unemployed difficulty would be more acute than it had been for some winters past. Already the amount of unemployment was increasing according to the Board of Trade Returns; the resources of the men out of work were exhausted; the public authorities were at their wits' end as to what they should do to enable the unemployed to tide over their period of distress, and this Bill which was intended in some measure to enable the authorities to cope with that state of affairs was to be dropped. Why was not the Bill included amongst the measures which it was necessary to pass before the end of the session? With the Amendments proposed to be made by the President of the Local Government Board most of the objections urged on the Second Reading would have been removed.

As far as he could make out, the reason why the Bill was not pressed forward was that a section of the Government's own supporters refused to allow the measure to become law because it proposed to enable public authorities to provide honest work for honest men out of employment. The President of the Board of Trade might say that he proposed to take that clause out of the Bill, and thereby to facilitate its passage. But the right hon. Gentleman knew perfectly well that that particular clause was the one operative provision of the Bill which made it of any value at all as a method of dealing with the unemployed difficulty, and that without the clause the Bill was not worth the paper upon which it was printed. Why had the Government yielded to the pressure of their rich supporters in this matter? Who were the men who had prevented the passage of this Bill? For the most part they were either faddists who sacrificed the welfare and the life of the poor to a doctrine, or rich loafers, themselves dependent upon the working classes for the food they ate, the clothes they wore, and the houses they inhabited, but who refused to yield even a penny in the pound of their income to assist the working classes to tide over a period of distress. A charge of cowardice lay against the Government for having allowed itself to be bullied and intimidated by its rich supporters into sacrificing the voiceless and helpless poor in the persons of the unemployed. He trusted that even yet the Government would refuse to sacrifice so important a measure.

It was not as if the Bill affected only the convenience of a section of the community; it affected their very life and well-being. Hundreds of thousands of honourable decent men and women were regarding the coming winter with a feeling of apprehension which Members of that House could not understand or appreciate. Not a morning passed but the papers recorded the fact that some poor fellow, finding the struggle too hard, had preferred to end his life rather than face the coming winter. And yet this Government returned to protect the interests of the people turned a deaf ear to the pleadings of the poor at the bidding of the rich who subscribed to its funds. That kind of thing could not be done now-a-days with safety. Ireland received attention to a certain extent because there were eighty-two Irish Members to voice her grievances and claim redress. If the Government desired to assist the spread of the Socialist movement in England it could not do it more effectively than by continuing to neglect and ignore social and labour questions and to despise the poor. The feelings of common humanity might surely have prompted the Government to make a firm stand against those who were seeking to wreck this measure. But if feelings of humanity did not weigh with them, considerations of political expediency might have warned them of the result of dropping a measure of this kind. For the first time in the modern history of British politics hopes had been aroused in the breasts of the unemployed that at length a Government had arisen with the courage to do something for them. But now, when they found that those hopes were being blasted and that this Government, like other Governments, was concerned only for the interests of the rich and the well-to-do, there would be produced a feeling not only of despair but of resentment, which without a shadow of doubt would find expression during the coming winter. The poor would not continue to suffer in silence; they would take the Government at its word, and being ruled outside the law they would behave as being outside the law. Who could blame or find fault with them for so doing?

He should oppose this Motion, not because he was anxious to do so, but because he was prepared to support the Resolution and give the Government all the time it required if they could only have an understanding that part of that time would be used to put through the measure to which he was referring. He confessed he could not understand what the extreme urgency for winding up the session on August 11th was. He was in as much need of rest as any hon. Member in the House, and he could appreciate rest as well as any of them, but when a House of Commons elected by the people had to choose between sacrificing its own pleasure and sacrificing the well-being of the poor, their own pleasure should give way in order that the interests of the poor might be attended to. He knew that in Scotland the grouse would be ready on the 12th, but the grouse could wait for a fortnight. He thought the Government should do its duty by the people of England before adjourning to slaughter innocent birds on the moors of Scotland. He asked, therefore, that the Government, even now, should give an undertaking that amongst the measures which would be sacrificed to meet the convenience of hon. Gentlemen opposite this Unemployed Bill should form an exception, and that it should be a Bill not only providing that land might be hired for farm colonies, but also that the rates might be used to capitalise them, and thereby enable local authorities to provide honest work. What was the alternative? Demoralisation of the poor still more by charity and degrading them by the workhouse, and this was being done by those who professed to be the champions of the honour of England, and who claimed that they were keeping the present Government in office in order to uphold the dignity of England. He thought it was especially incumbent upon them, if they did not desire to be charged with hypocrisy as well as cowardice, that their pledges to the people of England should be redeemed by legislation for the most helpless class of the community, namely, the men who were able and willing to work, but who were denied the opportunity of working through no fault of their own.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) said he thought the House had been much affected by the speech of the hon. Member who had just sat down in favour of this measure. The Leader of the Irish Party had also expressed a desire that the Unemployed Bill might be taken this session. The Prime Minister had not told them what Bills he was going to proceed with; but he thought hon. Members on both sides of the House would be willing to sacrifice time in order that the Unemployed Bill, which was of the utmost importance, should have an opportunity of being discussed and passed by the House this session. He agreed with almost everything which had fallen from the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil; he knew quite well the very serious position in which London and other parts of the country stood in regard to this most important and most difficult measure. In regard to this question the Government had raised hopes which they ought not to have raised unless they intended to realise them; they had raised in the breasts of honest working men out of employment the expectation that this Bill, which was passed by such a large majority on its Second Reading, would be carried into law, and the Government ought to have done their utmost to fulfil the hopes which they had raised.

He regretted very much that the Government had shown in this matter a very great lack of courage. In the first place they ought to have retained their original Bill and carried it through at all risks. As far as the attitude of hon. Members on the Opposition side was concerned, as well as the attitude of three-fourths of hon. Members opposite, they had done their best from the beginning to treat this matter as a non-Party question. They had made no effort to obtain any political advantage from it, and they supported the Government because they believed that the introduction of this measure was an honest attempt to solve the most difficult of all problems. He deeply regretted that the Government had not seen their way to carry their original Bill, and to carry it more or less in the form in which it was originally introduced. They were not able to put the responsibility for not proceeding with the measure on any other shoulders than their own; hon. Members on both sides of the House had done their best to assist them, and if the Government had allowed the original Bill to get into Committee, it would have been carried by the House, and they would all have done their best to get it through. They had done their best to arrive at that consummation, and he very much regretted that even the emasculated Bill, poor and feeble as it was, had not been allowed an opportunity of passing. He trusted that even in that respect he had misunderstood what had fallen from the Prime Minister. For his own part he should like to see the House agree to the Third Reading of the Bill even if it contained merely the title of a Bill to deal with the unemployed question, because that would be something to place on the Statute-book, and even the emasculated Bill had some good points. Its machinery was good, and in some directions there was power to use the rates to purchase or lease farm colonies. He agreed with his hon. friend that so far as dealing immediately with the unemployed problem was concerned, unless the money came from public funds it would be of very little practical value.

His hon. friend the Member for Merthyr Tydvil had spoken with great natural warmth with regard to the outlook for the future. He looked with the greatest possible anxiety to the coming winter. There was a great deal of distress last winter, and the present Chief Secretary for Ireland, who was then the President of the Local Government Board, took a very considerable step forward in dealing with it. That was, however, only a temporary measure, and unless it was followed by legislation he was afraid the coming winter would be one of the most serious they had encountered for many years past. Last winter was bad, but the summer had been bad this year, and the men who might have recovered by better employment this summer had failed to do so, and therefore a larger number during the coming winter would be thrown entirely out of employment and they would have to be dealt with. Last winter very large sums of money were spent out of the rates upon the unemployed, and no less than £100 000 was expended by the borough councils in addition to enormous sums spent by Poor Law guardians. It was not a question of saving the rates, but a question of putting on a proper basis a system under which these men, who in his opinion were entitled to have their cases considered, would have the money expended in providing work for them in a proper way instead of its being wasted or causing an increase in pauperism. If this question was not going to be settled, it should not have been raised at all, and if raised it ought to have been settled. He was prepared to accept the original Bill, which would have been a very considerable step forward in the direction in which this great problem alone could be met. In spite of the almost unanimous support of that House, the Government were now offering them another Bill which was vastly inferior, but he hoped even at the eleventh hour they would be allowed to carry into law even the emasculated Bill, because he thought it would lay the foundation for something better.

MR. CHURCHILL (Oldham) said the request made by the Prime Minister that afternoon was admitted by hon. and right hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition side to be not an unreasonable one or an unusual or improper request, having regard to the period of the session, and if he for one joined with those who would resist the request it was not because he thought the Motion was one which should not be made, but because he did not think the right hon. Gentleman was the proper person to make such a Motion at all. That, of course, was a matter on which there would be difference of opinion between the two sides of the House. They had not heard much of the opinion which was entertained of this proposal upon the benches opposite. There had been, if he might say so, almost a conspiracy of silence. One might almost have thought that hon. Gentlemen opposite were mutes celebrating the obsequies, or approaching obsequies, of His Majesty's Government.

He did not think that any part of the House would doubt that the session through which they were passing had been extremely unsatisfactory and disappointing. It had been unsatisfactory and disappointing to the Opposition. They had tried to turn out the Government but had failed, or rather they had turned them out and they would not go, and that came to very much the same thing. It had been an unsatisfactory session to those who sat on the benches opposite. Looking back to the months of effort and inconvenience which they had passed through could they say that the results achieved had been satisfactory to them as a Party or to the House of Commons as an institution? He believed it was true to say that in this session there had been less obstruction than in almost any other session of the present Parliament; there had certainly been more closure, and yet in spite of that double condition the output of legislation was unprecedently small. The session was the most barren, he believed, in modern history. What was the one Bill which the Government had passed? It was the Aliens Bill—a measure which its own supporters characterised as a third-class measure in point of magnitude, and which its opponents regarded as a third or fourth class measure in point of quality. He did not think anyone would contend that the Aliens Bill was a serious measure or a serious effort at legislation. It was a piece of electioneering which had gone wrong. How was the Aliens Bill passed? It was introduced to the House of Commons in a tumbril. They began debating it on the steps of the scaffold, and before two days had passed in Committee they were hurried to the framework of the guillotine.

This year they had been asked, as usual under the present dispensation, to pass Estimates as enormous in time of peace as had, except under this Government, ever been demanded by any British Government in time of war. And how had they passed the Estimates? By falling back this year on an entirely novel form of guillotine closure in Supply—a form which he did not think had been used at all in any preceding session, certainly not in any session in recent years. When they were dealing with Estimates of such enormous magnitude they had been denied the three extra days which it was customary to grant, and which they had every reason to expect. He did not wish to be unnecessarily controversial that afternoon, but he thought it was perfectly true to say that there had only been two instances of consideration shown by the Leader of the House to the House. The first was when a night was given for the consideration of the Report of the Public Accounts Committee. The second was that the Supply rule had, at any rate, been fairly worked by the right hon. Gentleman, and that the Opposition had been properly consulted in regard to the various Votes they would like to have set down. Of course, the Supply rule was a matter which was personal to the right hon. Gentleman. He invented it, and it was possible that he would have greater respect for the working of his own arrangement than others who would follow him in future years. But certain he was that unless the rule was worked with fairness it would become intolerable.

In all their discussions they had been disturbed and disquieted by a very bad habit into which the Government had fallen. They had been in the habit of raising all kinds of disquieting and awkward questions involving grave issues, and then dropping those questions the moment they were confronted with the smallest difficulty with regard to them. A responsible Government should never introduce proposals to the House of Commons unless it was earnestly prepared to make efforts and sacrifices to carry those proposals into effect. Let the House look over the political field and see how strongly that contention might be borne out. There was, of course, the fiscal question. On that hon. Gentlemen were possessed of enough information to enable them to form their own opinion. There was the question of Ireland. Immense issues had been raised in Ireland, and men's minds were excited about them. All sorts of new hopes had begun to develop. Our whole policy had been changed and reversed, and at the very moment when Irish opinion was perhaps more favourable to this country than ever before, a measure of Redistribution specially and deliberately aimed in its character at Ireland alone was introduced.

He asked the House to look at the Army and the other services which might be said to belong to the land services of the Crown. The Militia had been bound over to come up for judgment when called upon. The Volunteers had been disturbed from one end of the country to the other and no one was quite certain what it was intended to do with them. The Army had been disturbed by enormous proposals of reform affecting every branch of the military service and absolutely revolutionising its whole organisation. These proposals had been laid before Parliament by the Secretary of State, but because some hostile criticism was directed upon them they had been withdrawn into obscurity, and the House did not really know at this moment what executive action the Government had in view in regard to the great forces of the Crown. There was the Redistribution proposal which affected at least 100 constituencies. At least 200 candidates were affected by that proposal. What did the Government do? They tossed their proposal on the Table of the House to be left there until next session so that all the winter in 100 constituencies all over the country Members and candidates would not know, and the workers and electors in those constituencies would not know, whether they were to be subjected to a Redistribution Bill or not.

To-morrow they were to have a new proposal. They were to have a proposal for establishing a Minister of Commerce. That was a proposal which, he believed, had been caustically described by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham as a proposal for calling the Board of Trade by another name. That was a project in which great interest had been excited in commercial centres all over the country. The Government would make some detached oration in its favour, but it would get no further. It would be one of the many plans adumbrated to the House, and then abandoned as soon as the smallest difficulty was experienced in carrying it into effect.

What was the last question which had been recklessly raised? He did not think that the House could have failed to be struck with the impressive speech which had been made by the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil a little while ago. It was to the hon. Member a very serious matter and not at all an academic question when the winter was coming on, and when they were to have the certainty in the months which were to elapse before Parliament met again that hunger would be in the streets, and that many deserving homes would be plunged in want. The machinery which the Government themselves had thought fit to propose would not have been established in any degree too soon. He was amazed at the attitude taken up by the Prime Minister in regard to the Unemployed Bill. He had heard the right hon. Gentleman frequently say in the fiscal controversy that he was quite ready to be bound by his own speeches, but that he would not be bound by any opinion of those speeches expressed by other people, or any construction put upon his policy by other people. What did the right hon. Gentleman do in regard to the Unemployed Bill? The right hon. Gentleman the other day gave as the reason for not proceeding with the important and vital clause of the Bill, not that he had changed his mind on the principle of the clause, but that some Labour Members attached to it a certain meaning which he did not himself think it involved. If the Government really believed in their own principles, and in the merits of the proposals they were making to Parliament, their own convictions and pride for their schemes would prevent them from bringing them forward and then dropping them. When any inconvenience and difficulty arose they would be bound to make an effort to carry them into effect.

When hon. Members complained in this House he was bound to say that the consolation which was offered was very thin. They said the right hon. Gentleman trampled on the liberties of Parliament, and they were invited to observe that he always did it in perfect taste. They said he was a Parliamentary dictator, and they were asked to remember he was also the arbiter of elegance. They said the policy he placed before the country was crude, foolish, and even vicious, and they were told it was always introduced in speeches in the most approved Parliamentary style. If at any time a declaration he made to the House appeared somewhat lacking in clearness, vigour, or depth, they were always assured that at any rate no preparation had been wasted upon it, that the counsels he offered to Parliament, and the arguments he submitted to the country were at any rate not the result of previous consideration, but arguments dictated on the spur of the moment to meet the accidents and exigencies of the hour.

The great feature which they had to regard this afternoon was the amazing and surprising sterility of the session. How was it that the result of the session was absolutely nothing. The policy of tamper and retire, of fiddling with great questions and dropping them again, had no doubt disturbed their discussions, but that was not sufficient explanation. He thought mismanagement and want of forethought in regulating public business, especially at the commencement of the session, was also the explanation of the difficulties in which they had been involved. After all, these were only partial explanations. There was a more real and serious explanation of the difficulties they were now in. They had been working for the past two years in the shadow of a great unsettled controversy. He could very well remember his feelings two years ago when they were preparing, as now, to separate for the holidays. He asked hon. Gentlemen opposite who bore that period in recollection whether there was not a very general—almost universal—impression that when they separated in 1903 they were never going to meet again in the present Parliament? It was the opinion widely entertained throughout the country and in this House that this Parliament had done its work; that a great new issue had been raised, and that it should be brought to a decision in the only way possible — by the vote of the electorate. Nobody dreamt in those days that the right hon. Gentleman would carry on the Government of the country for other two whole sessions of Parliament. It seemed incredible after the break-up of the Cabinet in 1903 that in August, 1905, the right hon. Gentleman should be asking to suspend the twelve o'clock rule. The unexpected had happened; the impossible had been achieved. The opposing electoral armies which were advancing against each other had been arrested, petrified at the moment they were to begin the attack. The spell had lasted two whole years. They had faced each other for two whole years with uplifted weapons—motionless. He did not grudge the right hon. Gentleman the congratulations he deserved for what was a marvellous and wonderful feat of tenacity and cunning. But, after all, a victory was valuable only because of its fruits, and he searched his mind in vain for any advantage that had been gained by the right hon. Gentleman's surprising efforts and extraordinary skill and ingenuity. He had heard it said that the Conservative Party were fighting a battle against time; and every year they had to give away some valuable portion of those rights of property which it was their function to conserve. When the earth was no longer habitable, the balance of their constitutional principles and the rights of property remaining unsurrendered or unexpended would form the measure of their triumph. If that were so, there was one consolation which the right hon. Gentleman and his friends might nurse in their hearts. Whatever else had not been done, two precious years had been wasted. But the crisis had been delayed, not averted. These two years of delay had not united the Party opposite, or laid to rest the great disintegrating issue raised by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, and another two years would not increase their hold on the affections or respect of the electorate.

The House knew well that the tariff issue was still the supreme issue, the great dividing line between Parties. But a new issue — a constitutional issue, not less disastrous — had been added to the economic issue. Right hon. and hon. Gentlemen on those benches through their fault or misfortune had allowed it to be said of them that they were holding office when the country had ceased to give them its confidence and support; and no charge could be more damaging to an Administration depending upon a popular franchise. And the divisions which the tariff controversy had raised were just as fierce, vexatious, and furious as they had ever been. In every constituency they were being fought out with growing bitterness and exacerbation. The truth was that the first Parliament of the King died a natural death two years ago, but an unnatural and uncanny interval had been interposed between its death and its dissolution. They had been, as it were, in a trance, under the influence of a mesmerist.

He was reading the other day a story by Edgar Allan Poe, entitled, "The Facts in the case of M. Valdemar"—he wondered whether the Prime Minister had read that story, for if not it might repay his study. The point of the story which made it applicable to the present situation was that M. Valdemar was approaching the crisis of a fatal illness when he was placed in a mesmeric trance, in which state he continued above seven months—that was not, indeed, so long as the Government had continued in that state. It was uncertain whether death had or had not supervened, but while M. Valdemar was in that state he retained the power of making certain feeble and erratic motions with his limbs, and even of answering in a stertorous and obscure manner questions which were put to him under the influence of mesmerism. [MINISTERIAL cries of "Oh!"] At length the time came when it was necessary to awaken him. He did not intend to inflict on the House the grim and morbid details with which that awakening was described, but he commended the whole story to the right hon. Gentleman opposite and his colleagues for their reading in the holidays. It might be found a source of instruction and profit. They were coming to the end of the period of trance, and he presumed that if they were to meet again in this House for the resumption of business the session would not be a very lengthy one.

In making the Motion to suspend the twelve o'clock rule, the Prime Minister had not alleged that the Opposition had been guilty of obstruction—indeed, he believed there had been less obstruction this session than in any other. The right hon. Gentleman had not the right to parade any superior virtue in regard to obstruction. Everyone knew that the Prime Minister himself, when a member of the Fourth Party, indulged in flagrant forms of obstruction for a very considerable period. But it should be remembered that Mr. Gladstone defined obstruction as an attempt to influence the opinion of the House otherwise than by argument—it began when argument had failed. The history of obstruction began under Mr. Biggar and Mr. Parnell only after the constitutional agitation of Mr. Butt had failed.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order! The origin and history of obstruction is rather remote from the Motion before the House.

MR. CHURCHILL said he would not dwell on the historic aspect any more; but he was entitled to trace the origin of the vicious and dangerous position in which they stood. The duel between closure and obstruction was like that between guns and armour. No sooner had they discovered a new method by which a private Member could make a speech in introducing a Bill than the Prime Minister came down with a proposal to prohibit it. Every discovery which was made by the Opposition in procedure was followed by a counter movement by the Government; and every closure was followed by a more desperate resistance. And so they went on in a vicious circle. And so they were compelled to ask themselves whether there was not a juster and saner method of adjusting their differences and preserving the privileges of the House. The Government had used the power of their majority against their political opponents as it had not often been used in this House. He spoke with an experience which was not given to all, for he had crossed the floor of the House, and he told hon. Members opposite that until they crossed the floor they would never know how powerless a minority was, tied and fettered under the new rules of procedure. Until argument was reinstated in some position of respect in the House there would never be an end of obstruction.

But the Motion of the Prime Minister would have been inevitable even if there were no question of obstruction. The House was crushed by the enormous amount of business which was placed upon its shoulders. It had no longer the power to discuss questions of great interest at the time they occupied public attention. The dispute between the Viceroy of India and Lord Kitchener raised an issue of supreme importance as between military and civil Government, and as between Great Britain and her great Indian dependency; and yet not even an hour for its discussion could be obtained under the procedure of the House. It was only by the two-fold process of the devolution of business to local, provincial, or national assemblies, and the delegation of financial affairs to properly-constituted Committees upstairs that the arena of the House could be cleared for the discussion of questions worthy of so great an Assembly, and that the British Parliament would be enabled once again to guide the thought of the modern world. But they might very easily be led into exaggerating the decline and decay of the House of Commons.

No doubt they were suffering from a period of depression; no doubt they were threatened with dangers from without and with dangers from within, and of those dangers from within the Prime Minister should be able to speak with more authority than anybody else; but British institutions had a knack of surviving many vicissitudes. There was a tide in these matters which ebbed and flowed. It was now at the ebb and they were in the slack water which preceded the return of the flood. After all, no one could contend that the House of Commons, even paralysed and fettered as it was, was as prostrate as when constituencies could be bought by wealthy men in the market, and when Members could be bought in the lobby. They had survived that; they would also survive the affable tyranny of the right hon. Gentleman. A single heave of the national shoulders would be sufficient to rid them of that, and in the new Parliament, elected by the representatives of a sobered people, the House of Commons might once again obtain its old and rightful position in public transactions and in popular regard; and would, perhaps, under more favourable circumstances, be able to devote itself to the considerations of some of those larger issues to which he had been allowed to refer.

*MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck) said he should not like the debate to close without seizing the opportunity of saying a word or two. For close on twenty years he had had the honour of listening to similar speeches to that which had been delivered by the Prime Minister, both from that right hon. Gentleman and from previous occupiers of his office, and he confessed that, in common with many of his colleagues, he listened with some considerable surprise to the statement made by the Prime Minister, and he was particularly surprised at the omissions in the speech which he had delivered that afternoon. It had been the practice of previous Leaders of the House, when they had reached that period of the session, and when it was necessary to appeal for the whole time of the House to be given to the Government, to deal frankly and honestly with the House both with regard to the measures which they expected to carry and the measures which they had no hope of carrying. There were two very important omissions in the statement made by the Prime Minister, viz., with regard to the Unemployed Bill and the Bill to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act. Those were two measures to which, whatever the House might think of them, the working classes outside attached very considerable importance indeed; and for his part he could not think but that there was some design and intention in the mind of the Prime Minister in leaving out of his statement all references to those two questions.

Let the House remember where they stood with reference to the Unemployed Bill. Special prominence and importance was given to the question in the Gracious Speech from the Throne at the commencement of the session. More attention was given to that one question than to any other project of legislation named in the King's Speech, for the following were the words which were put into the mouth of His Majesty—

> "I have noticed with profound regret and sympathy the abnormal distress which has been caused by the want of employment during the present winter."

The speech called attention to the fact that temporary provisions had been made for tiding over the difficulties of last winter, and special legislation was promised for dealing with the question. In consequence of the prominence which was given to that project of legislation in the King's Speech, the hopes of the unemployed and those who were responsible for guiding and directing labour organisations were considerably excited. They naturally expected that some project of legislation would be introduced dealing with the question which, if not altogether satisfactory, would certainly carry them some distance on the way they desired to go. It could not be contended, after the prominence given to the subject in the King's Speech, that it was a mere Departmental question; they could not come to any other conclusion than that it was a matter of supreme importance, considered by the Cabinet as a whole and to which they had given their consent. Consequently legislation was proposed on their own initiative. It was a Bill proposed by the Government and over which the Government had absolute and complete control in regulating all its provisions. Who was responsible for its withdrawal? Certainly not those who sat on the Opposition Benches and least of all those who spoke directly in the name of labour. They supported the Government in reading the Bill a second time, and the responsibility for the withdrawal of the Bill rested absolutely on the shoulders of the Government and their supporters.

It was not enough for the Prime Minister to say that certain Members of the House who claimed to speak directly in the interests of labour had read into his original Bill a meaning which he and his Government had never intended; he must stand or fall by the provisions of his own Bill, for he must have considered what was the effect of his policy as embodied in the Bill. He could not shelter himself behind certain statements alleged to have been made by Members of the House or by persons who had influence with the unemployed outside. He felt that they had some ground of complaint against the Prime Minister and the Government for the absolute omission of any reference either of an intention of going on with the new Bill or with the original Bill. In his judgment the original Bill was not a satisfactory one, but they were prepared to accept it so far as it went, and were quite prepared to give it a fair trial so that they might be able to gather some experience from the working of the Act to guide them on future occasions. Therefore, the responsibility for not carrying through the Bill rested not with the Liberal Opposition but the Government itself.

He pointed out that the Workmen's Compensation Bill had found for two sessions a place in the King's Speech, yet nothing had been done. When those who had been twelve years in that House recollected what happened to the Bill introduced by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife, they certainly had reason to complain of the inaction of the Government on this occasion. An appeal was then made by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, and supported by the right hon. Gentleman the present Prime Minister, to settle once and for all whether it would not be better to provide compensation for every workman for every accident, and they carried an Amendment in another place which defeated the Bill. When they had the opportunity what did they do? They passed a Workmen's Compensation Bill which provided for less than one half of the workers. It was true, when faced by the Election of 1900, they passed a Bill which brought the agricultural labourer within the Compensation Act. Since then the late Colonial Secretary had denounced every Labour Member in the House for having hindered and opposed the passing of the Act of 1897, when all their efforts had, on the contrary, been directed to improving the Bill and extending its operations. There were 4,000,000 or 5,000,000 workmen who would be affected by the Workmen's Compensation Bill which was now before the House, and they were certainly much more deeply interested in the measure than in the Aliens Bill. They were closely associated with large bodies of workmen outside the House, who had just reason to express their regret that no mention had been made by the Prime Minister that night in regard to this question. He hoped no attempt would now be made either by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham or anybody else to put the responsibility for not passing these measures this session upon the Labour Members.

SIR HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said the Prime Minister's scheme, which the House accepted some years ago, for dealing with Supply had admittedly broken down. The control of the House over Supply was going, he might almost say had practically gone. The most useful instrument ever placed in the hands of the House for the control of Governments, namely, the control of Supply, was fast passing away from the House. The position this year was absolutely unprecedented. There had never been anything like it in the history of the finance of this country.

The number of Votes to be passed for all services was 150, and at this moment only seventeen had been taken. There were 133 Votes—though some had been partially discussed—remaining to be dealt with. That could not be said to be a satisfactory state of Supply. The entire sum to be voted was £111,250,000. The House had voted £60,500,000, and in that Vote was included the very heavy Vote on account, which was over £20,000,000, and on which only one subject was discussed. Therefore practically there remained £72,250,000 which would be voted without investigation or discussion under the existing rules. Of the twenty days allotted to Supply, the greater portion had been given to the Army and the Navy. In the Civil Service Estimates, Class 1, three Votes had been agreed to, twelve still remaining In Class 2, which this year was a very important one, because upon it the Prime Minister made his statement on Imperial defence, three only had been agreed to, and thirty-seven remained to be dealt with. In these thirty-seven were included the whole administrative functions of the Government. In Class 3, law and justice, one Vote had been agreed to, and only one. The whole administration, legal and judicial, which deserved and demanded the immediate attention of the House—all that was absolutely to be ruled out. With education practically nothing had been done. For the foreign and colonial services not a single Vote had been agreed to; in the non-effective class no Vote had been agreed to; miscellaneous, no Vote had been agreed to; and in the Inland Revenue no Vote had been agreed to. The figures had only to be stated to show to what a state our financial system was being reduced. The control of the House had gone, and gone altogether. And this year differed from every other preceding year in the administration of the Prime Minister in this extraordinary feature, that he had deprived the House of the additional three days it had always had before for Supply.

If he remembered aright, when these rules were under discussion an Amendment was proposed to give twenty-five days for the discussion Supply, and the right hon. Gentleman resisted that Amendment on the ground that practically the twenty-three days that would be granted would be amply sufficient to deal with the Votes brought before the House, but the right hon. Gentleman now took away the three days usually given. He thought that the system of fixing a certain number of days was a wise one, but it had not been carried out. The Government had no responsibility to the House; they had no familiarity with the pressure of certain Votes over other Votes, and did not know the peculiar circumstances of each case. The right hon. Gentleman ought to have accompanied the reform with the allocation of days to the discussion of certain Votes, so as to give full and fair discussion. The House would not in that case resent the closure being moved when the time limit was reached on any specific Vote; but it certainly resented the voting of between seventy and eighty millions of money without any discussion, thereby putting the expenditure of the country into the hands of the Executive without a check.

In earlier days the power in Committee of Supply was the dread of discussion in the House, but now arrangements had only to be made to bring the Vote under the closure rule and there was no discussion whatever. He did not impute that this was done intentionally, but it was the natural instinct of self-preservation to avoid any serious risk.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR pointed out that the business in Supply was generally arranged to suit the Opposition.

Sir HENRY FOWLER said that there were many classes of Votes which were never put down for discussion at all, and his contention was that if the Government were to limit opportunities they must have a controlling power to apportion time. The system was not only incomplete, but it was growing worse and worse. He thought that the present position of the House in respect of expenditure was a very dangerous one. The House had lost its control of finance, with the result that there would be extravagance and loss of that control of policy and administration which the Constitution intended it should have, and which ought to be exercised constantly in all Departments.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The discussion has ranged over a wider field than I ever remember to have been the case before. Hon. Members have dealt with the history of the country in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, and they have surveyed the fortunes of Parties and the causes which induced the rise and fall of Administrations. Some hon. Members have also indulged in a good deal of prophecy as to what this country is to be in the future, and others have spent themselves in dealing with a criticism of the past, which may be well or ill-founded, but which has very little to do with the suspension of the twelve o'clock rule.

The right hon. Gentleman has just made a suggestion as to the reform of the Supply rule. But the right hon. Gentleman's remedy is to make what is called "the gag" far more elaborate than it is now; for it would take away from the present system that elasticity which it certainly possesses, and which I think would be ill-sacrificed for some such elaborate arrangement of Supply business as he foreshadows. The right hon. Gentleman makes the admission for the first time on behalf of his Party that the number of days in Supply must be a limited number. I entirely agree with him. I am convinced that the more the subject is studied the more certain that proposition will seem. He also says that we ought not to leave the arrangement of Supply to the Opposition, and that we ought in advance to settle what Votes are to be taken with discussion and what Votes without discussion, as well as the amount of time to be divided among the various Votes submitted. I do not think that this would be an improvement on the present system. However anxious the Opposition of the day might be to deal with certain questions, if before the session began that particular Vote had been put in the category of Votes which were to be closured at the end of the session or which had been given a very few hours for discussion, it seems to me that the opportunities to criticise the Government would not be improved, but would be greatly deteriorated, and we should be far worse off, as far as the criticism of the Executive is concerned, than we are at the present moment. If and when the Party of which the right hon. Gentleman is so distinguished a member, have to deal with the rules of the House we shall see whether their views in office are different from their views in Opposition, and how far they will venture to modify the rules which were proposed and carried a few years ago.

I have not much to say about the speech of the Leader of the Opposition, because obviously that speech had nothing to do with the twelve o'clock rule. It was a speech which, I presume, the right hon. Gentleman intended to make on some other occasion, as, for example, when we were discussing the constitutional question last week as to whether or not it was in accordance with practice for a Government to resign on such a division as took place last week. The right hon. Gentleman examined a number of constitutional topics, which might have been appropriate then, but which are wholly, I venture to think, In earlier days the power in Committee of Supply was the dread of discussion in the House, but now arrangements had only to be made to bring the Vote under the closure rule and there was no discussion whatever. He did not impute that this was done intentionally, but it was the natural instinct of self-preservation to avoid any serious risk.

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MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have no means of knowing for how many the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil speaks, and if the hon. Member repudiates him it is a quarrel which must be settled between them, and of which they cannot expect me to be the arbiter.

MR. CREMER: The hon. Member does not speak for the whole of the Labour Party.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I did not say he did. But the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil is a member of the Labour Party, and though his exact authority I cannot judge, yet he cannot be ignored. As we approach the end of the session the power of individual Members to make their views felt on Bills that they disapprove increases in a rapid and augmenting ratio, so that when so important a Member of the Labour Party declares that the amended Bill is not worth anything it is a statement of great importance from the point of view of those interested in the Bill. The hon. Member for Poplar is extremely anxious that a Bill should be passed, but he thinks that the amended Bill is a very poor Bill. He was almost content, indeed, that any Bill should be passed provided that it had the title, "A Bill for dealing with the unemployed." In other words, what the hon. Member wants is not so much a practical measure to deal with the immediate necessities as something which will affirm a principle capable of infinitely greater development.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I ventured to give my own opinion why I thought the amended Bill, even in its emasculated form, is one containing valuable provisions which I really believe would be of advantage.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I entirely agree with the hon. Member. But I am not dealing with that part of his speech with which I agree; I am dealing with that part of his speech with which I disagree. He said that he would be content almost with a Bill without contents, but adorned by a title of which he approved. The hon. Member for Wansbeck was rightly anxious, from his point of view, that no charge should be levelled against him of having made it difficult to pass this Bill. Therefore, I understand, so far as he is concerned, though I am not quite sure, that he would welcome it gladly in its new form.

MR. FENWICK: I told the House very frankly that I did not like the original Bill, though I supported it on Second Reading. But I like the second Bill less than the original Bill.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Is this encouraging? The hon. Member did not like the old Bill, but he likes the new Bill less. On looking at my notes I find that the hon. Member for Poplar minimises the effect of his own speech because he distinctly said that as a measure for dealing with immediate distress the new Bill would be useless. I took down the words at the moment.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich): What is your opinion about it? That is what we want to know.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member should not express such open contempt for the opinions of his friends. He will perhaps realise that I am replying on the debate, and that I cannot reply without referring to those who have spoken.

MR. CROOKS: I shall learn better some day. It is all a puzzle to me.

MR. KEIR HARDIE: My statement was that the only objection to the Bill came from the Government's own supporters, and if the right hon. Gentleman will bring pressure on them to agree to the clause in the old Bill, then the new Bill will go through without opposition.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member now asks for the old Bill to be passed, which is clearly impossible in the existing position of public business. [Cries of "Why?"]

MR. KEIR HARDIE: I protest against this closure. [Cries of "Order, order!"] Order yourselves. It is too serious a matter.

MR. CROOKS: Is it a laughing matter?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: May I say that I think the habit of interrupting speakers has become rather excessive? I might be allowed to deal with the subject in my own fashion and my own line of order. Hon. Gentlemen will have their own opportunity of dealing with it. We have had three speakers on the Unemployed Bill—the hon. Members for Merthyr Tydvil, Wansbeck, and Poplar—and all of them are agreed that the Bill is an indifferent or a useless Bill. That is not a very tempting prospect for those who desire to pass it.

MR. FENWICK: I did not say it was useless.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: Nor did I.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, the hon. Member used the very word.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: What I said was that as compared with the old Bill it was an emasculated Bill. I said that it contained useful matter in regard to machinery, and therefore I hoped that the Government would carry the machinery clauses even if they dropped others.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I understood the hon. Member to say that, as far as dealing with distress in the autumn was concerned, the machinery of the Bill would be useless. Of course, if he contradicts that, I will withdraw the statement. In these circumstances, would it not be folly to say more than that if we can get through necessary business with rapidity, there will be time for other measures to be taken. But, until I know what that time is, it is impossible to say what those measures will be. I have received no encouragement with regard to the Unemployed Bill, but we can leave that over for consideration until we know what time we shall have at our disposal.

Now I come to what has been the most serious charge against the Government. At all events, the charge in this particular debate is that we have mismanaged the time of the session and failed to pass any measures of importance. I am not going to discuss the importance of the measures which we have passed, and I am not going to trouble myself to charge the Opposition with obstruction or the reverse. The hon. Member for Oldham gave us a long disquisition on obstruction. He quoted a definition, I think, of Mr. Gladstone. He said that obstruction was the natural weapon of a minority against the tyranny of a majority, and that every new instrument the majority invented brought into play a new obstructive device on the part of their opponents, and, as in the hon Gentleman's opinion there never has been so tyrannical a Government as the present, I suppose he admits that the Opposition have made use of the natural weapon of all Oppositions and have obstructed. But it is not at all necessary to deal with this question. I never care to accuse an Opposition of obstruction. The hon. Member says that I myself was a great obstructionist. Be it so. I do not quarrel over it. I have no doubt that every Opposition will obstruct whenever they think it suits them to do so.

But let us consider how the time of the sesson has been spent, whether by obstruction or debate. The Government have in the course of the present session had precedence for their business on ninety days. Twelve were occupied on the Address; thirty-seven were occupied in Supply on allotted and non-allotted days, including the two days spent in the closure of Supply; two were devoted to Motions for the holidays; three to votes of censure, if the transactions of last Monday are to be included in that category; twelve to the Budget and Finance Bill; one to the Indian Budget; one to the election of Mr. Speaker; and we have had exactly twenty days for legislation, and no more—of course, not counting the Budget Bill under the term legislation. I do not believe that in twenty days more legislation could have been dealt with than has been dealt with. Now, who is to blame that only twenty days have been given to it?

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs): Of course you are, because you met late.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Well that, at all events, is a reason the validity of which, so far as it goes, I accept. Of course, if we had met earlier we should have had more time.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: If you had met at the usual time there would have been three more weeks.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not agree with the hon Gentleman as to what is the usual time, but that is not the charge that has been made against me all the afternoon; that is a charge thrown at my head in the middle of my speech. The charge that was made in the afternoon is that after we met I, by lack of what I think the right hon. Member for Berwick calls personal magnetism, or some other substitute for the closure, was not able to induce the House to take less time for Supply and give more time to legislation. I have not been able to induce the House to take less than twelve days for a Budget which was perhaps the least controversial Budget ever introduced into this House. Very well, there is the broad fact of the distribution of time, and here I come back to the speech made by the right hon. Gentleman opposite a few moments ago. He bitterly complains that only twenty allotted days were given to Supply instead of twenty-three. Well, even with that curtailed amount of time there will have been at the end of session no less than forty days given to the business of Supply, including the two days given to the closure. Now, I do not believe that this House, however it modifies business, will ever be able to give more than that, or ought indeed to give as much as that, to discussions in Supply. It really is running in the face of arithmetic for hon. Gentlemen always to cheer when some one on this side gets up and says, "We have not been able to discuss Supply, or do this or do that." The Member for Waterford and the right hon. Member for Wolverhampton to-night complained that we had not given enough time to Supply and enough time to Irish legislation. But you cannot have both. The hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs thinks everything would have been well if we had met ten days earlier. I suppose that seven of those would have been Parliamentary days. The addition of seven Parliamentary days does not remedy the evils of which we are talking. It is really absolutely impossible for hon. Gentlemen both to have their cake and eat it, both to have unlimited time in which to abuse the Government for their executive action and unlimited time in which to criticise the legislative proposals which they may bring forward; and if they insist on indulging both of these reasonable appetites to the excess in which they have indulged them this session, the amount of time for operative legislation is necessarily curtailed. That is the whole explantion of what has occurred.

The hon. Member for Oldham—and, I think, other Gentlemen opposite—have said that we have not passed great Bills this session because the shadow of an unsolved controversy is over us. Well, that is a very poetic explanation, but I venture to say that it is a very irrational one. Supposing the controversy had been solved, would that have enabled you to spend forty days in Supply in a reasonable session and yet carry great Bills? Why, of course it would not. The shadow of an unsolved controversy no doubt may have given the Opposition an excuse for asking for two votes of censure; but, of course, the Opposition are always finding grounds for votes of censure. You cannot expect any Opposition to be content with much less than two; and that is the only effect which this unsolved controversy has had on the passage of business. Business, after all, passes because you have time to pass it; and if instead of using the time which you might have for passing it you insist on using it in discussing the conduct of the Government on Votes of Supply or on votes of censure, or on the King's Speech, the amount of time given to Bills will necessarily be curtailed. I can assure the hon. Member for Oldham and the right hon. Member for Berwick that, should the time ever occur when they have got to deal with the time of the House, they will find that solving controversies and personal magnetism are very poor expedients for getting controversial legislation through, and they will, in spite of themselves, have to descend to the painful and clumsy method of putting on the closure when the discussion has got beyond a certain point. If they wish to pass a long controversial Bill, I have not the least doubt that they will adopt that elaborate system of gagging in compartments which the right hon. Gentleman opposite wishes to see applied to Supply, which we and our predecessors have applied to great Bills in the past, and which, in what, I trust, will be an improved form, even fervent lovers of Parliamentary liberty like the hon. Member for Oldham will find it necessary to apply in the future.

*MR. CROOKS said that the statement which the Prime Minister had just made had left him as much bewildered as he was before. There was, after all, a larger House than this—the country outside, where public opinion was expressed. He would ask hon. Gentlemen opposite how the unemployed working man was going to feed his children during the coming winter? The performance of the right hon. Gentleman was a brilliant one, but that would not satisfy any man out of work. He expected that the right hon. Gentleman would have got up and said that he and his Government had a real living interest in the unemployed, but that they were not particularly concerned with the measures which the Opposition desired to see passed; they wanted to push on their own measures. He could not understand this, because the right hon. Gentleman had a vast majority which had over and over again, with the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, been saying that they were the Party which stood for the well-being of the working classes of this country; and they pointed out the marvellous things they had done for the working classes, and that if they had the proper opportunity how much more marvellous things they would do for them. They wanted the Workmen's Compensation Act to protect the widows and children, and the Bill now before the House showed how right the Labour Members in the House were, when the Act was pushed through Parliament, in their criticisms. Here they were all agreed and they wanted to do something, but they had not got any time. Dead birds were of no importance to them; they were dealing with living men. As they posed as business men, conducting the business of the nation on business principles, it did seem strange that they offered excuses for not continuing the permanent job they had got. They had said very pointedly and very plainly to the British public, who had told them they did not want them, "If you do not know when you have got a good servant we know when we have got a good master, and we are going to stick. We are not going to be frightened out of a good job like this. You may win by-elections; what do we care? We are not going to leave it." Well, well, all he said to them was, "Keep on with the job." He was not asking them to leave it; he was asking them to stop and work.

They had made a first-class measure of the Unemployed Bill, and it had formed the subject of many sympathetic speeches. The Member for West Birmingham had made speeches upon it. He had said that if they made a fiscal change there would be no men out of work, and it would settle the unemployed question. If they allowed him to have his way, there would be two jobs for every man. That was 200 years old. When it was found out that there were more men in the village than work, they put the hay in the loft over the stable, and instead of bringing the hay down to the horse, they heaved the horse up to the hay. That made plenty of work, but it did not mean food for the people. That sort of thing was merely an idle excuse. It was a Bill the creation of the Government and Tabled in all good faith. Surely it was a libel to say that they introduced it, put it on the Table, had a first-class debate on it, and got a majority of 217 for it, merely in order to kill time till the birds were big enough to shoot? That would positively be a libel on the Government; it would not do anything like that. It was a serious thing, and it had been pointed out what it meant to the poor people outside. From the bottom of his soul he wished any hon. Member would go and stay with him for a fortnight quietly and unknown; he would willingly give up his bed and sleep on the floor if he could only convey to the minds of the Members how important the subject was. Some of them had given up their health and strength; they had no leisure for shooting; they had had to do their best year after year to deal with the poor, and their hopes had been raised that the Government were really in earnest. He did not suppose there ever was a Bill which satisfied everybody, but the Government had led them to believe that they desired to deal with the poor people who had nothing to sell but their labour and who were claiming an opportunity to fulfil the curse inflicted upon them: "Henceforth thou shalt live by the sweat of thy brow."

Was no effort going to be made to alter the present condition of affairs? Parliament was said to have no time to deal with it; but he had sat night after night between the hours of nine and eleven when hon. Members had got up and "stone-walled," keeping their ends up, as it was called, until someone had finished a social function in which there were about fifteen courses to be got through and taking about two hours. The hungry might go hungry until they got a majority. Then they talked about wasting time. It was positively wicked to make such an assertion. He asked them in all honesty whether since he had been a Member of the House they had done a single thing the working classes were the better for. If not, then so far as the majority of the community were concerned they might as well be without the House of Commons. The House of Commons was created so that the rights of the people who were unable to protect themselves should be protected by Parliament; it existed to see that no injury was done to an honest man, and as a terror to the evil-doer. It seemed to him that the evil-doers had had an innings, and that they had had all the best of it. He only asked the Government to keep in a little longer, and having pushed through Bills for those, the brewers, the clergy, and the rest of them, who could help themselves, he asked them to stop and use the same means to push through Bills for those who could not help themselves.

They were told that if they behaved themselves and were very good lads and helped the Government to push through their other measures the Government would think whether it was possible to find the two or three hours necessary to push through the Unemployed Bill. Was that fair? For the next nine days they were supposed to work night and day, and then they were expected to give proper attention to all the questions which were considered. There were no men so silly as tired men, and they saw the House absolutely out of order when all the Members were tired. If they wanted to use the time for the best, it seemed to him it was quite a mistake to run into the early hours of the morning. It would be far better to suspend the Standing Orders and sit from ten till eight. Then they would get something useful done. If they were all tired out and wanted a holiday, let the Prime Minister get up and say they would go and kill the grouse and pheasants, and that, when they had got them strung up in Leadenhall Market or somewhere else, they would come back and finish the business off. He had no objection to their taking a holiday. He would like to have a holiday every Sunday if he could get it, but he could not, though he was sometimes able to have a nod and a rest in the House when some Members were talking. The work of the nation ought to be done when Members were fresh and not when they were tired. He objected to social functions over-riding the nation's business.

What they wanted was that some proper attempt should be made to deal with the unemployed problem. When they were told that a crisis would arise they must not misinterpret the term crisis. It was a very different thing to the crisis that had arisen in Scotland over the Church question. The people there would have been no worse off, and they would not have gone hungry, if the Church Bill had not passed. A crisis with regard to the unemployed did arise some years ago when fearful and terrible things took place; when after a meeting in Trafalgar Square the men ran amuck in the West End, in which all the thieves, pickpockets, and blackguards used the unemployed agitation for doing the wickedest and cruellest things ever known. Did the Government want that to occur again. He asked the Government to come to the help of the unemployed. Here were these poor men, as the hon. Member for Poplar said, in midsummer, 120 of them, able-bodied men, applying for parochial relief; taking two loaves home to feed their starving wives and children. Only that morning three men came to his door and said, "For God's sake give us something to take home, we cannot go over the way," meaning to the workhouse.

The great evil was that when they went for relief men lost their manhood. We were wealthy as a nation because of our hardworking industrial classes, but after they had sold, as he had known them do, all their little household gods until they had nothing left but the bare boards, then they sank so low that they said, "What does it matter? There is only 6d. between the man who wants work and the man who does not, and the man who does not generally gets it," and they lost their manhood. The nation wanted good, sound, hardworking men in time of peace as well as men to shoulder a musket in time of war, and he applied to the House to help them now. Suppose it did cost a little to start a farm colony, what did they not get for it? Was it not worth while on the part of this House to make an effort so that it might be possible for a man to get his daily bread and to enable him to retain his self-respect. Let it not be said that this House had no feeling for the unemployed until there was three feet of snow upon the ground. Let not these poor people say, "We are not to have any relief until we are up to our knees in snow and slush, but the nation can have any money it wants for any expedition anywhere it likes." It had truly been said, "You may fool some people all the time, and you may fool all the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time." Forty years of popular education had given the people knowledge and they would use it.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

BANGOR (COUNTY DOWN) WATER AND IMPROVEMENT BILL [LORDS] (BY ORDER).

As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 9) BILL [LORDS] (BY ORDER).

TRAMWAYS ORDERS CONFIRMATION (No. 1) BILL [LORDS] (BY ORDER).

Read a second time, and committed.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (GOVERNMENT BUSINESS).

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Question [31st July], "That, for the remainder of the session Government Business be not interrupted, except at half-past Seven of the clock at an Afternoon Sitting, under the provisions of any Standing Order regulating the Sittings of the House, and may be entered upon at any hour though opposed; that at the conclusion of Government Business each day Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House without Question put, and that no Motion be made for leave to bring in Bills under Standing Order No. 11."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Question again proposed.

SIR ALBERT ROLLIT (Islington, S.) said he desired to say a few words on the subject of this debate, especially in relation to the Unemployed Bill, lest silence on the Unionist side of the House should be construed as an admission of the truth of what had been stated by hon. Gentlemen opposite that those on the Unionist side were hostile or indifferent to the passage of this Bill. He expressed his approval of the Unemployed Workmen Bill, which, enacted in its original form, he believed would prove beneficial to all classes in the country. Experience on the Mansion House Committee had convinced him that the adoption of a system of farm colonies and similar labour works presented a reasonable prospect of a solution of the unemployed problem, and he knew many Members of that House who had taken part in the deliberations of the Mansion House Committee who had come to a similar conclusion. While the experiment had been as a whole successful, he could not close his eyes to the fact that there was a disposition on the part of private donors to provide less funds for this purpose, and that this year there had been more difficulty in obtaining those private funds which, although they had not sufficed to relieve distress, had sufficed in a large measure for experiments which had been conducted with a view to ultimate relief on larger lines. He believed the expenditure in this direction would be economic expenditure, and he regarded as contributors not only the local authorities and the ratepayers but the State itself.

If there was one thing more certain than another it was that when once poor relief in the ordinary sense had been given, when once the stamp of pauperism had been applied, it became practically permanent, and it was not to the interests of the State to allow the manufacture of paupers. There were times in the lives of almost every man when ill-fortune might affect him, and when a helping hand was of the most material consequence to him. The principle adopted at the Mansion House had resulted not only in relief but also in restoring the relieved to the ranks of the workers, and he was perfectly satisfied that many who would otherwise have dropped out had been saved and restored to their homes and to their places in the world without losing their decency or self-respect owing to the organisation set on foot by the Mansion House Committee in the City and other places. We were proud of the march of our civilisation, but we must all remember that there were weaker members of society who must receive help and aid if they were to keep in the ranks, and just as there was in the case of a marching army an ambulance to pick up those who fell out from exhaustion and other causes, so in the march of civilisation there should be an ambulance in the shape of an Unemployed Workmen's Act to help and assist those who dropped out from time to time and to restore them again to the ranks. To consign them to the workhouse was, in his opinion, to create obligations on the State of a permanent character rather than a saving to the State, and it was because of the added expenditure in this matter that he was anxious to see this Bill passed – of course, with the national resources behind it, because they could not do the Samaritan without the oil and the twopence.

He wished the House to realise that it was not only in bad times that this help was needed. The peculiar characteristic of the commerce and trade of our country was that in lieu of one staple trade there was a much greater and increasing variety of employments growing up, and that in the character of the employments there was much more mobility, that as the country advanced in science and the application of the most recent discoveries of science to our industry there was a tendency to reduce labour, and that prosperity itself frequently caused occasions in which this timely help was necessary to avoid the home of a man with slender means being broken up. He had known many cases of men who had in their misfortunes been taken into the country on these farm colonies and had been made the best of, and their homes had been kept together in consequence. The system was one which had been of immense benefit to the temporarily poor of the industrial population, and, whatever might be said in criticism of such institutions, the Mansion House Committee and the Lord Mayor had led a notable crusade, and set a step in practical statesmanship which might well be followed by others.

He asked the Labour Members and others who had taken an adverse view of this Bill whether they would be wise in entirely rejecting it in its present form. It had much good in it, and while they did not agree with the whole of it—there had been a strong expression of opinion that the Bill without the farm colony clause would be useless—he thought the Bill even in its present form would supply machinery which would be very useful for application next winter and which would provide an inducement for the provision of those voluntary funds without which nothing could be done. He hoped those on the other side of the House would appreciate the spirit with which the Government had approached this difficult and perplexing problem and would sanction this Bill. He looked forward to it as essential, he approved in the strongest terms the action of the Government in introducing this Bill, and he hoped that, if there was a spirit of wise and friendly co-operation, the Bill would be placed upon the Statute-book for the welfare of a class who in times of stress were unable to help themselves.

*MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.) said he did not think that the House of Commons during the twenty years which he had been a Member had ever been placed in so singular and deplorable a position as it was in the present debate. What they were practically asked by the Prime Minister to do was not to complete useful work, but to end a barren session, in order that he might be able to hush up the record of the most determined and resolute betrayal, and, pushing aside of all the various reforms he and his Government had promised to the country. He agreed very much with the speech of his hon. friend the Member for Islington, and the whole House had listened with the deepest interest to the hon. Member for Woolwich, who had made one of the most eloquent and unanswerable appeals that had ever been addressed to any Government in support of the Unemployed Bill. He would not attempt to overlay that appeal with any additional arguments, except upon one point. In the last few days witnesses before the Small Holdings Committee, of which he was a member, had given most striking evidence that in the industrial centres the acceleration of machinery was having the effect of displacing the older men, and that this result was leading these men to seek other employment by trying to obtain land for small holdings. He urged this point as bearing materially on the proposal in the original Bill to provide land for farm colonies. The men turned away by the great acceleration of the new types of machinery were men of forty to forty-five years of age. They were deserving and industrious men who if they could not get upon the land would go to swell the numbers of the unemployed. The Government ought to force their Bill through in the shape in which they had introduced it, with the clause which would enable a beginning to be made again by men in this position, who without such opportunities were in danger of becoming paupers, in order to save them from pauperism, and to make a new industrial class of men who otherwise would not be employed.

Besides the interests of labour there were plenty of other classes of useful work on which the right hon. Gentleman had with almost insolent mockery turned his back. Take the business interests of the country. There was the Public Trustee Bill—a Bill of great importance which the Government had taken up and done nothing to pass. Take agriculture. Two useful Bills introduced by the President of the Board, the Bill to check adulteration of butter had been abandoned; while only that afternoon a measure had been introduced, nominally in the interests of business, the only result of which would be to increase the salaries of the right hon. Gentleman's relatives.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman must know that he is inaccurate in what he says, because I distinctly stated that the Bill introduced to-day would not come into operation during the tenure of those now holding the offices concerned.

*MR. CHANNING said he was wholly unaware of that fact, and he unreservedly withdrew any imputation his words placed upon the right hon. Gentleman. But whether it affected the present salaries of the right hon. Gentleman's relatives or not, it was a very small contribution to the demands of the great business world of this country, and a very poor and pitiable contribution to the legislative needs of the great business world. Another Bill which had again and again been passed by the right hon. Gentleman's colleague, the Lord Chancellor, through the other House, the Prevention of Corruption Bill, which was of immense importance for checking business frauds, had also been thrown aside. Another thing which had been passed over by the Government was the intolerable pressure of the rates of the country. The position to which vast areas of the country, and especially such districts as West Ham, were being reduced was a great scandal of administration. The right hon. Gentleman had said that the incidence of local rating could not be dealt with until the question of valuation had been dealt with. But there had been no attempt to deal with the current needs of the nation in this question of valuation, and the question of rating had only been so far dealt with and in such a way as to benefit the landlords of agricultural land. Then there was the total neglect of the needs of Ireland. That had been thoroughly dealt with by the hon. Member for Waterford. Another point which had shown the peculiar demoralisation and decomposition of Parliamentary procedure, and of the spirit of Parliament itself under the rule of the right hon. Gentleman, was that in no session had there been a larger number of important Bills standing in the name of private Members carried through various stages by large and decisive majorities in the House. The whole of those Bills practically could make no further progress. Only three years ago the strongest appeals were made in the House to remedy this intolerable scandal, and then the right hon. Gentleman had promised to consider measures for facilitating the passage of Bills under those conditions. Now the House had sunk so low as to acquiesce silently in the killing of Bills representing a vast volume of feeling outside. No protest was made. These Bills were allowed to be turned into empty resolutions on which many Members could record an insincere vote because they could go no further. That was a degradational Parliament. No wonder the right hon. Gentleman had adopted a method of handling this Motion, as singular as it was sinister. In his experience the House had never been brought to so low a level as by the present Prime Minister, who now sought six months reprieve, if he could escape by-elections, from the rebuff which the country would give him when it had the opportunity. When he was swept from power the majority of the electors would rejoice in terminating the worst Government that had ever disgraced the country.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR rose in his place, and claimed to move "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

While the House was being cleared for a division,

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.) (speaking seated and with his hat on) said he desired to raise a point of order. When Resolutions affecting the business of the House, such as that under discussion, were proposed, Amendments were allowable, and he and the hon. Member for Wexford had intended to move the omission of the last clause of the Resolution, which, as the House was aware, was a new addition to such Motions. They were waiting for the discussion on the general issue to conclude, when they hoped to introduce their Amendment.

MR. SPEAKER: What is the point of order of the hon. Member?

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Is it in accordance with precedent, when it is known that Amendments on a vital principle are to be moved, to grant the closure before such Amendments have been discussed?

MR. SPEAKER: That is not a point of order, it is a matter of discretion, and I am afraid it has happened more than once before now.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I hope it will not happen again.

The House divided:—Ayes, 211; Noes, 110. (Division List No. 317)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allhusen,Augustus HenryEden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.HughO.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hon.SirH
Bagot. Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hon.A.J.(Manch'r)
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, RtHnGeraldW.(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bathurst, Hon. AllenBenjamin
Beach, Rt.Hn.SirMichaelHicks
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Campbell, J.H.M.(DublinUniv.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish,V.C.W. (Derbyshire)
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain,Rt. Hon. J.(Birm.
Chamberlain, Rt.Hn.J.A.(Worc
Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Dewar, SirT.R.(TowerHamlets)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt.Hon.SirJosephC.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt.Hon.Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doqford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt. Hon.SirWilliamHart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fellowes, RtHnAilwynEdward
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.SirJ.(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay,Rt.Hn.Sir R.B.(Inv'n'ss
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzroy, Hon.Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Godson,Sir Augustus Frederick
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj. Evans-(T'r H'lets
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir JohnEldon
Goschen Hon. George Joachim
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,SirE.W.(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, Henry D.(Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, Marq.of(L'nd'nderry
Hardy, Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton(Tynem'th
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, SirJames(Staffords.NW
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford,W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, John(KentFaversham
Hozier, Hon.JamesHenryCecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks, N.R.)
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys,Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hon.Geo.T.(Denbigh)
Kimber, Sir Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, HnH.L.W.(Mile End)
Lee,ArthurH.(Hants.,Fareham
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, FrederickN.S.
Liddell, Henry
Long, Col.CharlesW.(Evesham)
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. F. (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsm'th
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W.F.
Maxwell, Rt.HnSirHE(Wigt'n
Middlemore,JohnThrogmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, Gerge Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Chas. J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renwick, George
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbt. (Hackney)
Round, Rt. Hn. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool
Sackville, Col. S. G. (Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Samuel, Sir H. S. (Limehouse)
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col. Edw.J.
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford,East)
Smith,H.C(North'mb,Tyneside
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stewart, Sir M. J. M'Taggart
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir Wm. H.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col.ACE(Taunton)
Welby, Sir Chas. G.E. (Notts.)
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn. E.R.(Bath
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon.C. B. Stuart-
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

NOES.

Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Benn, John Williams
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Bright, Allan Heywood
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Buxton,SydneyCharles(Poplar)
Caldwell, James
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Clancy, John Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crooks, William
Delany, William
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Ellice,CaptEC(S.Andrw'sBghs)
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Gilhooly, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hammond, John
Hayden, John Patrick
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones,William(Carnarvonshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kitson, Sir James
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Levy, Maurice
Lloyd-George, David
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Kean, John
Moss, Samuel
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
O'Brien,Kendal (TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor,James (Wicklow,W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parrott, William
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Rea, Russell
Redmond, John E.(Waterford)
Reid,Sir R.Threshie (Dumfries)
Richards, Thomas
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs)
Roche, Augustine (Cork)
Rose, Charles Day
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L.(Cleveland)
Seely,Maj.J.E.B.(Isle of Wight)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer,Rt.Hn.C.R.(Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Sullivan, Donal
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan, E.)
Thompson, Dr.EC(MonaghanN
Toulmin, George
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York,W.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Mr. Herbert Gladstone and
Mr. William M'Arthur.

Question put accordingly.

The House divided :—Ayes, 223; Noes, 119. (Division List No. 318)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allhusen, AugustusHenryEden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.Hugh O.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hon.SirH
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hon.A.J.(Manch'r)
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, RtHnGeraldW.(Leeds
Balfour, KennethR.(Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beach, Rt.Hn.SirMichaelHicks
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J.H.M.(DublinUniv.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish,V.C. W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain,Rt.Hon.J.(Birm).
Chamberlain, RtHnJ.A.(Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Dewar, Sir T. R. (T'r Hamlets)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. SirJosephC
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt.Hon.SirJohn E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt.Hon.Sir WilliamHart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B.(Hants, W.)
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fellowes,Rt HnAilwyn Edward
Fergusson,Rt.Hn.SirJ.(Manc'r)
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay,RtHn SirRB.(Inv'rn'ss)
Firbank, Sir Thomas Joseph
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzroy, Hon. EdwardAlgernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Godson, Sir AugustusFrederick
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, MajEvans-(T'rH'ml'ts
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon

Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray Ernest (West Ha)
Greene, SirEW(B'rySEdm'nds)
Greene, HenryD.(Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton,Marq.of (L'nd'nderry
Hardy, Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris,F.(Leverton, Tynem'th)
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, ArthurHoward(Hanley)
Heath, SirJames(Staffords,NW
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, Sir A.(Stafford, W)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard,John(Kent,Fav'rsham
Hozier,Hon.James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks., N.R.)
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hon. Geo.T.(Denbigh)
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Hn.H.L.W.(Mile End)
Lee, ArthurH.(Hants.,Fareham
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Liddell, Henry
Long, Col.CharlesW.(Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas,Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell,Rt.HnSirHE(Wigt'on
Middlemore, JohnThrogmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan,DavidJ.(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Samuel,Sir HarryS.(Limehouse
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford,East)
Smith,H.C(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hon.Arthur(Ormskirk
Stanley, EdwardJas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt.Hon.Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt.Hn.SirWilliamH.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E.(Taunton
Welby, Sir CharlesG.E.(Notts.)
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn.E.R.(Bath)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt.Hon.C.B.(Stuart-
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

Tellers for the Ayes—
Sir Alexander Acland-Hood
and Viscount Valentia.

NOES.

Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Benn, John Williams
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Bright, Allan Heywood.
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, SydneyCharles(Poplar
Caldwell, James
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Clancy, John Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crooks, William
Delany, William
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Ellice,Capt EC(S.Andrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Gilhooly, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hammond, John
Hayden, John Patrick
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, Leif (Appleby
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kitson, Sir James
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Levy, Maurice
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry

MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
M‘Fadden, Edward
M‘Kean, John
Moss, Samuel
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Col.JohnP.(Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parrott, William
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Redmond, John E.(Waterford)
Reid,Sir R.Threshie (Dumfries)
Richards, Thomas
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Roche, Augustine (Cork)
Rose, Charles Day
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L.(Cleveland)
Seely,Maj.J.E.B.(Isle of Wight)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, RtHn.C.R.(Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Sullivan, Donal
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, DavidAlfred(Merthyr
Thompson,DrEC(Monaghan,N.
Toulmin, George
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan
Weir. James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath North)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Mr. Herbert Gladstone and
Mr. William M‘Arthur.

Ordered, that for the remainder of the Session, Government Business be not interrupted, except at half-past Seven of the clock at an Afternoon Sitting, under the provisions of any Standing Order regulating the Sittings of the House, and may be entered upon at any hour though opposed; that at the conclusion of Government Business each day Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House without Question put, and that no Motions be made for leave to bring in Bills under Standing Order No. 11.

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SUPPLY.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. GRANT LAWSON (Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1905–6.

CLASS VII.

£20,000, Relief of (Distress in Ireland.)

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) understood that this money had already been expended by the guardians in the relief of distress last winter. While it was not for him or his colleagues to oppose the granting of the money, there were certain matters connected with the question that they desired to discuss. As he had already stated, he did not think the Relief of Distress Bill, which had been introduced for the purpose of regularising the relief of distress last winter and of indemnifying persons for their action in connection with it, ought to be proceeded with now, and if the Chief Secretary would give an assurance that that Bill would not be pressed at a time when it could not be discussed it would be unnecessary to debate this Vote at length. He noticed that of the sum asked for 30 per cent. was required for salaries, a fact which seemed to show that there was something wrong in the system under which this work had been carried out. He really thought that they ought to have some explanation upon this point, and in view of the recurring distress year after year in Ireland, the wasteful expenditure of the past, and their desire to discuss this matter and find out how the waste occurred, he thought the right hon. Gentleman ought to give them an opportunity of discussing the Bill by postponing it until next session.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) asked the meaning of a foot-note to the Vote, which stated that the expenditure out of these grants-in-aid would not be accounted for in detail to the Comptroller and Auditor-General. This was a most extraordinary thing. Why was this money not to be accounted for in the usual way? He wished to emphasise the protest which had been made by the hon. and learned Member for Waterford in regard to £6,000 being paid to officials for the administration of £20,000.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. Walter LONG, Bristol, S.) said he had listened with amazement to the statement made by the hon. Member for South Tyrone in reference to this footnote, because not only did the hon. Member claim to know something of what took place in Ireland, but he had been for a time associated with the administration of the Local Government Board, and surely he was aware that this remarkable foot-note followed the precedent of 1898 when similar work was done. This money went in a multitude of small payments, many of them weekly, and if detailed statements of all these payments were required it would so greatly increase the cost of administration that there would be an end of relief works.

He agreed with the hon. and learned Member for Waterford that it was not absolutely necessary that the Bill should be passed this session in order to give the necessary indemnity to the Treasury on the one hand and to the guardians on the other. The works had to be undertaken unexpectedly in November, 1904. The harvest of that year had been on the whole a good one, and it was not till towards the end of the year that there was any failure in the potato crop, which brought in its train financial difficulty in, he was happy to say, a smaller number of unions than had been the case in previous years. In order to deal with that difficulty it was necessary to enable the guardians to act under Section 13 of the Local Government Act, and for the Irish Government to go to the relief of those specially distressed unions in the congested districts where the low rateable value and the pressure of distress made it impossible for them to deal with the difficulty under the powers conferred under that Act. His predecessor, therefore, determined to take action and to rely upon the indemnity of the House for the advances made by the guardians on the one hand and by the Treasury on the other. It was true that that indemnity did not absolutely press for the moment, but it was also true that unless the indemnity were passed before March 31st next year the proceedings would not be legalised. It was also necessary to legislate then in order to prevent the recipients of relief from being disfranchised.

He did not wonder that the hon. and learned Member for Waterford had called attention to the large proportion of money spent on salaries. He had looked very carefully into the work, in which, having had previous experience of it, he took special interest, and was able, he hoped, to bring to it some useful experience, and he thought it would be seen that the expenditure was necessary if they were to avoid those difficulties into which they had fallen before and into which they would no doubt fall again unless they could find some solution of the enormously difficult question of the relief of special districts.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Why not make the Land Act work in the West of Ireland?

MR. WALTER LONG said his was an extremely difficult problem, as everybody knew who had looked into it even in the most perfunctory manner, and previously there had been a great deal of waste owing to the work, however well done, not being of a permanently beneficial character, and the object of the Government in spending, as it would seem, large sums in salaries was to enlist the active co-operation of the various local officials. The relief works were only carried out in seven unions as compared with eleven and thirteen in 1895 and 1898; and seed loans were applied for in fifty-eight unions and were actually granted in fifty-one unions. The seed question, of course, meant a very considerable addition to the engineering, supervision, and other expenses. Although he admitted that there was still room for improvement, he believed it would be found that the work had been more satisfactory in its character than in previous years, and he hoped in the special circumstances the Committee would sanction the Vote and that they would get the indemnity they ought to have.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that notwithstanding what the right hon. Gentleman had said he was satisfied that so long as they went on giving relief and not subjecting the expenditure to the public audit in the ordinary way they would have bad work. He always distrusted the right hon. Gentleman when he assumed that high and mighty tone which he had no right to assume in Irish affairs.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said that at the commencement of the session they were promised that the Bill would be introduced early and that they would have an opportunity of dealing with the very difficulties to which the Chief Secretary had alluded, and it was because, if they passed it now, they would have no such opportunity, and because when there was another period of distress they would go back to the old rotten expensive system that he objected. He would not oppose the Vote, however, so long as they understood that the Bill would be left till next session, and they would have an opportunity of discussing the extravagance and the bad principle upon which the whole proceeding was based. If that was understood he should not oppose this proposal.

Mr. AINSWORTH (Argyllshire) asked the indulgence of the House to say a few words upon this subject. He wished to speak from the point of view of a taxpayer. Under this Vote they were finding £20,000 for the relief of distress in Ireland, and it was highly probable that similar expenses would be incurred in the future. They were all aware that these eleemosynary payments were most unsatisfactory. Supposing this money had been paid in interest on capital under the Land Purchase Act, how much would it have represented? It would have paid the interest upon £500,000. He understood that the whole system of land purchase in Ireland was hung up for want of capital, and here they were voting £20,000 for the relief of distress. He thought that showed that money could be got in Ireland when it was required. The first satisfactory settlement of the Irish land question was based upon recommendations made by a body of Irishmen.

The CHAIRMAN: That question will not be in order upon this Vote.

Mr. AINSWORTH said that all he wished to point out was that the only way out of the difficulty was to pay more in interest on capital for land purchase instead of wasting £20,000 upon purely eleemosynary purposes.

Mr. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) said he did not quite understand why there were no accounts kept of this expenditure. It was very strange that £20,000 should be spent without any account being kept. To say that this money was paid out in very small sums was no reason why some sort of an account should not be kept and placed before the Auditor-General. It was a gross mismanagement of public affairs if £20,000 was spent without any sort of account being kept. They ought to be given some further explanation as to why these accounts could not be audited in the ordinary way.

Vote agreed to.

CIVIL SERVICE (EXCESS), 1903-4.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,345 17s. 4d., be granted to His Majesty, to make good an Excess on the Grant for Diplomatic and Consular Buildings for the year ended on the 31st day of March, 1904."

Mr. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple) said he observed that the Vote was for the purchase of a site for a Consulate at Cairo, and that the transaction took place in 1903. Why, then, was it placed on the Estimates for 1905?

Mr. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty), as a protest against extravagant expenditure in providing palatial Consulates, moved the reduction of the Vote by £50. He happened to know the Consulate at Cairo, and he could not understand why they wanted a new site there. He thought the present Consular buildings were quite sufficient for the purpose. They had no right to spend so much money in erecting these grand buildings. The hon. Gentleman in charge of this Vote gave them no information and remained dumb, and he protested against that sort of thing.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum not exceeding £1,295 17s. 4d. be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Weir.*)

*Lord BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley) said the hon. Member appeared to have misapprehended the object of the buildings in question, which were purely Consular buildings. The growing interests of this country in Egypt, which had been largely increased since the acquisition of the Sudan, made imperative an increase in its Consular offices. The site was in a quarter of Cairo where sites were difficult to obtain, and the excess Vote was rendered necessary because our agent, in the interest of the public service, completed the transaction before Parliamentary sanction was obtained. The Secretary to the Treasury gave his sanction to the site, and the sum necessary was placed on the Estimates for 1904-5, but owing to a purely local misunderstanding the transfer of the title deeds took place earlier than was expected. He expressed regret that this oversight had occurred, but he assured the Committee that the public service had not suffered in consequence.

Mr. WEIR said that while the noble Lord had stated that the site would cost £3,414, he had said nothing as to the cost of the building. That, he presumed, would probably be £30,000 or £40,000, and as a taxpayer and a Highland Member, who was unable to get the Government to spend even a sixpence for the benefit of the poor people in his part of the country, he strongly protested against such excessive expenditure. He agreed that suitable buildings for our Consuls were necessary, but far too much money was being spent on them at present.

Mr. LEIF JONES (Westmoreland, Appleby) asked what the total cost of the site was to be; he understand the amount which had been mentioned was in addition to the money the Committee were now asked to vote.

*Lord BALCARRES said that what the Committee were now asked to sanction was an excess Vote on the whole of Vote 7, Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, Class 1. The total cost of the site was £3,414, and the estimated cost of the buildings £6,000.

Mr. WEIR said anything more absurd than that £3,000 should be spent on a site to accommodate buildings costing £6,000 could not be conceived.

Mr. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick) asked whether it was usual for officials to carry out such works on their own responsibility.

*Lord BALCARRES said it was quite exceptional, but, as he had already explained, there were local difficulties in this case.

Mr. SOARES: Where did they get the money from ?

*Lord BALCARRES: They borrowed it.

Question put, and negatived.

Original Question again proposed,

Mr. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil) asked whether it would be possible to move the adjournment of the House in order to call attention to a riot that had taken place in Manchester in connection with a procession of the unemployed which had been attacked by the police.

The CHAIRMAN said the only Motion the hon. Member could make while he was in the Chair was to report Progress, but such a Motion for the purpose of calling attention to the matter mentioned by the hon. Member could not be accepted, as it was not germane to the Vote under discussion.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE said he would call attention to the matter after Questions to-morrow, and ask leave to move the adjournment of the House.

Original Question put, and agreed to.

NAVY (EXCESSES) 1903-4.

£100, Navy (Excesses), 1903-4.

*The CIVIL LORD of the ADMIRALTY (Mr. Arthur Lee, Hampshire, Fareham) explained that this Vote was a purely technical matter, affecting the Estimates of the year 1903-4. The matter had had to go before the Public Accounts Committee and be passed by them before it could be submitted to the House, and, as that body had only just reported upon the Estimates of 1903-4, this was the earliest opportunity there had been for bringing up this excess Vote. In the year 1903-4 there was an excess expenditure over the total of the Navy Estimates of £97,900, and an excess receipt of appropriations-in-aid over the Estimates of £115,974. Thus the Admiralty had more than sufficient funds in hand to pay for the excess expenditure, but they were not permitted to transfer surplus receipts to surplus expenditure without the sanction of the House, and consequently a token sum of £100 had been put down for the purpose of obtaining sanction to the transfer.

Mr. COURTENAY WARNER Staffordshire, Lichfield): The matter has been before the Public Accounts Committee and received their sanction ?

*MR. ARTHUR LEE: Yes.

Vote agreed to.

Resolutions to be reported To-morrow; Committee to sit again To-morrow.

EAST INDIA LOANS (RAILWAYS) BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid.) said that when the Bill was before the House in its earlier stages the Secretary of State for India promised to make a statement in regard to i on the Second Reading, but now when they got to the Second Reading no statement was made. That was exactly the way the House was always treated when a Bill was introduced in Committee. It passed from one stage to another, but there never seemed to be a time when it could be discussed at all. He did not think it was fair to treat the House in that way. He had always said that they should never allow a Bill to pass its first stage without discussion, because they did not know that there would be an opportunity for discussion on another stage. In this case the Secretary of State proposed to raise by loan a sum not exceeding £20,000,000. The House certainly expected that some explanation would be afforded why this large amount was to be raised. It was a very much larger loan than had been granted on former occasions. The Secretary of State had informed the House that one or two millions of the 1901 loan was still unexpended.

The Bill proposed to raise the money for the construction, extension, and equipment of railways in India. Four-fifths of the railways there were under the direct financial responsibility of the Government, and they also exercised a considerable amount of control in the remainder. There was no indication, for example, given in the Bill as to the nature of the transactions in the Bombay-Baroda line, nor as to the terms and conditions under which the purchase was to be made. He did not understand how it was that the Secretary of State was not able to give them the terms and conditions on which the purchase was to be made. The amount at which it would work out might be a different question, but the principle on which the transaction was to be carried out was a matter on which there could be no possible doubt. At the termination of the Bombay-Baroda line there was the narrow-gauge railway to the North-West of India. That narrow-gauge railway originally belonged to the State, and it was worked under agreement with the Bombay-Baroda Company. How was it to be worked in future? Was the lease to be renounced in consequence of the purchase of the Baroda line? They had no information about these matters. The Government wanted to borrow £20,000,000, and the House with practically no information on the subject was expected to pass this Bill without a word being said in explanation.

It had been brought to his notice that there was a ruinous competition going on between the railways and the steamboat services in India. That had been frequently brought before the India Office, and probably the Secretary of State knew all about it. Steamboats were necessary on the Ganges and other rivers, and the complaint was that they were being unfairly competed against by the Government railways. It had been pointed out that while this competition might be very effective in putting down the steamboat traffic, the result in the long run would be that the districts served by the steamboats would suffer.

Perhaps the Secretary of State would tell the House what was the total amount of debt in respect of Indian railways. He himself would say that roughly it amounted to about £250,000,000. The return for Indian railways was nearly 5 per cent., and if the £250,000,000 spent on the South African War, which was money thrown away, had been spent in India what an enormous development there would have been to the trade of that country. That was the only way in which the country could realise the extent to which £250,000,000 could go in reproductive expenditure. He could wish some information as to the extensions of railways on which these £20,000,000 were to be spent.

This was also the time to know how the new Railway Board in India was working. Formerly the railways were managed by one of the Public Works Commissioners, but last year a special and separate Railway Board for India was appointed. There could be no doubt that such a board would be of considerable advantage. It consisted of three practical men, and, whilst the financial arrangements were still to remain under the control of the Secretary of State for India, all other management was to be decentralised, and the Railway Commissioners were to have the practical working of the railways and the arrangement of all questions of freight and the localities to be benefited. The board was not located at Calcutta or Simla, but travelled over the whole system with a view to superintend its development. When the Railway Bill was before the House he had taken a strong objection to having new Commissioners; but owing to outside pressure and the statement by Lord Curzon that it would be of great advantage to India the Bill was allowed to pass as an unopposed measure. Unquestionably it would be a benefit to the board to have the whole control of the railways and to work them as a unit, so that the system might be developed all round. That was a point on which he would like a little information from the Secretary of State for India. He might say he threw out these hints to give the right hon. Gentleman some information on which to base his Second Reading speech.

He noticed that this Bill was one with references, and that it brought in a great many sections of the Act of 1893. He did not know whether the Secretary of State knew what these sections were, but he thought it was necessary that the House should have some knowledge of them before the Bill passed. If the right hon. Gentleman was not going to explain what these clauses were it would be necessary for him to do it. There was a clause dealing with the method of raising money, which was practically vested in the Secretary of State for India. That high official might raise the money by any method, at any times, and at any rate of interest he thought fit. He might raise the money issued by bonds under the hand of a member of the Council, countersigned by the Secretary of State; by debentures, by bills, or by the issue of capital stock. As a rule, one-half of the money was raised in this country and the other half in India, but for the money raised in India the Indian Exchequer paid 3½ per cent., while the money raised in this country was paid only 3 per cent. That difference of ½ per cent. was paid, so it was said, to give the people of India an interest in the debt of India. He thought that was not a satisfactory explanation. It did not at all follow that the part of the loan issued in India was taken up by the people of India. Moreover, the Indian stock bearing 3½ per cent. might be transferred to persons in this country; there was no restriction that the stock should be held by the natives of India. The result was that, after all, there was no security that the money was being invested by the people of India. It seemed to him, therefore, that the Indian Government should simply borrow the money required wherever it could be got at the cheapest price, and he did not see why the Indian revenue should be saddled with that additional ½ per cent.

There was a clause which stated that the Commission which dealt with the payment to the East India Company of the composition in lieu of stamp duties should pay composition in respect of the bonds to be raised under this Act. The Secretary of State, he hoped, would be able to tell the House what was the amount for which the East India Company compounded for the stamp duties. As the loans increased obviously the composition would increase also, and what he wanted to know was what was the amount originally fixed, and what it would reach now. These were only a few of the questions which occurred to him on which information should be given by the Secretary of State. There could be no doubt whatever that the railway system was of the utmost importance to India, not only for strategic purposes, but for fighting famines, and for the purposes of trade and locomotion generally. He would like to know whether it was the intention of the Railway Board to utilise the Indian railways in developing the steamboat and other traffic on the great rivers of India. These waterways should be developed in every possible way, because carriage by them was cheaper and more profitable to the people.

*Mr. **WYLIE** (Dumbartonshire) said there was a very general impression among hon. Members, derived principally from speeches by different Secretaries of State, that the railways of India had been very well managed. On the contrary, the working and administration of railways in India could not be considered at all satisfactory. The Indian Government in 1902, quite conscious of this fact themselves, appointed a Commissioner of great experience and ability, Mr. Thomas Robertson, to make inquiry, and that gentleman reported very fully on the subject. Mr. Robertson stated that the conclusion forced upon him was that root and branch reforms in the railway system of India were necessary and would be productive of lasting good; that the development of railways in India should not be hampered in the way it had been, and that they must be wrought more on the lines of commercial enterprise than in the past. The present Secretary of State had, he believed, displayed great administrative ability in initiating many important reforms, and a Railway Board had been appointed, composed of a chairman and two members, which would have the very best result in perfecting the railway system of the country. It was in the financial management of railways in India, he thought, that the greatest mistakes had been made, and private enterprise had been almost entirely crushed out. Mr. Robertson remarked in his Report that the only lines which the Government were prepared to allow private companies to take up were those which were not expected to be profitable to the State.

The new departure taken for the raising of the £20,000,000 would, he thought, give the Government a solid basis on which to work. With the large sum of £20,000,000 at their disposal, they would be able to proceed with their works upon a thorough and systematic basis with great advantage to the country. On the whole it was with great pleasure that he heard the proposal, which, he believed, would leave a greater surplus of Government Funds to be devoted to the important work of irrigation. He quite agreed with what the hon. Member for Mid-Lanark had said with regard to the higher rate of interest to be paid for that part of the loan to be raised in India. When the Indian Currency of 1897 was passed, one of the principal objects which was brought before the House by the then Secretary of State for India was that the financial liability of India should be raised to the same level as that of this country. On the contrary, they found that it was going to be handicapped to the extent of ½ per cent. He did not see the necessity for that at all. If British money was ready to be applied to India at 3 per cent., why should they not raise the whole £20,000,000 from the capitalists of this country? But the raising of a loan of £20,000,000, whether at 3 or 3½ per cent. would be of the greatest advantage to India, and he hoped that in consequence a much larger percentage would be voted to irrigation works than previously. Far too little British money had been spent on railway extension, but ever so much less had been used in connection with irrigation works. He would press upon the right hon. Gentleman the great necessity that existed for extending the irrigation works. Those schemes had been thrown into the background by the railway schemes; but now that the railways were being properly provided for he hoped that the Secretary of State for India would see that the much more necessary irrigation schemes got the required amount of capital devoted to them, which would be even more beneficial to the population of India than the money spent on railways.

Sir **SAMUEL HOARE** (Norwich) expressed his approval of the Bill. It had, he said, been his privilege to be associated with one of the largest railways in India. He had been chairman of it from the very commencement, and he was perfectly astonished at the work which the railways did in India. He re-echoed the words of his right hon. friend when, speaking the other evening, he said how much India owed to the railway system, and how important it was for this country to do all it could to further that system. He remembered going out to the opening of the railway with which he was connected, and meeting the Viceroy in the middle of what was then the jungle, and it was astonishing now to see what the railway had done for that district, and the immense amount of traffic which it carried. He felt that not merely the present Government, but past Governments also, had done a very great work for India in furthering the development of the railways. He was glad the Bill had been introduced, and he should be glad to see the floating debt on the Indian railways made more of a funded debt, because those associated with the railways knew how, from time to time, they had large amounts of debentures falling due which sometimes they could renew favourably and which sometimes they could not. It would be better if the floating debt were made a regular funding stock for the Indian railways. He considered it would be an advantage to India if the natives had an opportunity of investing their savings in their railways. He thought it would be a grand thing if they had that opportunity of taking a deep interest in a matter which had done so much for them; and he did not think there would be any great loss if they did encourage them to put their savings in the railways.

He expressed his appreciation of the great advantage of the formation of the new Railway Board. The railway system in India had got beyond that organisation which was satisfactory and which answered in its earlier days; something larger and more comprehensive was required, and he was glad indeed that there was now a Railway Board in India. In Mr. Upton, the chairman, they had an authority on Indian railways to whom all would listen with satisfaction. He could speak very highly of Mr. Wynne, who was agent and chief engineer of the line with which he was connected, and with the gentleman from England they would have the advantage of experience gained not necessarily on the Indian lines. He therefore looked for the greatest advantage from the formation of the board. All who had listened to the statement of the Secretary of State for India must have felt much satisfaction that he had taken the view that the capital was safely invested, and that it was producing so much income that there was no cost whatever. That was a satisfactory state of things of which they ought to be proud, and he congratulated the right hon. Gentleman on being able to make such a statement. He hoped that in future they would hear that the railways were earning sufficient to pay all the interest for which the State was liable and to bring in a large amount for the country.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford) said that the hon. Member who had introduced the debate had shown considerable knowledge of the subject, and while he had asked a good many Questions, he had supplied most of the Answers. It had been forced upon him that there really was no man so competent to speak on the Indian railway system, and he would, no doubt, when the proper time came take up a position on that bench and be able to speak with authority. He endeavoured on the previous occasion to give the House the figures which the hon. Member desired, and he went as fully into the question of the purchase of the Baroda line as the hon. Member himself would have done had he been in his place, and he had no more to say upon the terms. They might know, but they were bound not to say. They might buy the railway perhaps by the allocation of stock, or perhaps by the payment of annuities; but until the method of purchase was settled the whole question must remain a secret. The House had with a unanimous voice on the Indian Budget declared its strong conviction that the time had come to pursue a more generous and not necessarily quite so cautious a policy in developing Indian railways; and, having used up the money previously voted by way of loan, they now required a large margin of £8,000,000 or £10,000,000 with which to carry out those great operations, the benefits of which, in safeguarding the country against famine and in creating prosperity, were recognised on both sides of the House. They were not asking for anything extravagant.

His hon. friend had stated that irrigation had fallen into the background. He could assure him that that was not the case. Two very large projects had been started during the past year, and, although irrigation was necessarily bounded by certain limitations, he could promise the hon. Member that those schemes would not be put in the background in consequence of any money spent upon the railways.

He would like to deal with two points to which the hon. Member had drawn his attention. In the first place, he had asked him how the new Railway Board was getting on. The speech of the hon. Member behind him had given the general view. The railway system had grown beyond the mere departmental control previously exercised over it, and the new board had already taken up some of the most urgent questions as to the provision for third-class traffic, the equalisation of railway rates, the general co-ordination of the railway system, and the effect of Government competition upon private enterprise. The board had sat now for several months, and he could vouch that it was doing good, sound, and effective work. The hon. Member had also asked him with regard to the rupee loans at 3½ per cent. as compared with the sterling loans at 3 per cent. That might appear to be an anomalous state of things, but the first thing they had to consider in India, as in every other country, was the care of the people, to give them to the largest extent possible opportunities of investing their money in the securities of the country. He wanted, and it was necessary, to interest the people of India in their own securities. They had had under consideration the question of rupee loans, and they were not otherwise than alive to the distinction between 3 and 3½ per cent., but whatever might be the ultimate result of their deliberations, the state of the money market for some years past had not been such as to justify any very large transactions or any large methods of conversion, but, if they would give them a little time, he thought they would be able to show a good return and that they were doing their best for the community. The Bill was neither novel nor extensive in its scope, and he was sure it would be gratifying to the people of India and encouraging to those who were pressing forward a policy accepted by all parties, if they were allowed to make progress with it.

SIR HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) expressed indebtedness to the hon. Members who had elicited the right hon. Gentleman's interesting statement, which he believed would enable them to render the support for which he asked. He himself took particular interest in this question, because it was eleven years since he had the pleasure as well as the duty of advocating a similar policy to the present in the India Council. He did not then anticipate that in so short a time so much progress would have been made, but he was bound to say that the India Council in London and the Indian Government had during the last ten years proceeded, if slowly, very surely, and the Indian railways had now reached a point at which they not only paid something over 5 per cent. on the capital invested, but were giving a large contribution, increasing at a great rate year by year, towards the general revenue of the country. There ought not to be any question of competition between irrigation and railways. The Government of India had never neglected irrigation, and he was satisfied that they were doing all that they could in the matter. After hearing the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, and after reading the very clear exposition of the irrigation history which Lord Curzon gave at the meeting of the Legislative Council some two or three months ago, he had formed the opinion that the Government of India were doing their best to carry out this work. He thought the appointment of a Railway Board would prove an economical and at the same time a very judicious administration of the railway system, and he hoped the House would put out of sight all Party considerations and support what he believed would prove a bold, progressive, and successful policy.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick) said the system of co-ordination and nationalisation of railways might be adopted in Ireland with great advantage. The railways in India were a national asset and formed a kind of security into which money could be put by the natives, and they developed the trade and commerce of the country. He thought an application of the same system would be very useful in Ireland. He congratulated the right hon. Gentleman on approaching the matter in a broad national spirit; and he trusted that the administration of the Railway Board would help India to emerge from poverty. He did not rise to oppose the Bill; on the contrary, he welcomed it; though he thought it should have been introduced earlier to have enabled them to discuss the details. He rose only in order to drive home to the House that what could be done ought to be done much nearer home.

MR. BRIGHT (Shropshire, Oswestry) said it did not seem to him advisable that in the present state of the money market the Government should have the opportunity of putting out further loans than their immediate needs. He therefore regarded the large margin of £9,000,000 as somewhat dangerous. He agreed, however, with the idea of raising some of the money in India. Although they might have to pay something more for it, it was exceedingly desirable that as much money should be raised in India as possible, quite apart from the advantage it would have of interesting the people themselves in the railways. He hoped that the money market would be relieved by some statement that it was not likely that the full amount would be raised at the present moment.

*MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty) said he thought the right hon. Gentleman would have saved a great deal of time if he had in the first instance explained the Bill. The Government had been complimented on the way they managed affairs in India. The railways, however, were not well managed. He had not travelled on the Bengal and Nagpur Railway, but he had travelled on the other great railways, and he had never witnessed more disgraceful treatment of third-class passengers. They were shamefully bundled about by the police, and packed in carriages like herrings in a barrel. He knew that Lord Curzon had noticed this state of affairs, and it was one of the things which caused him to instruct Mr. Robertson to go to India and make a Report. The railways, no doubt, were splendidly managed from the shareholders' point of view, but they were very badly managed indeed in the interests of the natives. He hoped things would be changed and that third-class passengers would be very differently treated in the future. He agreed with his hon. friend that it was a bad time to go to the money market for additional money, and however much they desired to see railway extension in India, they might pay too dearly for it. The right hon. Gentleman had given no indication whatever as to what the "other purposes" were, and some explanation on that point was certainly required. The high rate of interest at which this borrowing was being carried out was absurd. It would be much better for the sake of India that the right hon. Gentleman should raise his money in the money market here and so reduce the tax on the people of India for interest. He was deeply disappointed that the Secretary of State had not referred to the points raised by the hon. Member for Mid-Lanark, who had devoted considerable time to his researches, and was entitled to some reply.

MR. BRODRICK made a brief statement, which was inaudible in the Press Gallery.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

ISLE OF MAN CUSTOMS BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid.) explained that the Bill simply imposed on the Isle of Man the extra duties imposed upon this country by the Budget Bill. The Isle of Man Government, instead of paying the extra duties, put the money into their own pockets for their own administrative purposes. He thought it was necessary that he should explain the object of this Bill.

MR. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple) said he should like a little explanation of this Bill. The Bill proposed additional duties on tobacco, tea, and spirits imported into the Isle of Man, and said that they should continue to be charged, levied, and paid as from August 1st, 1905, until August 1st, 1906. It was clear that this Bill could not be passed through all its stages before August 1st. In case tea, tobacco, and spirits were imported into the Isle of Man before this Bill was passed, could the duties under this Bill be imposed?

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.) said the duties were imposed by the Isle of Man Legislative Assembly, but it was necessary that they should be confirmed by the passing of this Act.

MAJOR SEELY (Isle of Wight) asked if it was a fact that the differentiation between stripped and unstripped tobacco in this country was not applied to the Isle of Man? If that were so he thought it demanded some attention. If this differentiation was a good thing for this country why should it not also apply to the Isle of Man? He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have some explanation to offer.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.) said they did not impose all their duties upon the Isle of Man. The Legislative Assembly proposed the duties, but the Government here had to either confirm or disallow them. They were not in the habit of taking the initiative of imposing new duties unless the Legislative Assembly of the Isle of Man had previously passed them, and had asked them to confirm those duties. The reason why the differentiation in regard to stripped and unstripped tobacco had not been applied to the Isle of Man was probably because they would not be affected by it.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for To-morrow.

ALKALI, ETC., WORKS BILL.

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn.

SERVICE OF MILITIAMEN BILL [LORDS].

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn.

POST OFFICE (MONEY ORDERS) BILL.

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn.

SEAMEN'S AND SOLDIERS' FALSE CHARACTERS BILL [LORDS].

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn.

POOR LAW (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn.

Whereupon, in pursuance of the Order of the House of the 31st day of July, Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put.

Adjourned at twenty minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 1st August, 1905.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Gosport and Fareham Tramways Bill [H.L.]. Commons Amendments considered, and agreed to.

North Eastern Railway Bill; North Eastern Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill. Read 3^a, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Edinburgh Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Stonehaven Harbour Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to.

Esk Valley Power-Gas Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with an Amendment. The said Amendment to be considered on Thursday next.

Bristol Blind Asylum Bill [H.L.]; Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Blackpool Improvement Bill [H.L.]; Corbett Estate Bill [H.L.]; County of London Electric Supply Company Bill [H.L.]; Nottingham Corporation Bill [H.L.]; North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Humber Conservancy Bill [H.L.]; Littlehampton Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Shepton Mallet Gas Company (Electric Lighting) Bill [H.L.]; Southport, Birkdale, and West Lancashire Water Board Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments.

Liverpool Corporation Bill. Returned from the Commons, with the Amendments agreed to.

Bristol Corporation Bill. The King's consent signified; and Bill reported, with Amendments.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

PARLIAMENTARY AGENCY.

Rules to be observed by the officers of the House and by all Parliamentary agents and solicitors engaged in prosecuting proceedings in the House of Lords upon any petition or Bill. Ordered to be laid before the House.—(*The Chairman of Committees.*)

NEW ZEALAND APPEALS.

Return of appeals from New Zealand to His Majesty in Council, from January, 1905, to July, 1905, inclusive. Ordered to be laid before the House.—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

CANADA.

Correspondence relating to the garrisons of Halifax and Esquimalt.

NAVY (HEALTH).

Statistical Report of the Health of the Navy, for the year 1904.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE (OBSERVATORY).

Report of His Majesty's Astronomer at the Cape of Good Hope to the Secretary of the Admiralty, for the year 1904.

TRAMWAY ORDERS.

Report by the Board of Trade of their proceedings under the Tramways Act, 1870, during the Session of 1905.

TRADE REPORTS. I. (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3466. France (Martinique).
No. 3467. Turkey (Smyrna).
No. 3468. China (Amoy).

II. (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES)

No. 655. Japan (Report on Japanese Paper-making).

EXPLOSIVES (EXPLOSIVES FACTORIES AND TESTING STATIONS IN BELGIUM, GERMANY, AND HOLLAND).

Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, by Captain M. B. Lloyd and Captain A. P. H. Desborough, His Majesty's Inspectors of Explosives, on visits to certain explosives factories and testing stations in Belgium Germany, and Holland.

COLONIES (ANNUAL).

No. 450. Wei-hai-Wei (Report for 1904).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF HERTFORD).

Order made by the county council of the county of Hertford dividing the Northern or Hitchin Parliamentary Division into polling districts.

SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904.

Closing order made by the Ballymoney Urban District Council.

FORESHORES.

Treasury Minute, dated 29th July, 1905, directing the application of moneys received by the Board of Trade in the year ended 31st March, 1905, in respect of the rights and interests of the Crown in the foreshores of the United Kingdom.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGE TO CROPS BILL.

Reported from the Standing Committee without Amendment; and to be read 3^a on Thursday next.

PUBLIC HEALTH ACTS (AMENDMENT) BILL [H.L.].

House in Committee (according to Order).

[The Earl of ONSLOW in the Chair.]

Clause 1.

***LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY** said that the Amendment standing in his name was to give effect to what the Select Committee agreed upon if it were necessary. When this Bill was referred to the Select Committee it was understood that it only applied to places which had building by-laws under the general law, but not to those which had building by-laws and regulations under a local Act of Parliament. It did not seem to be quite clear in the words of the exemption section that it only excluded the administrative county of London. He could not undertake to say whether or not there might be some obscure references in other parts of the Bill which might exclude not only London but any place which had a local Act of Parliament. But as the intention of the Committee was that no place which was working under a local Act should be included he thought it well to make it clear.

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 9, after the word 'London,' to insert the words 'and of such places as have received their authority in reference to public health, or to regulations affecting building, from local Acts of Parliament.' "—(*Lord Stanley of Alderley.*)

LORD HYLTON hoped his noble friend would not think it necessary to press this Amendment. He had taken legal advice and was told that the Amendment was quite unnecessary, because where special Acts existed they were not affected by this Bill, which only affected by-laws made under the general Public Health Act.

***LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY** said that after that statement on the part of the noble Lord he would not press his Amendment. It was clear that the Bill had no chance of becoming law this year, and therefore if anyone looking into it felt apprehensive that this point was not safeguarded, it could be made clear by drafting.

Amendment, by leave of the Committee, withdrawn.

Clause 1 agreed to.

Clauses 2 and 3 agreed to.

Clause 4.

LORD BURGHCLERE asked to be allowed to say a few words on this clause as a member of the Select Committee to which this Bill was referred. Their Lordships would perceive that Clause 4 was in substitution for Clause 5 of the original Bill, to which he thought there was some general objection in all quarters of the House. By Clause 5 the Local Government Board were permitted to over-ride the decisions of the elected authority—namely, the district council—and substitute by-laws of their own in place of the by-laws which had been made by the district council; but by the present clause, as approved by the majority of the Select Committee, the Local Government Board were not enabled to over-ride and themselves enact by-laws for an area presided over by a district council, but only to cancel existing by-laws. Their Lordships would see that the position in that case would be that if the Local Government Board were permitted to cancel by-laws the area affected would then become without any by-laws at all. There were many districts in the country at the present moment which had no by-laws. He thought it would be generally agreed that it was desirable that they should have by-laws, and the effect of this clause would be simply to add other areas to those which already had no by-laws.

Then there appeared to him to be a great defect in this clause, as it pointed to no persons who were to set the Local Government Board in motion, and left it, therefore, to the Local Government Board itself to take the initiative. He did not know what the opinion of the Local Government Board was upon this clause, but he ventured to think they were not perfectly satisfied with it as it at present stood, because it was obvious that if the Local Government Board had to take the initiative, not only with regard to districts, but with regard to villages and specific buildings, they would be compelled, if the Bill was to be of any value at all, to increase their inspectors, which would also mean an increase in expenditure. There was another objection to this clause. It gave the Local Government Board power to disallow a set of by-laws which had been agreed to by the district council and had become, in consequence of the solemn approval of the Local Government Board, the law in that district. The Local Government Board were given power to break this solemn contract, and to cancel the existing law on their own *ipse dixit.*

He would not go so far as to say that they were reviving the dispensing power of James II., but he would say they were putting a new power in the hands of a Ministerial Department which he ventured to think had never been given to any Department before. It was obvious that there must be some form of dispensing power, but the question was in what body the dispensing power was to be vested. For his own part he had ventured to suggest to the Select Committee that all district councils should be given a statutory dispensing power within safe limits. But, if they did this, they were faced with this problem. How were they going to set them to work if they were lazy and refused to put the statutory power in action? or how were they to restrain them if they put it too much in action and used it for unsatisfactory purposes? He would suggest that the electors, if they considered themselves aggrieved by the action of the district council in not putting the Act in force, should have the right to appeal to the Court set up by this Bill; that the decision of that Court should be final, unless when it was referred again to the district council a majority of that council should disapprove of it, in which case it should be open to the electors to call upon the Local Government Board to hold an inquiry, and their decision would be final. In that way the objections to Clause 4 as it stood would be got over, and the Local Government Board would not be unnecessarily called upon to increase the number of their inspectors or incur additional expense.

He had not put down an Amendment in this direction because he felt that the Bill could not become law during the present session; but if he was assured by the representative of the Local Government Board that they absolutely approved of the course laid down in this particular clause, and if he was also assured that the Government were prepared to give facilities in another place in order to enable the Bill to become law this session, then he reserved to himself the right of putting down Amendments on the Third Reading. He was sure they were all anxious that something should be done in this direction, and he looked upon the Bill as a step in the right direction.

LORD KENYON, on behalf of the Local Government Board, assured the House that that Department looked upon the Bill with very great sympathy, but there were some of its details which required alteration. He thought that every one of their Lordships must feel that something was necessary in the way of an amendment of the present working of by-laws in rural as opposed to urban districts, and the President of the Local Government Board looked with great sympathy upon the attempt to modify the present action in this matter. At the same time, the Local Government Board felt that there was no chance of the Bill passing into law this year, and they certainly did not propose to give facilities in another place for the passing of it. It did not seem necessary, therefore, to go into it in very great detail. As Lord Burghclere had said, there were considerable differences of opinion with regard to this clause, and the Board did not feel themselves able at present to advise in these particular details. The suggestions of Lord Burghclere were not on the Paper, and therefore he could not state what the view of the Local Government Board was concerning them. But the suggestion that there were no means of putting the Local Government Board in motion was hardly correct. What would take place would no doubt be this, that an aggrieved person would write to the Local Government Board, who, if they thought fit, would act on that person's suggestion. He did not think there would be much difficulty in that course. While approving of the general principle of the Bill the Local Government Board withheld their consideration of its details until next year.

LORD HYLTON hoped Lord Burghclere would acquit him of any discourtesy if he did not enter into any lengthy defence of this clause as it stood, as his noble friend had not put down any Amendment. They all felt that owing to the advanced stage of the session the Bill could not become law this year, but he hoped the Local Government Board would be good enough to give the details of the Bill their careful consideration during the recess, in order that early next session, when it was reintroduced, the Local Government Board might not tell the House that they had not had time to consider the details of the measure. He really thought that in self-defence he must say that the Bill was brought in some months ago; it had had the good fortune to be favourably received by their Lordships' House and of being fully considered by a Select Committee. He could not help feeling that the Local Government Board had had ample time to consider the details. At any rate, he hoped that during the recess the matter would receive their full consideration. As regarded the dispensing power which Lord Burghclere would like to see given to district councils with regard to by-laws, he could only repeat what he had said when moving the Second Reading of the Bill, that he thought it would be a great misfortune to allow district councils to have this dispensing power, as it would undoubtedly lead to very undesirable results, and would not, so far as he could see, prove useful in any case.

LORD BURGHCLERE pointed out that district councils had a dispensing power at the present moment, because all they had to do was to make a fresh set of by-laws and get the Local Government Board's approval to them.

LORD HYLTON: But only with the approval of the Local Government Board.

*LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said that as he understood Lord Burghclere did not intend to divide on this clause he should not do so, because he thought everyone was agreed that there should be some amendment of the law to enable more reasonable regulations for buildings to be applied. If he might be allowed to correct the noble Lord who represented the Local Government Board, he would point out that the application of strict town conditions was inapplicable, not merely in rural district areas, but in many urban districts as well. The question was not the character of the local authority controlling the building but the character of the building itself and of its isolation.. He did not think that at this moment they could discuss the rather elaborate alternative which had been sketched by Lord

Burghclere and which was not even on the Paper. He did not himself place very high the danger of the action under Clause 4; but he did place rather high the mischief of putting into an Act of Parliament a transition from the region of settled rights to the region of dependence on an arbitrary will. On that account he would be glad to see Clause 4 out of the Bill. As they were all anxious that something substantial should be done, he urged upon those who would have the Bill in hand with a view to its presentation next year, that they should consider what was the best policy in order to put the Bill in such a form as to make the possibility of its becoming law as certain as possible.

On Question, Clause 4 agreed to.

Clause 5.

*LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY explained that this Amendment was also one to give effect to what was agreed to in the Select Committee. Lord Kenyon had communicated to him the opinion of the Local Government Board that there was a danger, if the provision stopped short at the words "an appeal to a Court of quarter sessions," that the person who would now have a right to take the opinion of a superior Court on the legality of a by-law might be shut out. He therefore moved to add the words in his Amendment.

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 19, after the word 'sessions' to insert the words 'and to such other appeal as may now by law be open to him.'"—(*Lord Stanley of Alderley.*)

LORD KENYON said that since he communicated with the noble Lord he had had a further opinion on this point. Clause 5 of the Bill purported to give to persons aggrieved by the requirements of any by-law the right to obtain a summons for the decision of a Court of summary jurisdiction as to the validity of the by-law, subject to an appeal to quarter sessions. The Amendment sought to give an addition to the right of appeal. It was not at all clear what was meant. Perhaps the noble Lord wished to enable one of the parties to have a case stated under the Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1879, but the right to have a case stated was not, strictly speaking, a right of appeal. It was only a right to have the decision of the Court reviewed on the point of law. The Amendment as it stood would effect nothing, but would leave matters precisely where they were.

*LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY intimated that he would not press his Amendment, his object having been to call attention to a matter which they all agreed to in the Select Committee. The Bill would pass into careful hands before it appeared in Parliament again, and he hoped it would be made clear that the Court of quarter sessions was not to be the final Court of Appeal.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (The Earl of HALSBURY) said that the first part of Clause 5 was intelligible enough, but the second part was an entirely new departure. As a matter of drafting it ought to be in totally different sections. The first part of the clause contemplated deciding a point of law, whether a particular by-law was valid or not; the second part referred to a question of discretion, whether or not under the circumstances the law ought to be insisted on. Those were totally different things, and had no relation to each other. With regard to the first part of the clause, he agreed with what had been said by the noble Lord in moving the Amendment. The question of the validity of a by-law was a matter of extreme importance, and the notion of leaving the final decision on that point to a stipendiary magistrate or even to quarter sessions was a mistake. The question of the validity of a by-law might affect the whole neighbourhood, and he thought it an extraordinary thing to leave the final decision on such a matter to the tribunal in the clause. The second part of the clause was a novelty in our law. It was to this effect—

"Any persons challenging the reasonableness of such requirements may appeal to a body of three persons appointed by the county council, who shall determine whether it is reasonable and desirable that such requirements be dispensed with."

Not only was this provision a novelty in our law, but the course proposed did not seem to him to be either a practicable or a desirable one to pursue.

Lord HYLTON said his original Clause 5 was differently worded. He was not responsible for the present wording, for his clause was considerably mangled, he was sorry to say, in the Select Committee. He fully recognised that there was a certain amount of novelty in the clause as it stood. But the tribunal proposed to be set up was not a novel one, because all new buildings in London could be referred, in the last event, to a tribunal of skilled persons; and it was the opinion of the Select Committee that it would be a good thing to get the county councils in the country to set up such a tribunal, which should include the county surveyor and possibly the county medical officer of health. He recognised that the Bill might require some amendment should it be brought forward in another session, but its promoters were very anxious, and he hoped the House would take this view, that the Bill should pass their Lordships' House as it stood this session. They knew it could not go any further this year, but there was a general feeling, not only in the House but in the country, that some considerable amendment of the present system of building by-laws was absolutely necessary, and if this Bill were read a third time as it stood it would show that their Lordships sympathised with the desire for some reform in these matters.

Lord BURGHCLERE pointed out that the provision originally gave to the Court of summary jurisdiction not only the power to decide on the validity of the by-law, but also with regard to the reasonableness of each requirement. He had ventured in the Select Committee to say that he did not like the idea of a judicial body of that kind interfering with what he might call the administration of an elective body, and he proposed to divide the two things, giving to the judicial body the power of deciding on the interpretation of the law, and to the committee of the county council the power of deciding on the administration of the law. He thought that was the idea in the heads of those who supported the Amendment bringing the clause into its present form. As the Bill would not be further proceeded with until next session, there would be ample time for this point to be considered.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said that both Lord Kenyon and the noble Lord opposite misunderstood his criticism. He said nothing about the propriety or impropriety of having some authority which might make a by-law elastic. That was a totally different thing. This clause gave the three persons to be appointed under it power to over-rule the by-law.

*Lord STANLEY of ALDERLEY said they had plenty of evidence that occasionally local authorities waived their by-laws when it became a matter of common sense that they should be waived. Sometimes, if the local authority were a mixture of technicality and virtue, they insisted on their by-laws being carried out, however absurd they were. He entirely agreed with Lord Hylton that it would be very undesirable to give the local body which made the by-laws power to dispense with their own by-laws, but they felt that there should be a body external and impartial to which there should be a prompt and cheap appeal. It could be dealt with in this way with a minimum of cost and a maximum of speed. It was extremely desirable that they should have a new enactment to meet this growing evil.

Amendment, by leave of the Committee, withdrawn.

On Question, Clause 5 agreed to.

The Amendments proposed by the Select Committee made; further Amendments made. Standing Committee negatived; Bill to be read 3^a on Monday next; and to be printed as amended. (No. 159.)

MATRIMONIAL CAUSES BILL [H.L.].

[Second Reading]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Earl RUSSELL: My Lords, the Bill which I have presented to your

Lordships this year, and the Second Reading of which I am now about to move, is a very considerable modification of those measures which I have submitted previously. The Bill is an extremely short Bill, consisting practically of one clause. I have modified the provisions of the Bill which I introduced before in deference to the feelings of the House and to the remarks of the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack. The noble and learned Lord, speaking, I think, with his tongue in his cheek, referred me on the previous occasion to the wisdom of Parliament which my attempts at legislation were hurling themselves against. I think an historical examination of the circumstances of 1856 and 1857, and of the conditions under which the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857 became law, will show that the wisdom of Parliament ultimately expressed itself, as it generally does in our legislation, in a compromise between two opposing factions; and that the Bill which was then passed, while opposed on account of its latitude by one section of opinion, was opposed by another section because it did not go far enough.

The object of this Bill is to add to the reasonable grounds for divorce *a vinculo* the matrimonial offence of desertion, and to insert in the operative section—Section 27—of the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1857, additional words giving desertion without cause for two years and upwards as a ground for a divorce *a vinculo*. I may be asked why I have taken the particular period of two years. I have taken the exact period and the exact words used in the Act of 1857, which is now in force, to describe the matrimonial offence of desertion. The remedy now given is one of judicial separation, and the object of this measure is to give a judicial remedy and a superior remedy—an entire divorce *a vinculo*. I do not wish to repeat the many quotations I have already given to the House, but I need hardly tell your Lordships that an extension of the grounds for divorce has had support in this country from different quarters from the time that the question of divorce was first discussed. At the time of the Reformation it was, of course, perceived that an extension of the grounds for divorce was a logical and natural accompaniment of a Protestant country, and of a country which no longer felt itself bound by the traditions of the Roman Catholic Church.

In the discussion on the Bill of 1857, which constitutes the present law of this country, we find that extensions of the ground for divorce were urged. The Prime Minister of that time, Lord Palmerston, himself said in the House of Commons that he considered that a judicial separation was not a satisfactory remedy for the matrimonial offence of desertion. Mr. Gladstone opposed the Bill itself, naturally, at all its stages; but Mr. Gladstone himself said that he could readily conceive that there were other causes which might be as good and as reasonable causes for divorce as the cause of adultery. Your Lordships' House also took an active part in the discussion, and several noble Lords expressed the opinion that desertion should be a ground for divorce. Protests were presented by Lord Lyndhurst, by Lord Hutchinson, and by other noble Lords, stating that desertion should be in their opinion a ground for divorce, and a division was taken upon an Amendment to that effect. But from 1857 to the present time practically no amendment has been made in the substantial law of divorce in this country.

There have been some changes since then, and they have been changes partly of legislation, partly of judicial decisions, and partly of custom. One of these changes was effected by what is known as the Weldon Act, by which a decree of restitution was no longer enforced by attachment. Another change in the marital law arose out of the Jackson case. The effect of that decision has been that a husband and a wife in this country are no longer by the law of the country compelled to live together. A husband and a wife may separate without a judicial separation and may live entirely apart, but although the present law allows that, subject, I admit, to proceedings for desertion after a time, and subject to a decree of judicial separation, the law does not provide for any further breaking of the bond, and leaves the unfortunate persons in that position without any remedy or any possibility of a future life in the married state.

I wish to quote to your Lordships an article in *The Times*. *The Times*, I think, will not be accused of being a revolutionary newspaper; yet in a leading article on the Jackson case (March 20th, 1891) *The Times* is to be found recognising the absurdity of a legal fetter when all moral bonds are broken. This is what *The Times* said—

> "It has been laid down that a man and woman cannot be compelled to live together against the will of either. Very well. We have not a word to say against it. The principle is in harmony with modern feeling and with modern legislation. But if this is so, if Mr. Jackson or anyone else is thus deprived of his wife's society for good and all, why should he be in any way bound to her? Is it not a flagrant injustice that he should in future be compelled to regard himself as her husband, more or less responsible for her actions, certainly responsible for her debts, she bearing his name, and he bearing the burden of her claims upon him? Freedom is a very fine thing, but let it not be one-sided. If a woman for no fault of the man is entitled to desert him, he ought in common justice to be free to have nothing more to do with her and to marry again."

I have another quotation from a recently-published work which contains the reminiscences of one of the most experienced of our stipendiary magistrates, Mr. Plowden—who has been driven by his daily Police Court experience to write as follows—

> "I cannot help observing that I have often found myself wishing in the course of my duties that magistrates were clothed with the power to grant divorces as well as judicial separations. These latter are only in the nature of compromises, and often fall short of the full measure of relief which the circumstances demand, and which is not less deserved than ardently desired. To stretch a chain is something, but it is not the same thing as to break it. And there must be many and many a matrimonial link which galls and chafes so cruelly that to sever it in twain effectively and once for all offers the only hope of happiness."

Mr. Plowden goes on to say—

> "With regard to the far larger question of amending the grounds for divorce, whatever may be the objections to such a course it can hardly be contended that the existing condition of things is wholly satisfactory. I say nothing of what some consider to be the transparent unfairness which puts the husband who seeks relief in such a much better position than his wife. What presses on the minds of some people who recognise the propriety of granting divorces is the unwisdom of limiting relief practically to cases of infidelity. To tell a wretched married couple leading a cat-and-dog life, with no particular blame on either side, that the law will not help them unless one or the other is secretly unfaithful, is really almost an invitation to sin."

These, my Lords, are the deliberate expressions of opinion of Mr. Plowden, and you will see that on his experience there has weighed the necessity—the imperative necessity—for some change in a law, which has remained practically unaltered for fifty years.

Turning from authorities at home, I invite your Lordships' attention to the significant fact that this is practically the only Protestant country in which you have not some other ground for divorce than adultery. It is the case in the Protestant States of Europe and in America. We have this very matrimonial offence of desertion recognised in Scotland as a fitting ground for divorce, and your Lordships have an example there at hand from which you are able to judge whether the extension of the grounds for divorce in that respect has or has not worked evil to the community. I do not feel that it requires any apology on my part for bringing this subject before your Lordships. This is distinctly a social matter which is crying aloud for a remedy. There is a social injustice perpetrated by the present state of the law; there are a large number of people who are suffering from the present state of the law and suffering in an unmerited way, from no fault of their own, but simply because this country has so far refused to amend its law and bring it into harmony with the requirements and desires of a great many of the subjects of this country.

I was accused by the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack on the last occasion when I brought this subject forward of doing so because I had a personal interest in the matter. I confess I did not quite understand the charge. If the noble and learned Lord meant that I was thirsting to avail myself of some remedy I can assure him he is mistaken. But if he meant that I have had experience of the injustice of our present law, I agree with him; but I do not see that that is any reason why I should refrain from doing all I can to prevent other people undergoing unnecessary suffering. It is also said very often that it is not for a private Member to bring in a measure of this character, but it should be left to His Majesty's Government. There are, no doubt, a great many measures that should be brought in by the Government, but I think all practical legislators know that the Government never bring in a Bill until they are forced to do so by the pressure of public opinion. It requires the pressure of public opinion, and very often a pressure extending over a long series of years, before the Government will take in hand a reform, however much it may be required.

I daresay that after many years some measure of this sort or some more comprehensive measure may be brought in by the Government, but at the present time I feel compelled to bring this subject before your Lordships, and I can assure you that some extension of the grounds for divorce, however it may be supported in this House, has already the support of a very large body of public opinion among thinking men and others who have been brought in contact with the necessity of the case and who have felt that the present divorce law does not provide an adequate remedy, more especially in so far as the poorer classes are concerned. This is a subject which your Lordships should be willing to discuss and consider impartially, and exercise your judgment upon as to whether any remedy is needed and what remedy. It is for the purpose of giving your Lordships that opportunity that I have brought in this measure, and I beg to move that it be now read a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*Earl Russell.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (The Earl of HALSBURY): My Lords, the noble Earl is entirely mistaken in his reference regarding myself. I certainly had no intention of saying a word which could be supposed to have any personal application to the noble Earl. This is a matter which can only be dealt with by the Government when it is shown that there is a large body of feeling in favour of the change. The relation of marriage has so many consequences attached to it that it would be very rash indeed to make experiments in the law of marriage, and I am sure your Lordships are not disposed to think that any case has been made out at present for an alteration of the law. I therefore feel it my duty to move that the Bill be read a second time this day three months.

Amendment moved—

"To leave out the word 'now' and add at the end of the Motion the words 'this day three months.'"—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

On Question, whether the word "now" shall stand part of the Motion, their Lordships divided. Contents, 4; Not-Contents, 44

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Stanmore, L.
Thring, L.
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(Bill to be read 2ª this day three months).

TRADE MARKS BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

* EARL **SPENCER**: My Lords, in moving the Second Reading of this Bill, I do not think it is necessary for me to go into a long description of it. It is principally a consolidation Bill, and I understand there is no opposition to it on the part of His Majesty's Government. The Bill has been before a Select Committee of the House of Commons. It gives greater latitude to the definition of a trade mark. The law with regard to appeals is hardly altered at all. The Manchester clause dealing with cotton marks is included. There is also a provision to prevent persons making an improper use of the Royal Warrant. I understand that there is no opposition to the Bill, and I beg to move that it be read a second time

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*Earl Spencer.*)

* THE **UNDER-SECRETARY** OF **STATE** FOR THE **COLONIES** (The Duke of MARLBOROUGH): My Lords, I only rise to say that His Majesty's Government very willingly give their assent to the Second Reading of this measure. I understand that the more important of its provisions have been prepared with a view to meeting the representations which have been made by the chambers of commerce and by other trade societies. During the passage of the Bill through the other House, the Board of Trade took a sympathetic interest in it, and the Permanent Secretary of the Board of Trade gave evidence before the Committee to which the noble Earl has referred embodying the views of his Department. The result of the deliberations of the Committee has been to make considerable improvements in the Bill itself, but at the same time I must tell the noble Earl that the Government will have some Amendments to move when the Committee stage is reached. I believe that those Amendments are not of a controversial character, and there is no reason why they should delay the time of your Lordships' House. If the Government Amendments are accepted, there is no doubt that this Bill will strengthen an important branch of the law, and that it will be of considerable value and utility in commercial circles.

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER.

*LORD **STANMORE** rose to move that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire and report with respect to the unfinished condition of the rooms in the Palace of Westminster appropriated to the service of this House, and their approaches. The noble Lord said: My Lords, a right rev. Prelate who made his maiden speech in this House a few days ago appealed to the indulgence of your Lordships on the old schoolboy ground that it was a first fault. I am afraid that with regard to this Motion I cannot so appeal, for I have for several years past brought it before you annually. However, perseverance and patience sometimes obtain a reward, and I have reason to believe that on the present occasion my Motion will receive a more favourable consideration from His Majesty's Government than it has hitherto been fortunate enough to obtain. That being the case, I do not think it is necessary for me to detain your Lordships by repeating for the fifth or sixth time the arguments which I have urged in support of the Motion that I have brought forward and am now bringing forward again.

But though I shall not enter into all those details, I wish in a few words to point out what the object of the Motion is and what it is not, because I find that on the part of some of my noble friends in this House there is a misapprehension on that point. The appointment of this Committee does not imply, of necessity, any addition to the decoration of the House. Primarily it has nothing whatever to do with decoration. What it has to do with is the completion of that which is incomplete. With the exception of this apartment and the Library there is no part of this division of the building that is fully finished, and the object and duty of the Committee if appointed, will be to ascertain first of all what is incomplete, and, secondly, what is the best mode of remedying that incompleteness. It may be by decoration of one kind or another. It may be by a deliberate determination to abstain from decoration; but what I say is a scandal is this, that this unfinished state of things has been allowed to go on for over forty years, ever since the time that the works of the House were suddenly interrupted.

When you have to deal with large blank wall-spaces there are three ways in which you may treat them. They may be dealt with architecturally; that is to say, with masonry, arcading, or panelling. They may be dealt with pictorially, or they may be left in bare and blank nakedness. It would be for the Committe to suggest what was to be done. When this House was first designed the intention was that the blank wall-spaces should be covered with architectural ornament, that its long galleries should be arcaded and panelled. Then that was, under the influence of the Fine Arts Commission, altered, and it was resolved that paintings and mosaics should form the principal adornment of these wall-spaces. Consequently all the walls were turned into gigantic stone picture frames. Some of these have had pictures put into them; most of them are filled with green paper. Familiarity and custom have made us blind to what is perfectly perceptible to any stranger who comes here—namely, the incompleteness of things. I will give you only one illustration. Your Lordships are in the habit of going to and fro from this apartment to the Library. As you go down the passage, you see before you a stone archway. Over that stone archway are Tudor roses and coats-of-arms and mottoes in sculpture and colour; but as you come back from the Library, if you look at the corresponding stone arch on this side. you will see, not similar ornamentation, but a deep and unsightly hole with nothing in it—a hole where the plaster has been removed in order to make space for the filling in of sculpture or mosaic, but which has never been filled in.

When the completion of the rooms, passages, corridors, and galleries of the House was interrupted, circumstances were much against the resumption of the work. First of all, there was the death of the late Prince Consort, who had always been the foremost in urging it on; secondly, there was, what was an open secret at the time—and is, I suppose, no secret now—the fact that Her late Majesty the Queen was most averse to having any of her subjects placed in the position which the Prince Consort had occupied, whilst at that time His present Majesty had not shown that marvellous tact and ability in managing Commissions and Boards which he subsequently displayed as Prince of Wales; and, thirdly, there was in office a most economical Chancellor of the Exchequer. All honour to Chancellors of the Exchequer who are economical, but I wish they were not always economical in tiny matters of art. Anyone who knows what trouble there was to get from Mr. Gladstone power to buy a picture for the National Gallery for a book for the British Museum will bear me out in this. It was extremely difficult to get from him money for the decoration of this House. I beg to move the Motion standing in my name, to which I understand His Majesty's Government propose to give a favourable reception.

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire and report with respect to the unfinished condition of the rooms in the Palace of Westminster appropriated to the service of this House. and their approaches."—(*Lord Stanmore*,)

*EARL SPENCER: My Lords, as I had the honour of supporting the noble Lord's Motion on a former occasion, I rise merely to say with what pleasure I heard from him that His Majesty's Government are likely to meet him in this matter. I do think when we consider what other nations do for art, that it is almost a scandal that in this great Palace of the nation, with so many opportunities, we should not give that encouragement to painting and sculpture which at a comparatively small cost might be given. I do not altogether agree with what my noble friend said as to Mr. Gladstone. I recollect very well myself being in a Cabinet where he did agree to, I think, £75,000 for one picture, and £20,000 for another.

*LORD STANMORE: I did not say Mr. Gladstone always refused money.

*THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Lord WINDSOR): My Lords, it has been a matter of very great regret to me that on former occasions when the noble Lord has brought this question before the House I have only been able to express sympathy with the object he has had in view. I am glad, therefore, that I am able to say on this occasion that His Majesty's Government do not desire to oppose the inquiry which he asks for. I think it was the noble Earl opposite, the Leader of the Opposition, who last year suggested that the inquiry ought to take the form of a Joint Committee of both Houses, as it deals with the decoration of Westminster Palace, which is a matter that concerns both Houses of Parliament. All that I can say now is that the Government agree to an inquiry, but I must ask the noble Lord to give me time for consideration as to the exact form that inquiry should take.

On Question, Motion agreed to; and ordered accordingly.

INDIA (ARMY ADMINISTRATION).

*THE MARQUESS OF RIPON rose to call attention to two Papers recently presented on the subject of Indian Army Administration, and to move for further Papers. The noble Marquess said: My Lords, I rise to draw attention to a question of very great importance, because it relates to nothing less than proposals calculated fundamentally to alter the present administrative arrangements of the Government of India, and, indeed, as it seems to me, the constitution of that Government itself. Perhaps, before I proceed to discuss the Papers to which I am anxious to draw your Lordships' attention, it would be better that I should very briefly explain the nature of the Government of India at the present time, at least in respect to the matters to which these Papers refer. The Government of India at the present moment consists of the Viceroy in Council, and his Council consists now of six ordinary members after the Act of last year was passed, who are placed in charge, to use the technical term, of various Departments of the Government. One of those members is a military man, who is in charge of the Military Department of the Government of India; that is to say, all business which relates to Army administration as distinct from Army command. The Commander-in-Chief is also, if the Secretary of State thinks well to appoint him, an extraordinary member of the Council, but the law leaves it entirely to the discretion of the Secretary of State whether he chooses to appoint any particular Commander-in-Chief to that position or not. There are two other extraordinary members of Council who under certain circumstances are entitled to take their places on the Council. They are the Governors of Madras and Bombay, and when the Council meets within the limits of their respective Presidencies they are, under the law, entitled to serve upon it as extraordinary members.

These proposals relate to a fundamental alteration in the distribution of business in that Council. The Papers themselves evidently have been preceded by some other communications, official or unofficial, and they rather enter into the matter in *medias res*. I make no complaint of that. The first despatch asks for the opinion of the Government of India as regards the present arrangements for the military administration, and it points out that objection has been taken to those arrangements, and that demands have been made, especially by the present Commander-in-Chief, Lord Kitchener, for an alteration of those arrangements. To that despatch the Government of India replied in a despatch which was signed by the Viceroy and by every other member of that Government except the Commander-in-Chief, in which they expressed their desire that the existing arrangements should not be altered, but should remain as they are at the present time. To that despatch Lord Kitchener appended a long and full expression of his own opinion, and his opinion was that the present arrangements should be changed, that he (the Commander-in-Chief) should be put in charge of the whole work of the Military Department, that there should be no Military Member, but that the Commander-in-Chief should take over, in addition to the executive duties, the whole of the administrative duties connected with the Army. Mr. Brodrick considered those Papers and came to that half-and half sort of thing which is generally called a compromise; he made certain proposals not entirely in accordance with either the wishes of the Viceroy or of the Commander-in-Chief.

In considering those proposals I should like, in the first place, to remind your Lordships that this is not a new question at all. It is a very old question. It is a question which has been discussed in India and in this country officially for many a long year. It has been considered by successive Secretaries of State at home, whose consideration has always up to the present time ended by maintaining the existing arrangements. I will not take your Lordships back to the famous quarrel between Lord Dalhousie and Sir Charles Napier, which ended in the resignation of the latter; but in order to show you how old this question is, and what great authorities there are against an alteration of the existing arrangements, I will ask you to allow me to refer to the views of the late Lord Lawrence as contained in a private letter addressed by him to Sir Charles Wood, and published in Mr. Bosworth Smith's excellent "Life of Lord Lawrence." It appears that at that time there was a great deal of friction, as the wording goes, between the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief —between Sir John Lawrence and Sir Hugh Rose; and one of the modes of escape from this friction appears to have been suggestions of the same kind as those which are being made at the present time. This is what Sir John Lawrence gave as his opinion upon the proposal to abolish the Military Member and to leave the Commander-in-Chief as the only military officer on the Governor-General's Council. Sir John Lawrence wrote thus—

"By the combination of the two powers"—the Military Member and the Commander-in-Chief—"the authority of the military element would overshadow and paralyse that of the civil power. As Commander-in-Chief the War Minister would have the same staff to enable him to carry on the struggle with the Governor-General whenever his views were not admitted. My remedy for the present state of things is that in the first place the Commander-in-Chief should not have a seat in Council. He should be a high executive officer distinctly subordinate to the Governor-General in Council. His views and arguments would then all, as circumstances dictated, be put on record and would go home bearing the authority and influence which they deserved. In the meantime he would be required to obey the orders he might receive. I see no other change which will prove beneficial."

We all know the great authority of any opinion of Sir John Lawrence on Indian affairs, but I have referred to that mainly for the purpose of showing you how old are these supposed difficulties, and how often this friction, which we hear so much about, has been found to arise.

These difficulties were in reality personal difficulties between the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief. Lord Lawrence felt great difficulty in his communications with Sir Hugh Rose. Those of your Lordships who have looked at the interesting volumes containing the life of Sir Henry Durand will have seen that when Sir Hugh Rose was succeeded by the late Lord Sandhurst those difficulties passed away and comparative facility of communication was restored. You will perhaps ask me, as I have had the honour to occupy the position of Viceroy of India, what was my personal experience in the matter. My Lords, it is my duty to give it to you, and it is this. I never knew, during the four and a-half years I was Viceroy of India, any differences of opinion which deserved the name of friction either between the Commander-in-Chief and the Military Member or between the Commander-in-Chief and the Viceroy. Differences of opinion there always will be. I have even heard of differences of opinion in Cabinets, and have sometimes been told that friction occurs in those distinguished assemblies; but I venture to say that practically no friction existed on military matters in the Government of India at the time I had the honour to be at its head. There were differences of opinion, but nothing in the nature of friction or serious difficulty.

I admit that my evidence on this point is perhaps not the most complete, because I was singularly fortunate in the man whom I had for Commander-in-Chief during the greater part of my time. Anybody who knew the late Sir Donald Stewart would know that if there are to be two parties to a quarrel nobody could quarrel with Sir Donald Stewart. He was a man of such admirable temper, with great experience both of civil and military matters connected with India, that it was not likely that any substantial friction could arise with him. But that was the case not because we were not dealing at that time with important matters. That Government had to deal with the proposals of Sir Ashley Eden's Commission for the entire reorganisation of the Indian Army; that Government met from time to time to discuss these questions, and discussed them without difficulty and without friction; and, again, we had to despatch the Indian portion of the expedition which went to Egypt at the time of the campaign of Tel-el-Kebir, and in the preparation of that expedition Sir Donald Stewart performed an amount of labour and displayed an amount of ability for which I think he never had adequate credit. It is a profound mistake if anybody supposes that a reasonable Viceroy does not constantly communicate with the Commander-in-Chief. I never dreamt of taking any important step relating to military matters in any way without consulting the Commander-in-Chief, without the most free and frequent communications between us, and that resulted, as I have said, in the most perfect harmony during the whole time I had the honour to be Viceroy.

The truth of the matter is that this is much more a question of persons than of things. It is much more a question of personal feelings than it is a question of administrative principles. These Papers from the first to the last are full of personal idiosyncrasies and individual character, and it is not, in my judgment, wise to deal with a great question of this description, not upon the broad general principles of what is the best form of administration, but in regard to the accidental circumstances of a particular time. I have read the Papers with the greatest care. I am bound to say that the published arguments for this great change appear to be very weak. Lord Kitchener adduces in his Minute certain instances in which he is not satisfied with the reception which his proposals have met with from the Military Department. Sir Edmund Elles, in his Minute, replies upon those questions. When I read Sir Edmund Elles's Minute I thought his reply was very good. To me it seemed complete, but then I said I must wait to see what Lord Kitchener has to say on the other side. But when I turned to Lord Kitchener's Minute I found no reply at all. I found nothing but a lofty declaration that he would not reply, and that he knew he was quite right. In a controversy of this description I am always a little inclined to think that a person who takes that line and refuses to reply in that tone does so because he cannot reply, because he has no answer to what his opponent has said

You will see that so far as I am personally concerned I agree—I have no hesitation in saying so—with the views expressed on this subject by the Government of India. Lord Curzon's Minute is a very able Minute. He argues the case very well, and in my judgment his arguments are very conclusive. I see that the Secretary of State in his despatch seems to think that there are some expressions in Lord Curzon's Minute which bear an exaggerated tone, but when I remember the language which was used by Lord Lawrence in the extract I have just read, when I recollect and refer to the language which is to be found in these Papers from Lord Dufferin, I think it cannot be said that Lord Curzon has used language which is not borne out by many of those who preceded him. For on page 53 of the Bluebook, towards the bottom of the page, I find it said that Lord Dufferin expressed this opinion—

> "The Viceroy would be" (if the Military Member were taken away) "without any adviser save the representative of the Army, who would be more specially interested in pressing proposals involving expenditure or changes in organisation. The revenues of the country would be at the mercy of the Commander-in-Chief."

If there is any exaggeration in the language which has been used on this subject I think it will be found there. I do not profess to say that I believe that the revenues of India would be at the mercy of the Commander-in-Chief, but I do believe that the proposed alteration would greatly increase the influence of the military element in the Viceroy's Council, and to that I, for one, entertain a most serious objection.

There are two main branches of this subject. The one relates to the proposal for making the Commander-in-Chief the Member in charge of the Military Department, and the other relates to the results which would follow from that in so far as it would tend to deprive the Viceroy of a second military adviser; and, my Lords, with regard to the first of those proposals, I wish to point out to your Lordships, though I shall have to allude to it again, that this is a proposal which ought not to be, which I venture to say cannot be, forced upon the Viceroy of India. The distribution of business in the Viceroy's Council is placed by statute unfettered in the Viceroy's hands, and I do not believe that any Secretary of State ought, with due consideration to the interests of India, to compel the Viceroy by the only means which he can compel him—because his privilege in this matter is statutory —to adopt a distribution of business of which he does not approve. But, my Lords, beyond that it seems to me that to put upon the Commander-in-Chief not only his own proper business, that which he has to perform at the present time, but a vast amount of other business of great detail which would follow from his being placed in charge of the whole military administration, would be to throw upon him far too great a burden. The Commander-in-Chief has great and important duties to perform, duties which take him away, and which must take him away, for a considerable length of time from the seat of the Viceroy's Council. Those duties have of late years been increased by the abolition of the Commander-in-Chiefships at Madras and Bombay—a step of which I highly approve. You have thrown upon him an extra degree of responsibility for the Army in those two Presidencies. Your Lordships will find, on page 44 of this Paper, an opinion of the late Lord Sandhurst on that subject. Lord Sandhurst said—

> "I conceive that the evil of divesting the head of the Government of India of its chief and responsible military adviser can hardly be exaggerated; yet if that responsible military adviser is to be at the same time an executive Commander-in-Chief, who is ever engaged in traversing the country on tours of inspection in times of peace, or at the head of the active Army in time of war, it is utterly impossible for him to be in his place at the side of the Governor-General, except at rare intervals of time. Military feeling is so strong, and the prizes of war are so great, that no Commander-in-Chief in India can resist the temptation of putting himself at the head of an army in the field, if he has an opportunity. In like manner, for the maintenance of discipline, to gain a knowledge of the Army, of the manner in which it is housed, cared for, and handled, it is absolutely necessary that a Commander-in-Chief should be ever on the move in peaceful times. Therefore, as said before, the constant presence of the Commander-in-Chief in India in his place as a member of the Supreme Government, and the recognised responsible adviser of the Governor-General in Council, is an impossibility under the present system."

That was the opinion of Sir William Mansford, afterwards Lord Sandhurst, a man of great distinction and great authority, a man who knew well the whole working of the Government of India, because he took great interest, not merely in the military side, but in many subjects connected with civil administration. He had a thorough grasp of the questions on both sides, and that was his deliberate opinion delivered at the time the duties of the Commander-in Chief were less extensive than they are to-day.

Even Mr. Brodrick in one of these Papers admits the importance of the inspectional duties of the Commander-in-Chief. There are two dangers. One danger is that the Commander-in-Chief will be very frequently absent, and that he will not be there to control, by his personal presence, the detailed administration of the Military Department. The other danger is the opposite one, that he will neglect the inspectional duty, that he will neglect those duties of his executive functions which ought to take him away from the seat of Government, and will devote himself mainly to the duties attaching to his position in charge of this Department. Either of those would be a very great evil. Lord Kitchener admits that objections of that sort did weigh with him. He said he had thought them serious, but then he says "Oh, but there are telegraphs." My Lords, telegraphic communication is a very good method of transmitting commands. I have had some experience of administration at the end a telegraph, and I do not think that it is a very good way of conducting an argument, or of convincing a person whom you want to bring round to your opinions. Therefore, I do not believe that in the absence of the Commander-in-Chief, let us say at the extremity of Madras, communication by telegraph upon important matters would be found a good means of administering the Army Department. What will happen? There will be a Secretary in the Military Department. I shall have something to say upon his position in a minute or two. He would be the person to represent the Commander-in-Chief. He would be the person to bring up the papers and lay them before the Viceroy. I do not think that in practice that would be found a satisfactory method of proceeding in the absence of the Commander-in-Chief, and I am fully convinced that you would only exchange one occasion of friction for another. You would get rid of the Military Member, of a high officer of military reputation, but you would place in a position of yet more friction the Secretary of the Military Department.

Take the case of war. I observe that the Secretary of State very wisely takes no notice of the suggestions of Lord Kitchener on military organisation in case of war. Those suggestions are impracticable. I do not believe they could be legally carried out. They could not be carried out in practice. At the same time, you ought to have faced that difficulty. You ought to have considered what would be your arrangements if war broke out. You ought to have been ready to say what would be done in such a contingency. I am quite sure of this, that Lord Kitchener is the last man who, if war broke out, would consent to remain at Simla and send somebody else in command in the field. That I take to be certain. That is the position in which the late Lord Lytton desired to place the Commander-in-Chief. I do not think it is a position in which he ought to be placed. I think, if he wishes to take command, he is entitled to do so, and I think that if he does take command all the arrangements which you are now setting up will immediately break to pieces. I have read the language that was used by Lord Dufferin as to the increase of military influence and military authority. I hope that my noble and gallant friend on the cross benches (Earl Roberts) will not quarrel with me when I say that I hold that it is of supreme importance to maintain the full authority of the Civil Government in India, and I do believe that a change of this kind, placing such enormous power in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, would raise him into a position which would not be consistent with the absolute supremacy of the Viceroy in Council.

But then, my Lords, we are told that the present position is anomalous. Well, I am one of those people who are not very much afraid of anomalies, There are plenty of anomalies in our Constitution, there are plenty of anomalies in our daily practice, yet we are most of us not anxious to sweep them away. But if you want to get rid of this anomaly there are two ways of doing it. You may get rid of the Military Member, or you may remove the Commander-in-Chief from Council. The latter proposal has high authority in its favour. It has the authority, as we have seen, of Lord Lawrence and of Sir Ashley Eden's Commission; and it has last, but by no means least, the authority of Sir Donald Stewart. I will not take upon myself the responsibility of recommending that change. I do not know how it would be taken by the Army. It is a very great change, and one which I am not here for the purpose of enforcing. I prefer to maintain the anomaly and to leave the Commander-in-Chief in his present position. But you must recollect that the law, by giving a special discretion to the Secretary of State as to whether he will place a given Commander-in-Chief in Council or not, distinctly shows that it does not consider the presence of the Commander-in-Chief to be an essential element; and it is a change which, if it should ever be desired to be made, could be made on a fitting occasion without any alteration in the law. But I do not recommend it. I do not think that it would be a safe or an advisable change to make at the present time. All that I ask is that things should be left as they have been during the last half century.

The so-called compromise, the arrangement which has been offered to Lord Curzon, and which he has with some modifications accepted, does not touch this question of the alteration in the position of the Commander-in-Chief. What it does deal with is the question of how a second military opinion is to be given to the Viceroy. To that Lord Curzon attaches the very highest importance, and I quite agree with him. It is not from any distrust in the great men who have filled the office of Commander-in-Chief, but it is because there are peculiar circumstances in India which make it an absolute necessity that the Viceroy, who, after all, is the head of the Government and responsible for military as well as for civil matters, should have the fullest and most complete advice on the many difficult questions of military administration and military organisation. It is impossible to contend that it is not of the first importance that that sort of information should be readily at the disposal of the Viceroy. My noble friend opposite, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in regard to these particular questions that I am alluding to, questions particularly relating to the Indian Army, did not so greatly need other expert advice because he had my noble and gallant friend on the cross benches as his Commander-in-Chief, and no man was more qualified to advise on all questions relating to the native Army than Lord Roberts.

But you may have again, as you have to-day, a Commander-in-Chief who, however distinguished and however able, has little practical knowledge of the native Army or of its prejudices and its fears; and it is absolutely necessary, if you are to avoid the tremendous difficulties that may arise from a mistake on questions of that kind, that you should have someone to give the Viceroy responsible advice. There are questions which relate to the prejudices of the native Army; there are questions which relate to the policy which was deliberately adopted in regard to military matters after the Mutiny. You will find in these Papers one instance in regard to the employment of native troops upon certain works. I do not say that that would have raised any difficulty. I have not the information to enable me to say so; but it is exactly the question which might raise a difficulty. It is exactly the question which might affect prejudices, perhaps caste prejudices and others, and on which the advice of a man who had been trained in the native Army, who had been a regimental officer of an native regiment, is absolutely required to enable the Viceroy to properly judge of the questions which come before him. Therefore, I have the most entire sympathy with Lord Curzon in his demand that he should not be deprived of the opportunity of referring to some person who has this kind of military experience. I mention questions springing out of the memories of that terrible catastrophe of nearly fifty years ago. There were principles of policy laid down then relating to such matters as the question of native field artillery, the composition of *corps d'armée* or divisions of brigades, as to the proportion of European and native troops to be maintained in the Army at large and in each of its component parts. There were questions of policy then laid down which it would be dangerous to overthrow, and which ought to be taken into the fullest consideration by the Viceroy in any questions that he may have to determine, and, therefore, I say that there could not be a more dangerous thing than to deprive the Viceroy of the means of having the best possible second advice in regard to all these matters.

The Secretary of State speaks rather slightingly of those who have filled the office of Military Member; he speaks of them as men of less standing and reputation than Commanders-in-Chief. These Military Members have been men of quite as high standing and reputation as many Commanders-in-Chief. They have been men like Sir Henry Norman, like Sir Donald Stewart, like Lord Napier of

Magdala, and they were men who would have given the wisest possible advice to the Viceroy on matters of this kind. Lord Napier of Magdala and Sir Donald Stewart became Commanders-in-Chief themselves. They were exactly of the same calibre as Commanders-in-Chief. There may have been Military Members not of such standing as these. I hope it is not disrespectful to say that there have been Commanders-in-Chief of not such high military standing as my noble and gallant friend on the cross benches and Lord Kitchener; but the endeavour has always been to obtain those who were able to give the best military advice to the Viceroy. Under the old system it was the duty of the Military Member to make himself acquainted with all military proposals, and to bring before the Viceroy anything which he thought required special consideration by him. That will not be so now.

I understand that the Supply Member is to be free to give advice if called upon to do so, but he is not to see the papers on their way to the Viceroy, and whether he is consulted or not will depend on whether the Viceroy thinks it necessary that he should consult him. That will work, I daresay, very fairly with Lord Curzon, because Lord Curzon is a Viceroy of unusual experience. He has been in India a longer time than any recent Viceroy, and he does know a great deal about all these questions. But take a new Viceroy going out for the first time, having little or no acquaintance with Indian matters, an English statesman sent out there without any special knowledge. I think my noble and gallant friend will not contradict me when I say that there may very well be questions coming before him which look very small and of little importance, but which, after all, may contain the germs of very serious matters, and upon which a Viceroy, not well understanding questions of that kind, might not think it necessary to consult the Supply Member. I also am not quite sure, when you have taken away from the Supply Member all the really military portion of the administration, when you have left to him nothing but what would be just as well administered by a civilian of good business habits—I am not quite sure whether, when that is his daily work, when that is to be his special official purpose, you will get men of the same calibre, men of the same military position to take up that office as you have happily been able to get for the position of Military Member in the past. There is a cryptic sentence in Mr. Brodrick's despatch, to be found on page 63, in which he says—

> "Until recent years it was the practice of the head of the Department to sink his military *status* on all occasions, and to adopt the civil *role* which appertains to the powers which he wields."

If that means, as I suppose it does, that of late years Military Members have been taking too much upon themselves, if I may be pardoned for the expression, if it means that there has been any encroachment upon the proper duties of the Commander-in-Chief, then I say let it be amended. There have been circumstances in India during the last few years in reference to the chief command in that country which make it possible that such encroachments may have grown up. I do not know whether they have or not. I have been told, for instance, that the Military Member is now in the habit of attending Council in uniform. It may seem a very small matter to your Lordships, but it is a matter of importance. It is a symbol of assuming a position which he ought not to assume. It is a proceeding to which I could quite understand the Commander-in-Chief objecting; but that is a thing which could be stopped in a moment. You need not root up the whole of your military arrangements for the purpose of stopping things of that kind. All that you have got to do is to say that it is to be stopped, and stopped, of course, it will be. If there have been any such encroachments, let them be brought to an end.

These Papers show that my noble and gallant friend on the cross benches had some causes of complaint at times during the Viceroyalty of my noble friend the Marquess of Lansdowne, for on page 60 I find this statement—

> "Changes in procedure were, in consequence, authorised by Lord Lansdowne which satisfied Lord Roberts and secured a more effective working of the system during the remainder of his period of office."

Why cannot you do that now? Why is it necessary to make a complete and fundamental change in the constitution of the Government of India for the purpose of arranging disputes of the description which were settled so easily by my noble friend opposite and my noble and gallant friend on the cross benches. Of course, there are men and men. I do not dispute that. But the public service is not framed for the convenience of particular individuals, but is framed for the purpose of conducting the general business of the country in the best and most satisfactory manner.

Now I come to the question of what is called the Supply Member; that is to say, to the compromise which has been accepted by Lord Curzon. I am bound to say that in my opinion Lord Curzon, in accepting that compromise with very slight alterations, acted with very great moderation. I cannot join in any of the denunciations which have been poured out upon Lord Curzon's head. Perhaps I have a little sympathy with Lord Curzon. I have been in his office, and I know what it is; but, if I may be permitted to say so, I do not think that that compromise can be taken as altogether a satisfactory settlement of the question, because it is an unreal settlement. You are going to appoint a Supply Member, who, I understand and hope, is always to be a military man, but that is not quite clear from anything in these Papers, or anything that has been yet said in Parliament, and I hope His Majesty's Government will tell us distinctly that that Supply Member is to be as regularly a military man as the Military Member has hitherto been. If that is not the case, then the compromise is worth nothing, and nothing has been done to satisfy the demand of the Viceroy for second military advice; and it is only by making that perfectly clear that you can make the compromise of any value at all. What will be the position of the Supply Member? He is to look after a set of duties which, as I have said, might be just as well discharged by a civilian so far as those particular duties are themselves concerned and he is to be allowed to be referred to by the Viceroy. He is to have no original right, as I understand it, to go to the Viceroy upon military matters; he is not to report; he is to do nothing until he is called for; or until the question comes before the Council, when, of course, you cannot prevent him from giving his opinion. I do not think that will be a satisfactory solution of the question. I do not believe it will be a solution which will hold. I do not believe that it will be a solution which can finally be maintained.

I want also to know something about the Secretary to the Military Department. The Secretaries to the Government of India in various Departments are appointed by the Viceroy. Is the Secretary to the Military Department going still to be appointed by the Viceroy? He has been given the local and temporary rank of major-general if his Army rank is below that. I see that Lord Kitchener puts him down as the last name in the staff of his own Department. Is he to be appointed by the Commander-in-Chief or by the Viceroy? As my noble friend knows very well, the Secretary of a Department of the Government of India has a peculiar position. He is entitled to go to the Viceroy if he differs in opinion from the member in charge of the Department, and to claim the privilege of stating his difference to the Head of the Government. Is that to be the case still? Is that to be the position of the Secretary to the Military Department; and, if it is, what about the friction? The Secretary to the Military Department is the Secretary working under the Commander-in-Chief. Is he to go from the Commander-in-Chief, under whom he works, in order to tell the Viceroy his opinion in contradiction to the advice given by the Commander-in-Chief? That seems to me one of the most curious ways of getting rid of friction that I have ever heard of.

I am sorry to say I am compelled to express my great regret at the tone of Mr. Brodrick's despatch. That the Secretary of State should rule in all matters in India which are not settled by law, that he should rule in the final judgment is, of course, necessary in all foreign affairs and in all questions of principle. He should give his opinions and ought to be unhesitatingly obeyed. But if there is one point on which the Secretary of State ought to be very cautious about interfering with the Viceroy it is in the management of the business of the Viceroy's own Council. The final despatch of Mr. Brodrick says — "This has been decided, and that has been decided, and you are to carry it out, and are to have all your arrangements made by October 1st." I venture respectfully to say that that is not the tone in which the Viceroy of India ought to be addressed. I do not believe, my Lords, that since the days of Lord Ellenborough's famous despatch to Lord Canning about the affairs of Oudh, any Government of India has received such a rebuff in the face of India and in the face of the world. Recollect this, that the order issued to Lord Curzon in regard to the distribution of business in his Council deprives him of a discretion which has been given to him by Act of Parliament; and I think that even if that can be justified, which I greatly doubt, it ought at least to have been indicated in gentler terms and in more civil phrases, and that the document in which it was sent to the Viceroy ought not to have been published. Many a Viceroy would have given a very short shrift to a proceeding of that description.

I now come to the last point to which I shall draw your attention, but it is one of very grave nature. The Government of India is founded on statute. It has always been the policy of the past to base that great Government, the Government of the greatest dependency of the Crown—I might almost say the Government of the greatest dependency of any country in the world —to base that Government upon statute. There is the statute of 1861, which, though it has been altered in some respects, remains the solid foundation of the Government of India, and now you are proposing to alter the practice established by that Act in some important particulars, and you have not condescended in any form whatever to consult Parliament. I know something of the Act of 1861. It fell to my lot to pass it through this House, and, therefore, I am well aware of its provisions. I am well aware of the reasons which actuated the Government that brought it in and passed it. I will ask your Lordships' attention to the 8th section of the Indian Councils Act of 1861. That section is to the following effect—

> "It shall be lawful for the Governor-General from time to time to make Rules and Orders for the more convenient transaction of business in the said Council, and any Order made, or act done, in accordance with such Rules and Orders, except as hereafter provided respecting laws and regulations, shall be deemed to be the Order or act of the Governor-General in Council."

It is under that clause that the distribution of business by the Viceroy in Council is carried out. That clause was introduced for the purpose of enabling the Viceroy to carry out the arrangements in Council which now prevail. Before that was passed every paper came into Council and was read there, and no decision was legally binding except it had been actually passed in Council; and you will observe one peculiar thing about the phraseology of that clause. Your Lordships know that nearly always in Acts relating to India the words run "The Governor-General in Council," but the person to whom the power is given to make regulations for the business of the Council is not the Governor-General in Council, but the Governor-General by himself. That is unusual, and it was done for the purpose of placing in the hands of the Viceroy of India the power of making his own regulations for the conduct of business in his Council.

That clause did not attract, as far as I can gather from reference to *Hansard*, attention in the other House of Parliament, where not unnaturally they were mainly concerned with the powers of the Legislative Council, but when the Bill came up to this House it was very fully considered and discussed. We had then in this House so eminent a man as the late Lord Ellenborough, who had been Governor-General of India. We had in this House Lord Lyveden, who had been President of the Board of Control. We had in this House other men, all of whom took part in this discussion and showed the deepest interest in the clause. Objections were taken to it. Lord Ellenborough preferred that things should be left as they were, but it was explained to him that Lord Dalhousie and Lord Canning had both found that the business had increased so enormously that unless some means of this kind of meeting it were provided it would be difficult to transact it as it ought to be transacted. But the assurance which was given by the Government of that day was that the discretion as to how this business was to be distributed in the Council of the Governor-General was to be left entirely to the Governor-General himself. This is what was said on that occasion by the late Duke of Argyll, who was then a member of the Cabinet—

> "The clause now proposed would authorise the Governor-General from time to time to make such regulations as he thought necessary for the more convenient transaction of business, and if the division of work which he made was found inconvenient, or if his successor disapproved of it, the regulation might be altered or remodelled in a moment according to the views of the Governor-General for the time being."

That, my Lords, is the interpretation which was given to that clause by the Government which proposed the Bill; that was the understanding on which the clause was accepted in this House; and I say that language of that kind is wholly inconsistent with forcing the Governor-General to make a distribution of his business which he does not himself desire.

That is a very clear case, to my mind; but I think also that it is contrary to the spirit, at all events, of the statute that you should put the Commander-in-Chief in charge of any Department of Government at all. Those who have hitherto been in charge of those Departments have been ordinary Members of the Governor-General's Council. The Commander-in-Chief is not an ordinary Member, but an extraordinary Member. He may be there, or he may not be there, according to the discretion of the Secretary of State; and I contend that if you, as you do, practically turn him from his position as an extraordinary Member into an ordinary Member, he cannot, under the statute, being an ordinary Member, exercise any military command. About that there can be no doubt, because the clause says—

> "If a person so appointed shall be in the military service of the Crown, he shall not, during his continuance in office as a Member of Council, hold any military command or be employed in any military duties."

That is clear. Of course, it may be said that that does not really preclude the employment upon these duties of an extraordinary Member. That is a very nice legal point which I will not argue. But what I want to point out is this. Mr. Brodrick may write any number of despatches he likes, but he cannot deprive the Secretary of State of the power of putting the Commander-in-Chief on the Council or not at his discretion.

I want to know, supposing a Secretary of State were to omit to appoint the Commander-in-Chief to be an extraordinary Member of the Council, what becomes of your arrangement? It comes toppling down on your heads. He is not in Council and cannot undertake the duties, and it is obvious that the intention of those who framed the statute was that the Commander-in-Chief, being an extraordinary Member and of specially high rank, was not to be put in charge of any Department of that kind. I venture to say that in all the discussions that went on on the Bill of 1861 in this House, that idea never entered the head of any man. Do you suppose for a moment that the late Lord Ellenborough would have approved of such a proceeding, that he would not have cried out upon it at once? Why, he told us on that occasion, to our great astonishment I admit, that he himself had written with his own hand every important letter which went from the Military Department. He would not do that if he was alive now, but it shows what was his feeling as to the respective positions of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief in respect to these matters.

I think we have great ground to complain that in this matter you have not thought fit to consult Parliament. You have, on the contrary, done everything that you could to prevent Parliament from expressing its opinion on this subject. The Papers were laid on the Table of the other House of Parliament forty-eight hours after the debate on the Budget, and there is at the present moment on the Papers of that House a blocking Notice which absolutely precludes the other House of Parliament from considering this question at all. That, my Lords, I hope will be my justification for having detained you so long. I do believe that a more important question in respect to the Government of India has not been raised since the year 1861, and that it is absolutely essential that some notice at least should be taken of this matter in Parliament. I must enter my protest against the course which has been pursued by the Secretary of State. I protest against it, first, because I believe that it will mischievously disorganise the military administration of India and diminish the effective control of the Viceroy in Council over that administration. I protest against it, secondly, because it tends to deprive the Viceroy of that unfettered discretion in regard to the distribution of the business of his Council which has been conferred upon him by Act of Parliament; and I protest against it lastly because it has been adopted without the knowledge or the advice of Parliament, and is altogether inconsistent with the manifest intention of the Government which proposed, and of the Parliament which passed, the statute of 1861.

Moved, "That an Humble Address be presented to His Majesty for Minute of Sir Donald Stewart in June, 1898, on the subject of Indian Army Administration, recorded in the India Office."—(*The Marquess of Ripon.*)

*EARL ROBERTS: I venture to say a few words on the important subject which the noble Lord has brought forward, because I have had considerable personal experience of Indian Army administration. I was at Army headquarters from time to time during the Viceroyships of Lord Canning, Lord Elgin, Lord Lawrence, Lord Mayo, Lord Northbrook, Lord Lytton, Lord Dufferin, and Lord Lansdowne; and for seven and a-half years I was Commander-in-Chief in India, the greater part of which time the last-named nobleman was Viceroy. I think, therefore, my Lords, I can claim to speak with some authority on a question which has given rise to a good deal of correspondence during the last two years, and regarding which there still is very considerable feeling in India. I mean whether the Commander-in-Chief should be the sole military representative on the Council of the Viceroy, or whether there should be two military advisers—one the Commander-in-Chief, the other an official in charge of what I may call the spending departments of the Army.

I have no hesitation in saying that, in my opinion, it is essential to the security of India that the Viceroy should not be dependent on the advice of a single soldier, however eminent and distinguished he may be. Even if he were an Indian officer and his experience had been entirely Indian, as was the case with myself, I consider it would be advantageous for the Viceroy to have at his side a second adviser not directly connected with the Army. But when the Commander-in-Chief is, as in the present instance, a complete stranger to India, I consider it would be a positive danger to our hold over that country that he should be the only one to advise the Viceroy on military matters; for, with the sole exception of Lord Lawrence, every Viceroy has also been a stranger to India since the days of Lord Clive.

I would remind you, my Lords, that the Indian Army has its political as well as its financial and military aspect. It is, besides, scattered over a vast area, and no one man is capable of making himself thoroughly acquainted with the military side and at the same time exercising general control over the civil departments of the Army. The one requires him to be frequently absent from headquarters; the other necessitates his whole attention being given to office work. I cannot believe that any man would venture to undertake the arduous position of Viceroy of India under such conditions. The argument that the Commander-in-Chief would always have on his staff a certain proportion of officers of Indian experience, whose intimate acquaintance with the Indian Army would prevent his making any serious mistakes with regard to that Army, does not, in my opinion, carry much weight. These officers would be directly subordinate to the Commander-in-Chief, and could not express opinions to the Viceroy in opposition to those held by their immediate chief. To do so would be subversive of all military discipline. It is essential that the Viceroy should have on his Council an officer—he need not be a great soldier—intimately acquainted with India, especially with the native Army, its feelings, and idiosyncrasies.

If I regarded this question solely from the soldier's point of view, I should certainly advocate the Commander-in-Chief's position being made as powerful as possible, but I have been too long in India and have had too much experience of the difficulties which beset the Government of that country not to appreciate those difficulties at their full value. The native Army is by far the most difficult and delicate part of the problem with which the Government has to deal, and, unless this is constantly borne in mind, I foresee that troubles will assuredly rise in the future as they have done in the past. I do not deny, my Lords, that differences of opinion have from time to time arisen between the Commander-in-Chief and the Military Member of Council. It would be strange indeed if this did not occur between men of strong opinions; but this is the Viceroy's safety, in that he can have different views laid before him on any military subject. I can quite understand that, for reasons into which I need not enter, more power has fallen into the hands of the Military Member than is desirable or customary, and it is this, I cannot help thinking, that has, in a great measure, given rise to the friction which we all deplore. But it only proves that it was the procedure, and not the system, which was at fault; and I hope that the great soldier at present at the head of the Army in India, to whose hearty co-operation during the war in South Africa I myself was so deeply indebted, will now recognise that this was the case, and that in accepting the decision of the Government he will feel that the right course has been adopted.

I suppose it was unavoidable, when the question at issue reached such a pitch, that it had to be submitted to the Government at home for decision; but I cannot say how much I regret that the action of the Viceroy and his colleagues should have been the subject of criticism in this country—a criticism in many cases made by people who have little or no knowledge of India or of the peculiar nature of its government. The Viceroy of India is a great personage in the eyes of the natives of that country. He is to them not only the Governor-General of India, but His Majesty the King's representative; and it is most undesirable that anything should be said or done here which could possibly tend to lessen the Viceroy's dignity or power, or lower him in the estimation of the natives of India.

*THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (The Marquess of BATH): I venture at the outset of my remarks to assure the noble Marquess that I fully recognise not only his right to bring this subject before your Lordships' attention, but I also recognise the propriety of his doing so. I should like to add, if I may, that I appreciate that the motive of the noble Marquess in so doing has been entirely for the public good. I recognise the authority of his experience both in India and at home, and although he has alluded with some warmth to certain portions of the policy which has actuated the despatch, and to the despatch itself, I venture to thank him for the manner in which he has brought this subject before the notice of your Lordships. I remember also that there is a noble Lord, who has his place upon the benches opposite, who has served in the office of Viceroy with the highest distinction. Your Lordships have, moreover, been addressed by the noble and gallant Earl on the Cross Benches, to whom not only the Indian Army, but the British Army, owes so much for the glory of their achievements. I have further to remember that there sits behind me my noble friend the Leader of the House, whose years of office as Viceroy of India are gratefully remembered as amongst the most valuable and valued in the annals of the Indian Empire. The House will appreciate that in approaching the subject which is now before us I am overweighted by the reflection that my critics—if they my critics—are certainly not lacking in personal knowledge or experience of the matters under review.

The noble Marquess who brought this subject forward did full justice to its antiquity, and he reminded us that this controversy is not only not of recent growth, but is of very long standing. And, my Lords, he was able to speak with the authority of his experience on the question as it presented itself even before the Report of the Ashley Eden Commission, which sat over a quarter of a century ago. I would remind the House that really ever since that time this question has from time to time been more or less acute in its eruptions. But, my Lords, when at length two eminent public servants in India—the Governor-General and his Commander-in-Chief—entered the lists to take part in this controversy they naturally became the protagonists in the fray. They are both masterful men—they are masterful in mind, they are masterful in action—and they both possess a masterful vocabulary; and thus it came to pass that matters reached a crisis when in the interests of the Army in India, in the interests of the Government of India, aye, and in the interests of the Empire at large, it became necessary for the Government at home to seek some means to solve this vexed problem, to put an end to this dispute, and to remove the causes of friction and of combustion, and if possible to settle what has been so long unsettled and to decide what has been so long uncertain.

I do not think that I should be doing either of the great controversialists any injustice, or be minimising the importance of this subject, if I venture to sum up the question as it presents itself to my mind. The Commander-in-Chief threw down the gauntlet by saying "Everything is wrong," and the Viceroy promptly replied "All's well." Well, my Lords, between these two wholly antagonistic assertions and contentions it was necessary to find out the exact facts. Both of these statements could not be correct; was either of them absolutely correct? So far from the home Government having started the question, this controversy was forced upon them because someone had to decide. The noble Marquess opposite appeared to me to deal principally in his speech with the supposition that the result of the decision of the Secretary of State would be that Lord Kitchener's proposals as contained in his Minute had been accepted.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: Yes, as regards the Army Department.

*THE MARQUESS OF BATH: I am speaking not only as regards the Army, but also as regards the position of his colleague.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: I said it would be so as regarded the Army Department.

*THE MARQUESS OF BATH: The noble Marquess, I think, also threw some scorn upon what he called the compromise. I shall venture to allude to that question again in a few moments, but I ask the House to remember that Lord Kitchener based the proposals in his Minute upon Imperial as well as upon Indian grounds, and I suggest, without at this moment expressing any opinion, upon it, that those proposals could not be thrust aside without examination or by a mere negation. The noble Marquess has drawn a picture of what would occur supposing the Commander-in-Chief was absent conducting military operations at the front, and therefore unable to be by the side of the Governor-General and his Council. But surely the answer to that supposition and to that contention is that the Commander-in-Chief is not allowed to leave the country, and, in fact, I do not think I am stating it at all too strongly when I say that he is not allowed to take command of active operations in war, without the leave of the Secretary of State. I cannot help feeling that that portion of the argument which deals with the fear, and perhaps the natural fear, expressed by the Government of India scarcely took that prohibition into account. It is perfectly true that the Commander-in-Chief will have to perform inspection duties. I speak, of course, with great hesitation on a matter of this nature, but what I venture to suggest is that his inspections should be those of great importance and not too frequent, and that the inspection of the minor units should be left to his subordinate officers. I venture to suggest that the place, and the proper place, for the Commander-in-Chief at inspection time is at the great camps of exercise, and at the very large military centres. Therefore, I again venture to suggest that the fear that has been held out of the Commander-in-Chief being very frequently away from the centre of Government will not prove that bar to the efficient conduct of the business which it is proposed to place more fully in his hands.

I do also think, if I may venture to say so with all respect, that the conditions have considerably changed since the days when those eminent authorities expressed the strong opinions they did, and which the noble Marquess quoted, with regard to the inadvisability of the Commander-in-Chief being away from the central Government. After all, telegraphs have, in spite of what the noble Marquess says, largely improved since those days. It should also be borne in mind that the conditions of travel and of communication, even by other means than telegraphs, have vastly improved, and I do think that the inconveniences arising from the absence of the Commander-in-Chief will not prove nearly so serious now as they did in the days to which the noble Marquess has referred.

The noble Marquess dealt with the second military adviser who, he said, was being taken away from the Governor-General in Council—and I cannot help feeling that the whole of his speech was strongly influenced by that apprehension—and he also alluded to the native and political questions that would arise, and which were constantly arising; and he made a point of the fact that by the scheme, as decided upon by the Secretary of State, the Viceroy would be entirely deprived of a second military opinion. Surely, the noble Marquess has forgotten that in the scheme as decided upon by my right hon. friend express provision is made for dealing with these native and political questions by means of the Mobilisation Committee, which is a Committee upon which both the Commander-in-Chief and the Military Supply Member will have their seats. So far as the second military adviser is concerned, I would venture to remind him that it is not proposed to withdraw him from his seat on the Council.

The noble Marquess seemed to become somewhat indignant in regard to a passage in the despatch of the Secretary of State, in which he alluded to the fact that the Military Member,—or may I use what is perhaps a more correct expression, the Member in Charge of the Military Department——

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: It is certainly longer.

*THE MARQUESS OF BATH: Yes, it is longer, but think that the short title has tended to produce serious misconceptions in the general consideration of the matter—the noble Marquess appeared I say, to be indignant because the Secretary of State alluded to this official as being in an inferior position to the Commander-in-Chief. I think the correct words are "Another expert of less standing and reputation than himself." But surely the very instances which the noble Marquess quoted show conclusively that this Military Member must necessarily be of less standing and reputation than the Commander-in-Chief. You must surely compare things with the present, and you must compare each Military Member with his contemporary Commander-in-Chief. It is not for me, my Lords, to pass any comment or to express any views upon the distinguished officers who have held posts of Commander-in-Chief and Military Member. It is quite possible that some Military Members have been of far superior attainments to some of the Commanders-in-Chief, but I do submit—and especially in the instances which the noble Marquess gave us of the two distinguished officers who eventually became Commander-in-Chief—that the officer, whoever he may be, who holds the office of Military Member must necessarily be of less standing and reputation than the then existing Commander-in-Chief.

One other point to which the noble Marquess referred was the fact that the Military Member—I use the short title in spite of what I said—would be debarred from going to the Viceroe on his own account. Surely the nobly Marquess is mistaken, because it is still competent for any Member of the Viceroy's Council to go and consult the Viceroy on his own initiative.

*THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: I hate to interrupt, and I am sorry to say that to interrupt is a growing habit in both Houses of Parliament. I must, however, state that what I did say was that the Military Member would not see by the papers passing under his eyes what was going on, and that unless the Viceroy sent for him he would not be able to know what was going on in the other branch of the military administration. I did not say anything more than that.

*THE MARQUESS OF BATH: I was going on to the point that he would not have access to the papers. Of course I speak under a disadvantage in discussing this matter with the noble Marquess, but I believe the Members of the Council can call for papers.

*THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: If they want them.

*THE MARQUESS OF BATH: Yes, if they want them. But, after all, may I venture to remind the noble Lord that I think the general impression left on one's mind by those Papers which have been presented to Parliament is that both Sir Edmund Elles and the Viceroy in his Minute and despatch were afraid that the questions affecting the Indian Army, and political matters, would not receive the consideration which their importance deserved. But, my Lords, those questions will all go before the Mobilisation Committee, they will be discussed from their proper aspect by the two branches of the Army administration, and those questions are all necessarily bound to come up before the Viceroy, who will have the whole of this expert advice to fall back upon. The noble Marquess asked the Government one Question with regard to the appointment of that new official, the Secretary. My impression is that he will be appointed like the other officers, and that is by the Viceroy.

Perhaps I may be permitted to say one word on a matter upon which the noble Marquess laid some stress, and I approach it with a good deal of diffidence, because I have not had that legal training which enables one to deal with such a subject with rapidity and with accuracy, but I may tell the noble Marquess that we are advised, and it is a strong opinion held by the India Office and the Secretary of State, that the provisions of the Act of 1861 have not been contravened in any respect. I beg to remind your Lordships that the Act of 1861 is also governed by the Act of 1833, and in that Act it is distinctly laid down—

> "That the said Board shall have and be invested with full power and authority to superintend, direct, and control all acts, operations, and concerns of the said company which in any wise relate to or concern the government or revenues of the said territories, or the property hereby vested in the said company in trust as aforesaid, and all grants of salaries, gratuities, and allowances, and all other payments and charges whatever, out of or upon the said revenues and property respectively, except as hereinafter is mentioned."

I submit that that section governs the provisions of the Act of 1861. I do not deny that the Governor-General, by Section 8, can lawfully make his own rules and regulations for the more convenient transaction of business. It has been the custom, and it has happened that the Home Government have issued their decisions—because they are decisions, and I think the noble Marquess will acknowledge that—to the Governor-General, and have left him to frame the rules and to carry them out.

*THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: Yes, in regard to the arrangements in his own Council.

*THE MARQUESS OF BATH: I think I can give the noble Marquess an instance which comes to my mind. In the year 1888 it became necessary in the opinion of the Home Government to reorganise the duties of the Finance Member. The matter was discussed between the Government of India and the India Office, and it was my noble friend Lord Cross, who was in the House at the beginning of this debate, who himself sent that decision out to Lord Dufferin, who was then Governor-General, leaving it to him to make any modifications in the existing rules for the conduct of business which might be required to give effect to those instructions.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: Yes, he left it to him.

*THE MARQUESS OF BATH: Yes, the rules were made by Lord Dufferin, and it fell to the lot of my noble friend behind me (Lord Lansdowne) when he went out to India to refer those rules home to the Secretary of State for his knowledge and approval. There is nothing, so far as I know, in any Act of Parliament to prevent the Governor-General—it may be at the suggestion of the Secretary of State—from allocating any duties to the extraordinary Member of the Council that he chooses just in the same way as he allocates duties for the convenience of the conduct of business in India to the ordinary Members of his Council. The noble Marquess drew another picture of a future Secretary of State declining to place a future Commander-in-Chief on this Board as an extraordinary Member. I will only say in regard to that contention that if the present decisions have successful results, and if it turns out that the working of the military side of the Indian Government is freed from those difficulties which it has experienced in the past, then I do not think that we need fear that any future Secretary of State will be bold enough to upset an arrangement which we hope and believe we have placed upon a satisfactory basis.

The only other matter to which I have to refer arising out of the speech of the noble Marquess is that he criticised with some severity the Secretary of State's despatch, and he criticised it especially because it conveyed the orders and the decisions of the Secretary of State in a rather unnecessarily harsh manner. I believe, my Lords, that it is an open secret that, while this question as a whole is of very long standing, this particular phase, this acute phase, has been going on also for a comparatively long time. Even when Lord Curzon was over here last summer it was then in progress, and the home authorities were able to consult with his Excellency and to settle the manner in which the question should be brought up. It was brought up by the despatch of the Secretary of State, and it was therefore, I venture to suggest, clear that both the despatch and the decision of the Government could not have been so unexpected as I think the noble Marquess tried to make out.

The Papers which were laid upon the Table were laid, I know, forty-eight hours after the debate which took place in another place, but as a matter of fact I wish to assure the noble Marquess that their presentation was hurried on owing to that debate. They were hurried on in order to make Members of this House and Members of Parliament generally acquainted with these matters before that particular debate came on. There was every desire on the part of the Secretary of State to meet the convenience of Parliament, and there has been no desire on his part to keep anything back.

As I said before, it is a fact that these papers were presented certainly several days in advance of the time at which they naturally would have been presented, and this was done in order to endeavour to place them on the Table, if possible, in time for the debate in another place.

Now I desire to say a few words upon another matter to which the noble Marquess opposite did not refer, and, may I say, to his honour he did not refer. Standing here as I do, and defending, as I hope I am doing, the decision of the Government with regard to this vexed question, I cannot allow the suggestions which have been made in very many quarters with regard to the action of the Secretary of State to pass unchallenged. It has been suggested that the Secretary of State has taken in this matter the side of Lord Kitchener, and that he has against him the Governor-General and the whole of his Council. Against that suggestion I beg to temind your Lordships that for the last twenty-five years at least—whatever may have been the numerous and various recommendations which have been made to solve the difficulty, and which show to my mind the extent of the difficulty—I shall not be exaggerating when I say that every one of the distinguished officers who has held the post of Commander-in-Chief has chafed with varying degrees of irritation against the ever-growing assumptions of the Military Department of control over the Commander-in-Chief. This irritation assumed the form of an open sore when Lord Kitchener appeared upon the scene. I do not deny it. Does the

Secretary of State stand alone? His decision, long and carefully considered, was arrived at not as his own autocratic judgment, but as the matured conclusion of the Cabinet. He was supported, and his decision was approved, by those distinguished Members of the Indian Council who have themselves had the widest experience, both civil and military, in India before they took their seats upon the Council Board at home. The facts and the history of events were submitted for advice to distinguished officers who have held the positions both of Commander-in-Chief and Military Member in India, and thus fortified, thus instructed, and thus supported, the Secretary of State came to his decision. The Secretary of State has not taken sides either for or against any individual. He is not biassed, but, if I may say so with all respect, he has with great industry, with absolute honesty, and with a single-minded determination sought out the truth, searched for the facts, and aimed at a decision which, no matter whom it pleased or displeased, should secure the safety and the well-being of the Indian Army and the Empire as a whole.

The noble Marquess said that if it was merely a question of the assumption of power in the Military Department it could be settled in a moment. The Secretary of State came to the conclusion that the existing condition of affairs could not go on with safety to the State, and every military authority he consulted was and is of that opinion. Between the antagonistic assertions of the Viceroy on the one hand and the Governor-General on the other, the Secretary of State sought, it is true, a *via media*. I stand here and claim that the Secretary of State has found that *via media*. The Governor-General on July 6th made certain representations as to modifications in the Secretary of State's despatch of May 31st, and he appended to that communication the satisfactory and significant statement—"the Commander-in-Chief entirely concurs in these proposals." Thereupon the Secretary of State practically adopts these proposals in detail. There, I venture to suggest, the controversy might have closed. Stripped of personal jealousies, stripped of masterful rhetoric, free from the heat engendered by past friction, surely it is fair to say that this problem has been solved in the interests of the State, and not for the exaltation or humiliation of any particular individual. What the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief have agreed upon, and what the Secretary of State and the Home Government have accepted, ought at least to be given a fair trial before it is condemned, and it ought at least to be put to the test before the controversy begins again. I suggest to your Lordships that there can be no end to any dispute if the disputants are to be free to begin their fight all over again before the ink on the paper on which the settlement is written is dry.

I have refrained purposely from commenting upon the language of the Minutes of Lord Curzon, Lord Kitchener, and Sir Edmund Elles, because I do not think any commentary of that kind would serve any useful purpose. The Government and this House are not concerned with dialectical triumphs; what we are concerned with is the safety of the State, with the fortunes of the Empire, and with the efficiency of the Army. In recent years, as I think the noble Marquess himself suggested, the position of the Member in charge of the Military Department has, owing to an exceptional state of affairs, tended to pass from being that of a civil administrator to that of a purely expert military adviser. This position has been condemned by high military authority and also by eminent Indian administrators. I think it is only fair to say that Lord Kitchener, however strong and extreme some of his proposals may have been, has insisted all along on the retention of the military supremacy of the Governor-General.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: Of course he has.

*THE MARQUESS OF BATH: He has all along repudiated any idea of establishing a military autocracy. At all events he is entitled to the credit of meaning what he says; but lest the result of these changes which we have proposed should by any chance have that tendency, the Governor-General submitted certain proposals which the Commander-in-Chief accepted, and of which the Secretary of State and the Home Government approved. My Lords, I suggest that both loyalty and common sense demand that this decision should be respected.

It is clear, I think, that the dispute and the real point at issue between the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief was that, on the one hand, the Governor-General was afraid lest the Commander-in-Chief's intention was to establish a military autocracy and to subvert the authority of the Governor-General, as it has existed ever since the Government of India has been under this country; and, on the other hand, the Commander-in-Chief was afraid that the Military Member had assumed, and was assuming, a position which gave him a control over the military conduct of purely military affairs which he was never intended to possess, and which would be fatal to the successful conduct of military matters, for which, I suggest, the Commander-in-Chief could and should alone be responsible to the Governor-General. On the one hand, the Secretary of State laid down that the military supremacy of the Governor-General should remain, and that that eminent public servant should retain all the powers he had hitherto possessed in that direction. He laid down that the power of veto should rest exclusively with the Governor-General in Council. So much for the fear of the subversion of the military supremacy of the Viceroy. In the second place he decided that, whilst the second military adviser should not be withdrawn from the Council, that Member should be relegated to the position which he was originally intended to occupy, and that he should no longer possess that power of veto, without reference to the Governor-General in Council which he had hitherto exercised, and that his functions should be more those of a civil administrator with military knowledge and experience, in accordance with the original intention. If, as I trust, I have made this point clear, I have at all events fulfilled the object for which I rose in reply to the speech of the noble Marquess opposite.

LORD SANDHURST: I so seldom intervene in discussions in your Lordships' House that possibly I may be excused on this occasion for asking your indulgence, because I happen to have had the honour of administering the Government of one of the Presidencies of India, and therefore this question is one of absorbing interest to me. At the same time, those who are conversant with our complex system of government in India may very well suggest that it is out of place for me, having been a Presidency Governor, to interfere in this discussion because these matters have to do principally, if not wholly, with the Government of India. At the same time I think that while it is natural to suppose that a man should give what he may consider his best energies to the duties that fall upon him within his own Presidency, it is natural also, I think, that he should extend his purview somewhat, and observe and form opinions upon matters which, although they are beyond his personal ken as an administrator, no doubt have to do with the development, and therefore with the happiness, of the people of India. The noble Marquess below me, and the noble and gallant Lord on the cross benches, have gone with great detail, owing to the wealth and knowledge of their experience, into the various subjects connected with this question. I do not propose to follow them in that detail. I may say that I agree with the noble Marquess below me, and I should like to add this particular remark to what he said. Of course I know that no matter which side one speaks from it is very difficult indeed to entirely dissociate from the minds of some people that there must be a political bias in the action that one may take in criticising the action of the Government of the day. But I can assure your Lordships that no such feeling as that actuates me in the slightest degree whatever, and I should deem it a very great misfortune if any large section of the public in India, or the public officers in India, thought they could appeal with success from one great political Party in England to the other.

I listened with great pleasure to the statement of the noble Marquess who has just addressed us, and I could not help regretting that it had not been the duty of the noble Marquess either to draft or supervise the despatch of May 31st, especially when I listened to the conciliatory sentences in which he addressed your Lordships. I shall say more about that despatch before I sit down. In the course of his speech the noble Marquess certainly drew an interesting picture of what a happy family the officials at the India Office must be when they hear all about these strong controversies and rhetoric and so forth. But surely this is not quite a sufficient reason for changing the whole principle upon which the Government of India was founded so many years ago. As regards the Commander-in-Chief and his power of inspection, it seems that we are dangerously approaching the position that if we do not take care we shall have neither a Military Member of Council nor a Commander-in-Chief, because when that great functionary should be at the side of the Viceroy he will be going about the country inspecting, and when he ought to be inspecting he will be required by the side of the Viceroy. I heard the noble Marquess say that the inspection of the Commander-in-Chief should be confined, for example, say, to such great camps as Delhi and elsewhere. Now I have had some acquaintance with the Commander-in-Chief, and I must say that being a Commander-in-Chief and a Member of the Council his inspection duties took him continually away from the seat of Government wherever that might happen to be.

I do not propose to call before your Lordships the names of those two great functionaries between whom this controversy has taken place, and who have been the very centre of it. With all submission, I say that it does not seem to me to be a question either of Lord Curzon on the one hand or Lord Kitchener on the other. The service of the Viceroy in India is nearly concluded, and the Commander-in-Chief has, I believe, completed about half his term; therefore it appears to me that this question goes far beyond the individual controversies of two or three or half-a-dozen individuals, however high their functions may be. It is, on the one hand, the case of a great soldier in charge of a service who by the time he reaches the end of his service in that exalted position will have spent the best years and very nearly the whole of his responsible life in the service of his country. Of course from the very nature of the case he has immediately under his eye the Army and the interests of that Army, and it would be very strange if it were otherwise. On the other hand, the great statesman who is sent out from this country as Viceroy must naturally be anxious to do his best to meet the demands of his military advisers, and meet as far as he can the military needs, but at the same time he must also keep his eye upon, and fulfil the requirements, of the various civil services which are under his control and supervision. I must say that upon that point I agree with the noble Marquess who brought in this Motion.

When I, like other students, take the Blue-book in my hands, I feel bound to say without any hesitation whatever, that not only is the weight of evidence, but also the weight of argument, in my opinion, in favour of the system as it existed a short time ago in preference to the system which has now been brought about. Some of this strong language which has been flying about is very much like what we are accustomed to call in India semi-official letters, and though it may be extremely spicy reading, at the same time I feel bound to say that the despatch of the Government of India signed by the whole of the Government and the Minutes signed by the Viceroy himself are Papers of dignity and moderation. I was pleased to hear the noble Marquess remark that he had behind him the whole of the Indian Council. He says he has the Viceroy and the whole of his Council behind him, and I do not for one moment doubt that assertion. I may say, however, that I have searched about to find men of experience who have passed a great many years both in military and civilian life is India—I do not mean merely arm-chair politicians and so forth, but men who think a great deal and have the interests of India at heart—and I have never been able to find one person who agrees with the view taken by the Government. The noble Marquess says the Secretary of State's Council is in favour of it, and of course there is an end of that matter as regards them.

There was, however, another point I should like to refer to which was touched upon by the noble Marquess. It has been pointed out how heavy the duties of the Commander-in-Chief are, and I think that remark applies to every official, whether military or civilian, throughout the whole Dependency of India. No doubt these proposals will increase his work, and that work will have to be carried on when he is travelling about or upon his tours of inspection. The noble Marquess the Leader of the House, the noble Marquess upon this side, and others who have had to do with Indian administration, know what a very serious matter it is when your papers and boxes have to catch you up, and that after the active work you may be pursuing, either as a soldier or as one engaged upon famine relief works, at the end of the day when you come in you have had quite enough to do without finding the whole of your boxes waiting for you and without being obliged to sit down and tackle them at once. That is a very serious matter to the Commander-in-Chief, however strong and willing he may be, to undertake at the end of a long day's inspection. It was pointed out by the noble Marquess opposite that you have the telegraph. So you have, and I agree with the noble Marquess that the telegraph is an admirable thing if you want to say "Yes" or "No" or issue an order, and have it promptly carried out. But, after all, the telegraph renders people liable to many mistakes and misapprehensions if you have to carry on important business by telegram.

Then, again, we cannot get away from the fact that important as it is the Army is only one of the services of India. There are a great many other services which the Viceroy and various other high officials have to control. They are, of course, not of the same enormous importance as the Army, but they nevertheless have their place in the government of the country. Take irrigation, education, the railways, and so forth, and other matters many of which are necessary for the preservation of life and for the development of the resources of India. I look upon these proposals and these arrangements which have been carried out with mistrust for this reason. I have had only a slight acquaintance with Lord Kitchener, and he may be a man who takes a broad view of the government of India, and is willing to agree that certain proportions of the funds and so forth must be set aside for other purposes. But supposing that you import into the Commander-in-Chiefship in India first of all an inexperienced officer as regards India; I will not further dilate upon that point, because it was so clearly put by the noble and gallant Earl on the cross benches. Supposing he obtains a preponderating influence with the Viceroy, what becomes of the other services? It is perfectly true that in the last few years Lord Curzon has been so fortunate as to have at his command surpluses from which he has been able to ladle out money with both hands to the Military Department and also to the other services of the State. But when I had the honour to be in India for five years I can assure your Lordships that for four out of those five years money was extremely scarce, and those who have had to do with India know perfectly well how hard it is to carry on administration for the development of any Indian province, or to improve your administration, when you have no funds whatever to do it with, and that is where I am afraid the danger may come in with the Military Department, who might get an undue proportion of the funds at the disposal of the Viceroy.

Suppose for a moment that you have a determined Viceroy and a determined Commander-in-Chief. Things may be at a deadlock, and then we come back to the telegraph of which we have heard so much and we find that the unfortunate Secretary of State has to spend a great deal of time telegraphing to smooth over both these high officials and remove the friction between them. Instead of removing obstacles, we shall be creating fresh difficulties by this course. One of the points raised in one of Lord Kitchener's Minutes was that the system was so slow.

I do not wish in any way to defend dilatoriness or slowness, but those of us who have had to work in the East know that in India of all places everything, from the very nature of the country, must be slow. There is no getting out of that fact. I believe that one of the reasons of our success in governing India is that there has been slow and sure and careful administration, and this has ensured efficiency, and has produced a just administration.

I regret that in the Minute the organisation of the Army of India was somewhat belittled, if not in words certainly by insinuation, by the Commander-in-Chief, and I hope recruiting for the native Army will not suffer in consequence. After all is said and done, we have observed how quickly troops have been sent from India, in one instance to Natal, which by some authorities are said to have saved Natal at the outbreak of the South African War. We also know how Indian troops were sent to China, and we have had recent experience of the value of Indian troops in the Tirah Campaign. We know that officers in our Army are by no means slow to criticise arrangements which they consider to be faulty, but, so far as my own experience goes, I never heard anything but praise of the way the Tirah Expedition was carried out from start to finish.

I must say a word or two in regard to the despatch of the 31st May, although my noble friend has already alluded to it. I concur with him in the deprecatory terms in which he spoke of that despatch. It almost seems to me that when the Secretary of State penned or agreed to that despatch that he almost forgot to whom he was writing, and, if he did not forget it, he failed to appreciate and realise the position that that high functionary holds in the native mind, not only as the Viceroy of India, but as the direct representative of the Sovereign. I am certain that if the noble Marquess the Under-Secretary of State for India had been entrusted with the supervision of that despatch it would have reached India, if it had been intended for publication, in a very different form than the terms in which it has now been issued. Nobody knows better than the noble Marquess below me, and the noble Marquess opposite, that the Viceroy of India has beyond all laws and regulations a great power, a great moral power for good and for social development, and I very much fear that the natives of India, who are very quick to perceive anything, will think that a slight has been put upon the Viceroy and the whole of his Council by the terms of that despatch.

I will say one word about Lord Curzon. I have had the honour of serving with and under Lord Curzon for some little time. I do not, however, hold any brief for him, and I have never heard from him on this ject at all, indeed I do not correspond with him because experience teaches me that Viceroys have other things to do than to peruse the academic effusions of their friends. But we have had a great many Viceroys extending over an enormous period of years, including the two Marquesses sitting on either side of the Table, who have given the best years of their lives to the service of their country in India and to the service of the people of India. I do not, however, think it is an exaggeration to say that there is not one of the many Viceroys who have served India who has brought greater singleness of mind to bear upon the great office that he holds and on the subjects with which he has to deal and who in spite of delicate health involving much pain, has devoted greater energy to the office which he adorns, or has brought greater capacity to the various subjects which have to come before him, and to whom the Government paid the unique compliment—certainly unique in modern days—of prolonging his tenure of office for a year or two. Then, at the eleventh hour, he is made the public recipient of this despatch, which contains the slight to which I have referred.

I desire, my Lords, in conclusion, to associate myself with the noble Marquess below me in his view as to the contents of this Blue-book. I am certainly persuaded that these proposals have not been attended by any present advantage, and I look at them with some little apprehension as regards the future, because they embody a system which, so far as I have been able to observe, is opposed by the whole of the public opinion of India, and stands almost condemned by the greater part of the men at home who have had experience in India.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, I have listened with pleasure to the warm eulogy which the noble Lord who has just sat down passed on the brilliant services of Lord Curzon as Viceroy of India. That these services are appreciated by His Majesty's Government could not be proved in a more signal manner than by the fact that they have asked him to extend his term in India to a period exceeding in length the term of any of his predecessors, and it is superfluous for me to assure your Lordships that nothing has been further from our thoughts than by anything we have said or written either to give him personal offence or to derogate from the high position he has held in the face of the people of India.

Even those of us who do not entirely agree with the arguments of the noble Marquess opposite must have noticed with admiration the energy and vigour with which he treated the proposals which have been made by His Majesty's Government and now accepted by the Indian Government. But as the noble Marquess's blows fell fast and furious, I could not help feeling that we might, perhaps, complain of him a little for what I cannot help calling his ingratitude to us in a very essential particular. The noble Marquess found fault with the settlement which has been arrived at, but throughout the whole of his speech I did not catch a single word of acknowledgement of that which, after all, must be regarded by the noble Marquess as no small admission of the principle for which he contends—I mean our absolute refusal to listen to Lord Kitchener's proposal to put an end to the existence of the Military Member of Council. We found ourselves in the position of having to decide between the demand of Lord Kitchener that the office of Military Member should be absolutely put an end to, and the view of the Government of India that it should be preserved, and that he should remain very much in the position which he has always occupied, and we decided against Lord Kitchener. Let me say at once that I am one of those who are firmly convinced that it is essential that we should have two high officials in those positions, and that their duties should not be concentrated in the person of a single official, however distinguished. In the first place, I do not know of any human shoulders broad enough to bear the double load at present borne by these two men; and I may add to that that, in my belief, the duties of the two offices are really distinct. It may be difficult to define them with scientific precision, but they fall under the two heads which the noble Marquess specified—the duties of Army administration and those of Army command—I may add also to that that, in my belief, it would be unfortunate, if among the ordinary Members of the Council there were not to be always one with some knowledge of military affairs, and able when necessary to give the Viceroy the benefits of his advice. I believe that, for the reason which was given by the noble and gallant Lord who spoke from the cross benches, without such an arrangement you will always be liable to find that particularly in periods of transition between the terms of one Commander-in-Chief and another the Viceroy in Council is deficient in that entire knowledge of the affairs and requirements of the Indian Native Army which is so essential to the Government of India.

We hear our Army in this country spoken of as a delicate organism with which it is hazardous to tamper, but the Indian Army is a much more delicate organism, and I, for one, should deeply regret to see any change which would diminish by one jot the security we now possess that the interests of the Indian Army will be thoroughly understood and thoroughly respected. I may add further that in my belief the system under which the Viceroy has had the advantage of the advice both of the Commander-in-Chief and of a Member of Council with military knowledge and experience has, on the whole, worked well. There have been periods of friction, and such periods of friction have not been entirely unknown to us in this country; but, taking the arrangement as a whole, I believe it is one which is for the interest of the Government of India.

Although, however, we may hold those views, that does not seem to me a reason why we should be precluded from reconsidering and, if necessary, revising the distribution of work as between the Commander-in-Chief and the Military Member of Council. I listened with some surprise to that part of the noble Marquess's argument in which he endeavoured to convince the House that such a redistribution of duties was a breach of the Constitution of India. The noble Marquess relied, if I remember rightly, on the terms of the Act of 1861, and he pointed out that under the eighth clause of that Act it was laid down that it should be lawful for the Governor-General from time to time to make rules and orders for the transaction of business in the Council; and the noble Marquess argued that because this function was given, not to the Governor-General in Council, but to the Governor-General himself, therefore the Governor-General was unfettered in his discretion to deal with these rules and regulations. My Lords, I must say that that is an argument which seems to me to be far-fetched. As I have understood the matter, the Government of India works in subordination to the Secretary of State in Council, and if, as is the case, the Secretary of State has the power of disallowing even the laws and Orders in Council which are made by the Government of India, surely it may be argued *a fortiori* that he has the right of modifying or challenging the rules and orders made by the Governor-General for the mere transaction of business; and my noble friend the noble Marquess near me was able to point out that, as a matter of fact, the Secretary of State has on various occasions claimed and exercised such a right of supervision over the conduct of the Governor-General in dealing with these rules and orders.

The noble Marquess advanced another argument which also seemed to me extremely far-fetched. He suggested that because the Commander-in-Chief was not an ordinary, but an extraordinary, Member of Council there was some irregularity in giving him the assistance of a secretariat and in other respects placing him somewhat more upon the footing of the ordinary Members of Council. The noble Marquess did not press that argument very strongly; but if he is able to show us in any of the statutes provisions which render it unconstitutional to do what we have done, that is, to assign certain extra duties to the Commander-in-Chief and to give him that clerical and secretarial assistance which he requires in order to perform them adequately, I shall be very grateful to the noble Marquess if he will indicate to me where such provisions are to be found.

The noble Marquess ridiculed what he called the half-and-half arrangement which we had arrived at, which he said was in the nature of a weak compromise. The noble Marquess must have forgotten that this was not by any means the first occasion upon which there has been a redistribution of the duties of the Commander-in-Chief and the Military Member. Within my own experience I remember such a readjustment of duties soon after I arrived in India. The noble and gallant Lord, Lord Roberts, was then Commander-in-Chief, and he represented that the procedure which we were then in the habit of following was one which made it impossible for him adequately to perform his duties, and thereupon the rules were revised and a fresh distribution of duties took place which I believe gave satisfaction to those concerned. More lately still, with the consent of Lord Curzon and his Government, there has been a readjustment of work under which the great department of supply and transport was handed over from the Military Member's department to the department of the Commander-in-Chief. I cannot but think that the Papers on the Table of the House contain sufficient evidence to show that upon the present occasion some revision of the old arrangements was absolutely necessary.

The root of the difficulty is not very far to seek. I think it arises from the fact that there is, and necessarily must be, a somewhat ill-defined frontier line between those duties which may be described as purely military and those duties which belong more to the department of administration. There are few really important military questions into which financial considerations do not enter, and in India there are few, I would almost say no important military questions into which political considerations do not enter. Take one or two cases which at first sight look as if they were purely military cases—the question of the part of the country in which a fort or cantonment might be placed. That at first sight looks like a purely military question, but the noble Marquess knows as well as I do that political considerations would have to be taken into account. The same is true of matters concerning the recruitment of the native Army, and the manner in which regiments or battalions are constituted from different races. Again, take such a question as schemes of mobilisation—apparently a purely military question. A scheme of mobilisation, admirable on purely military grounds, may have the effect of denuding a particular part of the country entirely of troops, regardless of the condition of that part of the country, regardless of the state of the civil population, and of the dangers to which you might be exposed in the event of the sudden disappearance of the force which has been habitually quartered in its midst. It seems to me that the moral of these things is that we should endeavour to make between these two sets of duties the best division possible in the circumstances, that we should endeavour to bring the two departments as closely as possible together, to induce them if we can to regard themselves as allies rather than as competitors, and that we should provide for them some ready means of composing their differences, should any differences unhappily present themselves. In India the means are ready to hand, because it is always easy either for the Commander-in-Chief or for the Military Member to have recourse either to the Governor-General individually or the Governor-General in Council (which meets once a week throughout the greater part of the year) when a difficult case requires to be discussed and adjusted.

The noble Marquess was somewhat merciless to our proposals. I hope he will allow me to remind him that those proposals were the result of long and anxious consultation of the best Indian authorities, military and civilian, accessible in this country, authorities who included the noble and gallant Lord, Lord Roberts, and other officers of high military experience. The object of those proposals was to arrive at a better and more satisfactory definition of the duties to be assigned to the Commander-in-Chief on the one hand and to the Military Member of Council on the other; in the next place to recognise the undoubted preponderance of the Commander-in-Chief in all those questions which can be described as purely or mainly of a military character. We have, with this object, given the Commander-in-Chief direct access to the Viceroy, we have given him a secretariat of his own, and concurrently with that we have endeavoured to divest the Military Department of that somewhat over-military complexion which it has tended to assume in recent years.

One word only with regard to the despatch of May 31st of which so much has been said. The noble Marquess and the noble Lord on the back bench both took strong exception to the tone and style of that despatch. I do not think either of them singled out any passage, any word containing anything disrespectful or wanting in consideration for the Viceroy, but they pointed out that instead of the Government of India being consulted, the despatch intimated a decision already arrived at. My Lords, the moment had come when a decision was urgently called for. This controversy had been, I will not say raging, but had been going on for many months. The question had been a good deal discussed when Lord Curzon was staying in this country last year, and it was clear from the tone of the Minute recorded in this Blue-book that it was necessary for some one to come with a concrete and definite decision and to put an end to this prolonged controversy.

The despatch conveying the decision of the Secretary of State did not preclude the Viceroy from making any observations which these proposals might seem to him to call for, and, in fact, Lord Curzon made many observations upon them, and suggested modifications in some important particulars, and those modifications have been accepted. Lord Curzon, I believe, regarded them as involving material concessions and important departures from the original scheme. The Secretary of State believed, on the contrary, that most of those modifications were the natural result of his own proposal and that they could be given readily and without any misgiving. Surely it is not our business to determine who has triumphed in this case, or to decide whether there has been a victory on one side or a surrender upon the other. Is it not rather for us to bear in mind that we were a short time ago face to face with apparently irreconcilable divergences of opinion between these two great and distinguished Indian statesmen, and that these divergences have been reconciled. Though this arrangement may possibly not be perfect, though there is no finality in these things, and a moment may come when it may be necessary to reconsider some of these details, ought we not to congratulate ourselves that this period of tension and difficulty has been put an end to, and that it has been put an end to by a settlement which both sides have accepted, to which both sides are ready to give a fair, full, and loyal trial, and which we, at any rate, hope may be successful in putting an end to some of the inconvenience which has been experienced during the last few years?

*THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: My Lords, the speech of the noble Marquess who has just sat down has left me in some doubt as to what are the real proposals of His Majesty's Government in respect of the distribution of work between the Commander-in-Chief and the new Supply Member. Judging by Mr. Brodrick's despatch, I think it is clear that, speaking broadly, all the military duties connected with the present Military Department of the Government of India are in future to be placed in charge of the Commander-in-Chief, and that there is to be left to the Supply Member a certain number of duties connected with supply, the manufacturing departments, and other matters of that kind, which are hardly of a military character and might just as well be discharged, if they were his only duties, by a competent civilian. I have some hope, however, that, though it seems to be so from the despatch, that may not be the real intention of the Government, and that there is contemplated some other distribution of work which will give the Military Member for the future something more to do than appears to be indicated by the despatch.

Perhaps the noble Marquess the Under-Secretary of State will excuse me if I venture to offer him my congratulations upon the able speech which he made tonight, a speech full of promise, and showing that he will be able to take a vigorous and valuable part in the administration of public affairs and in the discussions in this House. I asked the noble Marquess—it doubtless escaped his memory—to state clearly, because at present I do not fully understand, whether it was intended that the new Supply Member should be always a military person, or whether it was contemplated that under certain circumstances he might be a civilian. The despatch is not clear on that point. Some of the language used by the Secretary of State in another place in the debate on the Indian Budget pointed very much to the possibility of a civilian being appointed to fill the office. If a civilian were appointed there would be no second military advice for the Governor-General, and there would be a recurrence of the position to which I understand Lord Curzon particularly to object. I do not say that there is any obligation upon the Government to make the Military Member always a soldier, but that has been the invariable practice and it is only a reasonable practice. I hope the noble Marquess will be good enough to tell me exactly what is intended in that respect in the future.

Then the noble Marquess took exception to a view which I expressed with regard to Section 8 of the Act of 1861, and he referred me to the Act of 1833. It was the intention of the Government in 1861 to alter the practice which had existed before that time. The practice had been found inconvenient by the Governor-General, and an alteration of it was particularly desired at the time by Lord Canning, in order that it might be placed upon another and a new footing. I can scarcely suppose that, after the efforts that were made in that direction, the position remained exactly the same as it stood under the Act of 1833. That, after all, is a legal point upon which I am not competent to express an opinion, but I do know what was the intention of the Government. I was not a member of the Cabinet; I was an Under-Secretary; but, as I had charge of the Bill, I do know what was the intention of the Government at the time. I have quoted an extract from a speech of the Duke of Argyll showing what was the intention of the Government then, and I distinctly say that the view I have put forward was the intention of Parliament and of the Government when that Act was passed.

I understand the noble Marquess also to say that some arrangement had been made with respect to the distribution of work in the Finance Department. My noble friend who has just sat down also referred to it. I think it was quoted as an instance of an alteration in the distribution of work in the separate departments having been ordered from home. But that is not the question. The question is not of the work in each separate department. The question raised by this clause is as to "the rules and orders for the more convenient transaction of business in the said Council," and I repeat, as the Duke of Argyll said, that it was intended to leave entirely to the discretion of the Viceroy himself the question of the distribution of work in the Viceroy's Council. I do not for a moment mean that the Secretary of State might not make any suggestions he pleased to the Viceroy on the subject, but I do say that it is inconsistent with the plain intentions of the Government at that time that the Secretary of State should force or order the Viceroy in regard to the distribution of the work within his own Council. I say nothing about departmental arrangements, because the clause does not apply to them; it applies simply and solely to the distribution of work within the Viceroy's Council, and, speaking from my own experience, I cannot conceive how the Viceroy could get on unless he had that complete control given to him personally, and not merely as Viceroy in Council, over the management and transaction of business within his own Council. That is the view I have taken. I have refreshed my memory by reading the debates which took place in this House at the time, and I can say from my own knowledge with the most absolute certainty that that was the intention which we had when the Bill was passing through Parliament, though whether or not we succeeded in carrying it out in the provisions of the Bill is a matter for lawyers to determine.

My noble friend who has just sat down spoke of the various people of great authority who had been consulted by the Secretary of State. I wish we had before us the opinions given by those distinguished persons; they would be very useful for our guidance. I daresay there were consulted by the Secretary of State many people whose opinions would be of the highest value, but they are not before us. I should be glad if the noble Marquess would give us those opinions, but, judging by the expression on his face, I do not think he is likely to do so. But seeing that we know neither who the persons were who gave the opinions nor what the opinions are, I do not think it is quite fair to refer to those opinions and tell us that we ought to yield our own judgment.

I am told by the Under-Secretary of State that the Mobilisation Committee is to be resuscitated and is to deal with all questions relating to the native Army. I am bound to say that I doubt whether any Committee can take the place of the personal advice which can be given by a competent military man on questions of that kind. I do not think that consideration by a Committee can really take the place of personal intercourse between a competent adviser and the Viceroy.

Then I am glad to learn, if I did not mistake what fell from my noble friend, that it is intended that the Viceroy should have the most perfect opportunity of consulting the Supply Member, if that is to be his name, upon any question connected with military administration.

I should like also to refer to an expression which fell from my noble friend who has just sat down which I am sure he did not really mean. He said that the arrangement for the future was to be that the Commander-in-Chief should have the freest access to the Viceroy.

The Commander-in-Chief has the freest access to the Viceroy at the present moment. Did not my noble friend and the noble and gallant Field-Marshal on the cross benches constantly confer upon military questions? I know they did. So did I with the Commanders-in-Chief that I had. Therefore, do not let it be supposed that the present system is one by which the Commander-in-Chief is held at arm's length from the Viceroy. On the contrary, the communication has been constant. While I was in India every military question of any importance was discussed by me with the Commander-in-Chief; I took his oprinion uponsuch questions for my own instuction and security.

* THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: Perhaps I expressed myself rather elliptically. I meant that he would have direct access instead of through the Military Department.

* THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: I understand. I was quite sure that my noble friend would not object to my calling attention to that remark, because it might be misunderstood coming from one of his great authority.

I do not know that I have any other comments to make upon what has fallen from noble Lords opposite. I am afraid I cannot change my opinions. I still think that the new arrangements will add to the burden of work of the Commander-in-Chief, and that to place him in charge of any portion of the present business of the Military Department is a mistake. I cannot help thinking that he will not have the time or the means of discharging his proper duties as Commander-in-Chief if you cast these further duties upon him. I am bound to say that, attaching as I do the highest importance to the competent discharge of his duties as Commander-in-Chief, I should be very sorry if he was tempted to neglect those duties for the sake of carrying out his duties as Member in charge of a department of the Council. I believe that he would much better discharge his duties as Commander-in-Chief if they alone belonged to him.

I am very glad we have had this discussion. There was one phrase which fell from my noble friend the Under-Secretary which seemed to indicate that he rather thought it was not a subject which ought to be brought forward after a settlement had been arrived at between the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief.

* THE MARQUESS OF BATH: Oh, no.

* THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: I cannot agree with that view. I think this discussion has been most valuable. Before the debate ends I should like an assurance from the Government that, as regards advice to the Viceroy, the Supply Member is to be a real Military Member, giving advice to the Viceroy, and defending his own opinion in Council against the Commander-in-Chief if he happens to differ from him. That, I think, is an undoubted improvement upon the arrangement proposed by Lord Kitchener. But I must continue to hold that the distribution and the management of the business of the Viceroy's Council is a matter which ought to be left to the discretion of the Viceroy alone, and that anything that is calculated to depress the civil side of the Government of India and to elevate the military side is a great political mistake.

* THE MARQUESS OF BATH: With your Lordships' indulgence I will reply to the Questions put by the noble Marquess. Perhaps I may say that, with regard to Section 8, my contention was this. I understand that under that section the Governor-General allocates the business to the different Members of the Council, for the purpose of conducting the business of the Council, and I instanced a case under Lord Dufferin and Lord Cross, in 1888, as showing that there had been an interference with the absolute discretion of the Governor-General with regard to the principles according to which he allocated his business.

* THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: Give me the Papers, and then we shall see.

*THE MARQUESS OF BATH: With regard to the position of the Military Member, I can only refer the noble Marquess to the supplementary Paper which was issued and to the answer of the Secretary of

State there given that we should not be prepared to propose alterations of the law, and that the discretion to appoint a soldier or a civilian to the Governor-General's Council will therefore remain as it is—

> "Paragraph 23 of the despatch clearly indicates that the Member in charge of the Military Supply Department should usually be a soldier, and it is my intention, on the occurrence of an impending vacancy, to advise His Majesty to appoint a soldier."

Further than that we must leave it to the Secretary of State at the time to make the next appointment. Then the noble Marquess also asked me a Question with regard to the consultation that the Governor-General might have with the Military Supply Member. That is dealt with in the next paragraph of the same telegram—

> "The Governor-General has a constitutional right to consult any Member of his Council officially or unofficially on any subject, and there is nothing to the contrary in the despatch. The Members in charge of the Army and the Military Supply Departments, like other Members, must advise your Excellency if invited to do so, and the right of every member as established by law to discuss matters in Council will of course remain unaffected."

I have only one other word to say. The noble Marquess has called for the expression of opinion by Sir Donald Stewart which is quoted in the despatch. We shall, of course, present that.

On Question, Motion agreed to; and ordered accordingly.

House adjourned during pleasure; and resumed by the Earl Waldegrave.

MEMORIAL TO THE LATE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY.

*LORD HAWKESBURY, in moving "That this House, whilst anxious that a suitable site should be found in Westminster Abbey for the National Memorial to the late Marquess of Salisbury, desires to express its opinion that the monument to Captain James Cornewall (the first monument erected by vote of Parliament to a naval officer, who, when in command of H.M.S. "Marlborough" in the action off Toulon in February, 1743–44, lost both his legs, but remained on the quarter-deck and fought his ship till he died), ought not to be removed without due notice being given to Parliament," said: My Lords, I feel that some apology is due from me to your Lordships for pressing this Motion at such a late hour of the evening, and I know that I shall stand in need of all the kindness and indulgence that you can afford in asking you to bear with me for a few moments while I deal with the question. I am well aware that this question of moving monuments is a somewhat delicate one, but I feel most strongly that it is a very important one for both Houses of Parliament. The question is whether, when monuments of a national character have been erected by the vote of the two Houses of Parliament, it should be possible for them to be removed, and, as the proposal stands in this case, to be mutilated and only small portions of them retained, and these placed in a position where they cannot be seen and will be soon forgotten. Surely when Parliament decides to perpetuate the memory of a great Englishman we do not look forward to the time when the monument erected with that object shall be placed in such a position that it cannot be seen.

I am well aware of the difficulties of the case. Westminster Abbey, as we know, is very crowded, and probably at some time, sooner or later, it will be necessary to carry out one or other of the schemes for enlarging the space, which from time to time have been put forward. With regard to the removal of monuments, my noble friend Lord Camperdown, some six years ago, introduced a Bill, as your Lordships will remember, dealing with the subject. That Bill received the assent of your Lordships' House and the support of the late Archbishop of Canterbury; I think it passed this House without any Amendment of any moment, but owing to the pressure of business in another place it failed to pass into law. Another attempt was made to deal with the subject elsewhere three years later, but that attempt likewise failed to reach a successful issue from the same cause.

I hope that it is unnecessary for me to say that in common with all your Lordships I felt the very greatest respect and regard for the late Lord Salisbury, and I am sure that in common with every

Member of this House I feel the same great reverence for his memory. Of this I am certain, that we here at this day are as unanimous in our wish and desire that the late Lord Salisbury should have the best monument that can be erected to his memory, and, further than that, that he should have the best site available in Westminster Abbey, as were our predecessors more than a century and a-half ago when they voted a monument to the gallant Captain Cornewall. But that being so, I trust it may be possible to carry out that desire in the best and most satisfactory manner without desecrating—if I may use the term—the monument to this naval hero. As to an alternative site, I will not now enter into that question further than to mention that it has been suggested that a place might be found for the monument of Lord Salisbury in the Eastern part of the Abbey, the position of honour, and where a recumbent effigy would be more in keeping with the surroundings.

As I understand the proposal of the Dean, it is intended to move some five monuments in Westminster Abbey, namely, the one in question, that to Captain Cornewall; one which stands back to back with it, that to Mr. Secretary Craggs; two on the opposite side of the Abbey, one being that to Lord Howe, and the other that to Charles James Fox; and I think the fifth is the one known as the Massachusetts memorial. But of these five monuments the one to Captain Cornewall is the only one which it is proposed to take to pieces and to retain only a portion. I believe that the portion to be retained includes the panel bearing the inscription, which is now about eight feet from the floor of the nave, and which it is proposed to place on the sill of the west window of the South West tower of the Abbey, some eighteen or twenty feet above the floor; another panel having on it in relief the naval battle; and a medallion with the head of Captain Cornewall on it; these three fragments being there framed in new stone work. When it is placed in position on the sill of the window which I have described it will be impossible with the light in one's eyes and at that height to read the inscription or to see the carved representation of the ships that fought in the engagement. As a matter of fact it will be out of sight and out of mind, although it was voted to perpetuate the memory of this great Englishman, who deserved so well of his country—for he, with Hawke, who were the heroes of that action, were the beginners of that long series of naval captains who deserved so well of their country, and who brought the Navy to the perfection which it attained at the time of Trafalgar.

It seems rather a curious coincidence that this year, when in two months time we are to celebrate the centenary of Trafalgar, should be chosen to put forward this proposal, which I trust may not take effect. However that may be, I feel bound to protest against it, and I trust that your Lordships will join with me in protesting against the mutilation of this monument. I know from communications I have received, that there is a strong feeling on this matter, not only in this House and in the House of Commons, but also in the service to which I have the honour to belong, and of which Captain Cornewall was so gallant and distinguished an officer. It was the first monument erected by Parliament to a naval officer, and the other monument which we are hoping to see erected shortly is the last which Parliament has voted, and it is not a pleasant thing to think that as time goes on, as we perhaps now think that the monument which was considered a splendid and suitable one 150 years ago is not in the best of taste in a Gothic church, so tastes may again change, and the time may come when the monument we are about to erect to a statesman, whose name we revere and whose memory we desire to preserve as a pattern and object of reverence to his countrymen, should in its turn be swept away by those who may take a different view from ours of that monument. At this late hour I will not say more; I will conclude by moving the Resolution which stands in my name.

Moved to resolve, "That this House, whilst anxious that a suitable site should be found in Westminster Abbey for the national memorial to the late Marquess of Salisbury, desires to express its opinion that the monument to Captain James Cornewall (the first monument erected by vote of Parliament to a naval officer who, when in command of H.M.S. 'Marlborough' in the action off Toulon in February, 1743–44, lost both his legs, but remained on the quarter-deck and fought his ship till he died) ought not to be removed without due notice being given to Parliament."—(*Lord Hawkesbury.*)

*EARL SPENCER: I think it would be better that I should say the few words that I intend to address to your Lordships on this subject before the noble Lord who represents the Government replies to my noble friend. This is a matter that ought to be very carefully considered. It is a very grave question, as has been shown by my noble friend behind me. Here is a monument—the first naval monument ever voted by the nation—placed in Westminster Abbey, and it is now proposed that it should be moved and placed in a position where I am afraid it will not be seen. I think that Parliament which voted the money for the great monument which we hope to see erected to the late Lord Salisbury, whom we all revere and to whose memory we wish the best monument possible to be placed in Westminster Abbey, has some right to express its own opinion on this matter, and to express it pretty clearly.

I should like to refer to the history of the monument which it is proposed to remove. It has been stated somewhere that the monument has been touched already by one of the most distinguished Deans, and one who had more reverence for history than almost any of his predecessors, namely, Dean Stanley. It is true, according to a very moderate and able letter from the present Dean, which appeared a little time ago in *The Times*, that Dean Stanley did touch this monument, but I venture to say that that is no reason why it should be touched again. It is rather an argument why it should remain where it is, because Dean Stanley altered it as much as he could, and he evidently did not consider that he ought to go any further. On another argument, the Dean in his letter says that there was at one time a great desire to erect a monument to Ruskin, but there was very great difficulty in finding a place for it. He suggested to Dean Bradley the possibility of a recumbent effigy in the very place on which it is now proposed to place a recumbent figure of the late Lord Salisbury. But what was the answer of the Dean? He would not undertake to do it, because he thought that public opinion would be too strong for him. I think that these facts ought to be remembered when we are dealing with this subject.

Then I should like to say a few words on another point. There are two schools in regard to this matter. There is the school that loves architectural beauty, and desires that the architectural beauty of the time when the splendid cathedrals or abbeys were erected should be preserved and restored to what it was intended to be by the great architects who planned the buildings. I quite admit that there is a great deal to be said for that point of view. Then there is another school which desires that nothing whatever should be done to any monument. I have thought a great deal about this question since it was first brought forward, and I have some sympathy with those who wish to preserve, and if possible restore, the greatest architectural beauty; but I do not think that any alteration should be made merely to secure architectural beauty, or even to find room for another monument, unless you can secure an equally good or nearly equally good position for the monument which was raised 100 or 150 years ago. I have visited the Abbey and seen this monument to Captain Cornewall, but unfortunately I did not see the position in which it is proposed it should be placed, but I gather, from what my noble friend has said and from what others have told me, that it is to be placed in a position where it will not be seen, and where, therefore, it will lose all the importance which it has had for so many years in the place where it now stands.

I will not say more now, but I would urge upon His Majesty's Government that they should do their utmost to preserve this monument. I have a strong hope that, if they succeed in that, a fine site will nevertheless be found for the recumbent monument to the late Lord Salisbury.

This is a matter which stirs very much the feelings of the service which for some time I had the honour to represent in this House, namely, the Navy, and from representations which have been made to me I know that they have a very deep feeling with regard to the removal of this, the first naval monument ever voted by the country, and erected to a most gallant man whose last action was one of almost unexampled bravery and valour. I cannot help thinking that the country at large will support this view, and I sincerely trust that His Majesty's Government will be able to bring their influence to bear in the proper quarters, and prevent the alteration of this monument.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: My Lords, I wish to add my protest to that which has already been made by the noble Lords who have spoken. I do not wish to enter into this individual case, nor am I at this hour of the evening going to raise any questions with regard to taste. What I want to do is to protest against the principle involved in this proposed alteration of a monument. Surely when the nation has voted a sum of money for the erection of a public monument to a naval hero, and when the Dean of the day must have given his consent to the placing of that monument in the Abbey, it is not right that, without giving notice to Parliament or obtaining the consent of the family—because of course in this case the family would object as much as it possibly could to any movement or alteration of the monument—it is not right that the Dean should remove the monument as is now proposed. As the noble Lord who introduced this Motion stated, some years ago there was another case in which a somewhat similar proposal was made, and on that occasion I took the opportunity of bringing in a Bill dealing with the matter. That measure passed through this House, and received the approval of the then Archbishop of Canterbury. I think the principle that was embodied in that Bill would commend itself to the public and to Parliament, and in the strongest way that I can I wish to protest against the action which is now proposed.

Earl Spencer.

*LORD ELLENBOROUGH: My Lords, several naval officers have spoken to me on this subject requesting me to use whatever influence I may have here or elsewhere to prevent this monument from being removed and treated in the manner proposed. Whenever I enter Westminster Abbey my artistic feelings are entirely submerged by my historical recollections. Though I greatly prefer modern monuments to those of the 18th century, I think it probable that the people of the 22nd century will have very similar views about our taste to those which we entertain regarding the taste of our predecessors. Perhaps they will look at the marbles of ancient and modern days as quite obsolete, and insist on having monuments made of some compound of radium or argon or of some substance at present utterly unknown. I think it is a pity to destroy historical continuity by defacing or destroying monuments which are not in accordance with the ideas of the present day.

The battle that was fought off Toulon when Captain Cornewall lost his life was one of the most discreditable engagements ever fought by the British Navy. The admiral was dismissed the service, five captains were cashiered, one was found guilty of failing in his duty, one was dismissed his ship, one went away to avoid Court-martial, and one died before he could be tried. Luckily there were better men than those in the British Navy. There were Hawke and Captain Cornewall. Hawke rose to the rank of admiral and afterwards commanded the Fleet in two successful actions, but Cornewall lost his life, forty-two of his men were killed, 120 wounded, and the main and mizzen masts of the ship were shot away. The country wished to mark its sense of Cornewall's conduct as compared with that of the captains who had so misbehaved, and a large sum of money was voted for the erection of this monument, which has remained as a record of how some few men were heroic at a time when others failed in their duty. That is why I think it would be a pity to remove such a monument, or to put it in a place were it would be lost sight of, simply because a certain number of people in this country have not sufficiently studied naval history.

As regards the late Lord Salisbury, for many years I looked upon him as my political leader. I have the greatest possible respect for him, and I hope the monument which is to be erected to his memory will remain, wherever it is placed, undisturbed, and I think that there will be a greater chance of its remaining undisturbed, if those who in the future may wish to move it, are unable to adduce the argument that when it was placed in its position, it displaced another.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: I am not quite sure that even if this Motion were carried we should greatly advance the cause my noble friend has at heart. The Motion asks that the monument should not be removed "without due notice being given to Parliament." I do not know exactly what is intended by "due notice," but both Houses have in fact had due notice of the intention of the Dean and Chapter. But I will not argue the question on technical grounds. I am sure I am expressing the general feeling of the House when I say that our universal desire is that owing to our great respect for the memory of Lord Salisbury there should not be any unseemly controversy as to the site of his monument. Nor will your Lordships desire that anything should be done that would give offence to the present representatives of the distinguished officer whose monument is the subject of discussion. I would go further and say that most of us would object, even in the interest of the beauty of the Abbey, to anything approaching to a ruthless or inconsiderate disturbance of monuments which, if they do not adorn, add to the historical interest of the building.

The noble Lord who spoke just now added an epigram to our debates when he said that when he entered the Abbey his artistic sense was submerged by his historical recollections. That is a feeling which many of us share. But I venture to think that any one who has read the Dean of Westminster's letter to *The Times* of July 15th will admit that the time has come when some re-arrangement of the monuments is necessary, unless the Abbey is to be closed to further memorials. I am inclined to say that there is a case either for moving the place of the Cornewall monument or making some alteration in its form. On the other hand, I am bound to say that my impression derived from a visit to the spot and an inspection of the sketch of the proposed alteration is that the Cornewall monument will be over-severely dealt with. As I understand it, the alteration will involve a complete disturbance of the constituent parts of the monument. The medallion containing Cornewall's head, the tablet on which the battle is portrayed, and the tablet containing the inscription are to be removed from their positions and re-erected at a height where it will be very difficult for anyone to decipher the inscription.

The position in which we find ourselves, however, is a rather difficult and singular one. I understand that the Dean and Chapter who control the fabric of the Abbey have accepted the proposed alteration, and that the matter has been before the House of Commons, who have to pay for the monument, and I have to-day learned that Sir G. Cornewall, the present head of the house, having been to see the place, has expressed himself as fully approving the proposed change. These are somewhat formidable considerations, and the only course I can suggest is not to pass this Resolution, which will not greatly advance the matter, but that there should be some further discussion between those interested and the Dean and Chapter as to the manner in which the Cornewall monument should be dealt with. The Dean has assured me that he would not only not resent any such discussion, but that he would cordially welcome any proposal which might be made by those interested in the question. I hope, therefore, the noble Lord will not take a division, but will accept the suggestion of a conference in which the noble Lord, my noble friend

Lord Windsor, the Dean, and if possible, some member of the Cornewall family might perhaps take part and assist in coming to a wise conclusion.

***LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY**: My Lords, may I say one word on this subject. It will be within the recollection of some of your Lordships that it was proposed to remove a naval monument in St. Paul's erected by Parliament to make room for a monument to the late Lord Leighton, but the proposal was stopped through the intervention of Admiral Keppel, who induced a very high personage to bring his influence to bear. I wish to remind your Lordships that Westminster Abbey is a Royal peculiar, and, though the Dean and Chapter claim very great privileges in an ordinary cathedral, the Crown is the Visitor of Westminster Abbey, and I am quite sure that it would be competent for those who advise the Crown to secure that a word should be spoken which would be imperative in preventing the movement of this monument. When such a monument has been put up by the nation to commemorate a national service, I think it has passed out of the jurisdiction of the persons commemorated and of those connected with them. The monument is the expression of the feeling of the nation, and it seems to me that the nation is the only party to be consulted as to the removal or mutilation of the monument.

Motion, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

PARLIAMENTARY AGENCY.

Rules respecting. Laid before the House (pursuant to order of this day), and to be printed. (No. 160.)

NEW ZEALAND APPEALS.

Return respecting. Laid before the House (pursuant to order of this day), and to be printed. (No. 161.)

House adjourned at half-past Nine o'clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten o'clock.

The Marquess of Lansdowne.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 1st August, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Great Central Railway Bill [Lords] (King's Consent, on behalf of the Crown and of the Duchy of Lancaster, signified). Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation Bill [Lords] (by Order). Consideration, as amended, deferred till this Evening's Sitting.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill, without Amendment.

Public Roads (Ireland) Bill; Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill; North Eastern Railway Bill; North Eastern Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill, with Amendments.

A POINT OF ORDER.

At the conclusion of Private Bill business,

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.) said that his hon. friend the Member for South Donegal and himself had given notice of Motions to introduce Bills at the commencement of public business, and he was not quite certain how the Resolution passed by the House on the preceding day affected those Bills. He begged, therefore, to ask what steps they ought to take.

***MR. SPEAKER**: The Motions are over-ridden by the Resolution passed yesterday.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): Are we entitled to read out the full title of the Bill?

*MR. SPEAKER: No, only to present the Bill when the hon. Member's name is called.

The notices were as follows:—

Sir Thomas Esmonde.—Criminal Law and Procedure Ireland Act (1887) (Repeal) (No. 2). Bill to repeal The Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887.

Mr. Swift MacNeill.—Ministers of the Crown. Bill to disqualify Directors of Public Companies for appointment as Ministers of the Crown.

PETITIONS.

POOR LAW (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Paisley, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

POST OFFICE (TELEPHONE AGREEMENT).

Petition from Chester, for annulment; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS (SUNDAY) BILL.

Petition from Carlisle, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

SINGH, MAHARAJAH MADHO.

Petition from Bellary, for inquiry into his case; to lie upon the Table.

UNEMPLOYED WORKMEN BILL.

Petition from Glasgow, for extension to Scotland; to lie upon the Table.

UNEMPLOYED WORKMEN BILL.

Petition from Swansea, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LONDON (EQUALISATION OF RATES) ACT, 1894 (ACCOUNTS UNDER SECTION 1 (7) OF THE ACT).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 27th July; *Mr. Jeffreys*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 277.]

BOROUGHS (ENGLAND AND WALES) (OUTSTANDING LOANS).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 25th May; *Sir Gilbert Parker*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 278.]

SMALLPOX.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 8th May; *Sir John Tuke*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 279.]

LOCAL TAXATION LICENCES, 1904–5.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 27th July; *Mr. Jeffreys*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 280.]

CYPRUS.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 25th July; *Mr. Pierpoint*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 281.]

FORESHORES.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 29th July, 1905, directing the application of moneys received by the Board of Trade in the year ended 31st March, 1905, in respect of the rights and interests of the Crown in the Foreshores of the United Kingdom [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

EXPLOSIVES (FACTORIES AND TESTING STATIONS).

Copy presented, of Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, by Captain M. B. Lloyd and Captain A. P. H. Desborough, His Majesty's Inspectors of Explosives, on visits to certain Explosives Factories and Testing Stations in Belgium, Germany, and Holland [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF HERTFORD)

Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of the County of Hertford, dividing the Northern or Hitchin Parliamentary Division into Polling Districts [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

TRAMWAY ORDERS.

Copy presented, of Report by the Board of Trade of their Proceedings under the Tramways Act, 1870, during the session of 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

CANADA.

Copy presented, of Correspondence relating to the Garrisons of Halifax and Esquimalt [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

GRADUATED INCOME-TAX.

Further Return presented, relative thereto [Address 11th August, 1904; *Mr. Herbert Samuel*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 282.]

ARMY.

Copy presented, of Abstract of Recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Care and Treatment of the Sick and Wounded during the South African Campaign, together with the action taken [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3466 to 3468 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, No. 635 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904 (CLOSING ORDER, BALLYMONEY URBAN DISTRICT).

Copy presented, of Order made by the Urban District Council of Ballymoney, and confirmed by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, closing certain shops within the Urban District of Ballymoney [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

NAVY (HEALTH).

Copy presented, of Statistical Report of the Health of the Navy for the year 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 283.]

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE OBSERVATORY.

Copy presented, of Report of the Astronomer to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for the year 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS UNDER STANDING ORDER No. 10.

Return ordered, "of Motions for Adjournment under Standing Order No. 10, showing the date of such Motion, the name of the Member proposing, the definite matter of urgent public importance, and the result of any Division taken thereon during Session 1905 (in the same form as, and in continuation of, Parliamentary Paper, No. 302, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

CLOSURE OF DEBATE (STANDING ORDER No. 26).

Return ordered, "respecting application of Standing Order No. 26 (Closure of Debate) during Session 1905, under the following heads:—

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
Date when Closure moved.	By whom moved.	Question before House or Committee when moved.	Whether in House or Committee.	Whether assent given to Motion or withheld by Speaker or Chairman.	Assent withheld because, in the opinion of the Chair, a decision would shortly be arrived at without that Motion.	Result of Motion, and, if a Division, Numbers for and against.

(in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 303, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

DIVISIONS OF THE HOUSE.

Return ordered, "of the number of Divisions of the House in Session 1905; stating the subject of the Division, and the number of Members in the majority and minority, Tellers included; also the aggregate number in the House on each Division; distinguishing the Divisions on Public Business from Private; and also the number of Divisions before and after midnight (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 0.188, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

PUBLIC BILLS.

Return ordered, "of the number of Public Bills, distinguishing Government from other Bills, introduced into this House, or brought from the House of Lords, during Session 1905; showing the number which received the Royal Assent; the number which were passed by this House, but not by the House of Lords; the number passed by the House of Lords, but not by this House; and distinguishing the stages at which such Bills as did not receive the Royal Assent were dropped or postponed and rejected in either House of Parliament (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 0.192, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

Return ordered, "of the number of Public Petitions presented and printed in Session 1905; with the total number of signatures in that year (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 0.190, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

SELECT COMMITTEES.

Return ordered, "of the number of Select Committees appointed in Session 1905, including the Standing Committees and the Court of Referees; the subjects of inquiry; the names of the Members appointed to serve on each, and of the Chairman of each; the number of days each Committee met, and the number of days each Member attended; the total expense of the attendance of witnesses at each Select Committee, and the name of the Member who moved for such Select Committee; also the total number of Members who served on Select Committees (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 0.189, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE.

Return ordered, "of the number of days on which the House sat in Session 1905, stating for each day the date of the month and day of the week, the hour of the meeting, and the hour of adjournment; and the total number of hours occupied in the Sittings of the House, and the average time; and showing the number of hours on which the House sat each day, and the number of hours after midnight; and the number of entries in each day's Votes and Proceedings (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 0.191, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (DAYS OCCUPIED BY GOVERNMENT AND BY PRIVATE MEMBERS).

Return ordered, "showing, with reference to Session 1905, (1) the number of Sittings at which, in accordance with the Standing Orders, Government Business had precedence; (2) the number of Evening Sittings on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, and the number of Sittings on Fridays at which Private Members had precedence under the Standing Orders; (3) the number of Sittings at which Government Business had precedence under a special order of the House; (4) the number of Saturday Sittings; (5) the total number of Sittings at which Government Business had precedence; (6) the total number of days on which the House sat; (7) the total number of Motions for Adjournment of the House on a matter of urgent public importance; and (8) the number of days on which Business of Supply was considered (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 304, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

PRIVATE BILLS AND PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Return ordered, "of the number of Private Bills, Hybrid Bills, and Bills for confirming Provisional Orders introduced into the House of Commons and brought from the House of Lords, and of Acts passed in Session 1905, classed according to the following subjects:—Railways; Tramways; Tramroads; Subways; Canals and Navigations; Roads and Bridges; Water; Waterworks; Gas; Gas and Water; Lighting and Improvement; Police and Sanitary Regulations; Corporations, etc. (not relating to Police and Sanitary Regulations or to Lighting and Improvement Schemes); Ports, Piers, Harbours, and Docks; Churches, Chapels, and Burying Grounds; Markets and Fairs; Gaols and other County Buildings; Inclosure and Drainage;

Estate; Divorce; Naturalisation; Hospitals, and Miscellaneous."

"Of all the Private Bills, Hybrid Bills, and Bills for confirming Provisional Orders which in Session 1905 have been reported on by Committees on Opposed Private Bills or by Committees nominated partly by the House and partly by the Committee of Selection, together with the names of the selected Members who served on each Committee; the first and also the last day of the sitting of each Committee; the number of days on which each Committee sat; the number of days on which each selected Member has served; the number of days occupied by each Bill in Committee; the Bills the Preambles of which were reported to have been proved; the Bills the Preambles of which were reported to have been not proved; and, in the case of Bills for confirming Provisional Orders, whether the Provisional Orders ought or ought not to be confirmed."

"Of all Private Bills and Bills for confirming Provisional Orders which, in Session 1905, have been referred by the Committee of Selection, or by the General Committee on Railway and Canal Bills, to the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, together with the names of the Members who served on each Committee; the number of days on which each Committee sat; and the number of days on which each Member attended."

"And, of the number of Private Bills, Hybrid Bills, and Bills for confirming Provisional Orders withdrawn or not proceeded with by the parties, those Bills being specified which have been referred to Committees and dropped during the sittings of the Committee (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 0.187, of Session 1904)."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

COUNTY COURTS (PLAINTS AND SITTINGS).

Address for "Returns from every County Court in England and Wales of the total number of Plaints, etc., entered in each Court from the 1st day of January to the 31st day of December, 1904, both days inclusive, distinguishing those not exceeding £20, those above £20 and not exceeding £50, and those by agreement over £50."

"And, of the Sittings of the County Courts in England and Wales holden before the Judges of such Courts in the year 1904 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 246, of Session 1904.)"—(*Mr. Cochrane.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Flogging of Boys in the Navy.

Mr. HUNT (Shropshire, Ludlow): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty why, in view of the fact that boys at public schools are not really held down, it is considered necessary in the Navy not only to tie the boys down but to flog them in public; and why the boys of the working classes should be subjected to the degradation of being flogged in public, when such is not the case with the sons of other classes.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) The reason for securing a boy is the same in principle, although the exact method may differ. As regards the publicity of the punishment, no degradation is intended; the only purpose is to secure a deterrent example. All punishments in His Majesty's Navy are public.

Mr. HUNT: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether boys under eighteen in the Navy can still be given twenty-four strokes with the birch, two men giving twelve strokes each; and whether a boy after being birched is taken to the sick bay to be attended by the doctor, and afterwards kept a prisoner guarded by a Marine for about twelve hours.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) The Answer to the first and second parts of the Question is in the affirmative; but this punishment is only inflicted in very exceptional and serious cases, and the inspection by the doctor is precautionary, as is the similar inspection before the punishment takes place. The boy is treated as a prisoner to prevent the possibility of his committing himself in any way after his punishment.

Monastic and Conventual Institutions Removed from France to England during the last Twelve Months.

MR. FULLER (Wiltshire, Westbury): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he can state the numbers, respectively, of the monastic and conventual institutions that have transferred their establishments to the United Kingdom from France within the last twelve months.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) No, Sir. There are no official statistics on this subject.

Truck Act and Messrs. Harrison's Imported Labourers at Liverpool Docks.

MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that deductions are being made from the wages of the men imported to work for Messrs. T. and J. Harrison, shipowners, of Liverpool, for tobacco, clothes, and boots; if so, whether, in view of the provisions of the Truck Act, he will take steps to prevent it.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I have made inquiries and am informed that, for the convenience of the men, clothes, boots, and tobacco are supplied by the Shipping Federation, which employs them, at cost price to any man applying. It is not illegal under the Truck Acts for an employer to sell goods to a workman employed by him, and in this particular case, as the clothes and boots are purchased wholesale and all the goods are supplied at cost price, the men would seem to be gainers by the arrangement. It appears, however, that the price of the goods supplied is deducted from the wages, the man being furnished with a note showing the goods supplied and price, and also the wages earned, and receiving only the balance. This, I think, is a contravention of the Act, which requires the entire amount of the wages earned to be paid in current coin. As regards the last part of the hon. Member's Question, the case is not one arising in a factory or workshop, and the inspector has no power, therefore, under Section 13 of the Act of 1887, to take any action in the matter.

Foreign Crew of the British Steamer "Roddam."

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that the British steamer "Roddam" engaged a crew of foreigners at the port of Hamburg (Germany); whether he is aware that this crew is practically being kept as prisoners on board this vessel in the Tyne, being guarded by police officers; and whether he can state who is paying for the services of the police officers so employed.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I have made inquiries and I find that the "Roddam" arrived in the Tyne about midnight on the 15th ultimo, that a constable was sent at the master's request to prevent unauthorised persons going on board his ship, and that the cost of this was charged to the owners. The "Roddam" sailed from the Tyne on the 19th ultimo. The crew, exclusive of officers and engineers, were foreigners engaged at Hamburg. When the day's work was finished they were allowed to go to and fro between the ship and the shore without molestation, and were perfectly free. The object of having the police officer on board was as stated above, and was in accordance with the common practice of masters with Continental crews. It was not in any way for the purpose of interfering with the men's liberty.

Payment of Grants to Schools without Playgrounds.

MR. GODDARD (Ipswich): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether the Board of Education have at any time expressed an opinion to the effect that a suitable playground is a necessary complement of an efficient school; and, if so, will he explain why they have continued to pay grants to voluntary schools unprovided with a suitable playground; and whether he will consider the advisability of introducing a Bill to confer the power of requiring the provision of playgrounds in non-provided schools upon local education authorities, or of amending Chapter III. of the Code so as to empower the Board to require the provision of a suitable playground in the case of schools.

(*Answered by Sir William Anson.*) The Board require, and have required for a long time past, the provision of a playground in the case of all newly-erected schools. The Board do not make the provision of playgrounds an essential condition of the continued recognition of existing schools, but they strongly urge their provision, wherever possible. In many cases, owing to the situation of schools in large towns, and similar causes, the provision of a playground for a school long since erected is impossible without legal powers of compulsory purchase. The Government are not prepared to propose legislation to confer such powers, nor to carry out the proposal in the Question.

Enforcement of British Claims against the Turkish Government.

SIR SEYMOUR KING (Hull, Central): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is aware that a final judgment against the Turkish Government was obtained by the administrator of the estate of a British citizen named Corpi, in 1901, in the highest Turkish Court in Constantinople, and the British Ambassador's co-operation, in accordance with the universal practice and precedent there, was requested in collecting the judgment from the Sublime Porte, which was refused, although without the assistance of the Ambassador no claim can be recovered against the Turkish Government; whether he is aware that at a later date the instructions sent by the Foreign Office to the British Ambassador to interest himself in the collection of this claim were ignored, and that the Ambassador contented himself with simply writing a note and never asked for an answer, although in Turkey an answer is never given unless asked for; what reason he has given for his inaction; and whether, seeing that since October, 1902, the French Ambassador has recovered £400,000 on French judgments for his fellow-citizens, the German over £1,000,000 for his, and the Russian £300,000, while the British Ambassador has not collected a piastre of this and many other British claims, he will say if this neglect of commercial interests has the sanction of His Majesty's Government; and, if not, whether categorical instructions will be sent to Sir N. R. O'Conor to obtain payment of this admitted claim without further delay.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) 1. Mr. Corpi was a native of the Turkish island of Scio, but was admitted to British protection in 1873, and therefore on his death his estate was wound up by the British Court. The decision on which the claim against the Ottoman Government is based was the result of an action brought in a Turkish Court by the administrator of the estate, who was an Italian subject; and of the seventeen heirs of Mr. Corpi only one is a British subject (by marriage). 2. The whole claim has received the support of the British Embassy, while the parties interested in it, who are French and Italian subjects, have also received the support of their Embassies. The question of referring the claim to a Commission is now under consideration. 3. I have no knowledge of the total amount of claims recovered by the French, German, and Russian Governments. During the period mentioned His Majesty's Government has recovered the bulk of the British claims. The amounts still outstanding are small, and Sir N. O'Conor has discharged his responsibilities in connection with the supervision of British interests at Constantinople to the complete satisfaction of His Majesty's Government.

Gambling in Cotton Options and Futures.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade whether he is aware that legal proceedings will be shortly opened in New York to fix the responsibility for the leakage of the Government cotton crop reports, and that the grand jury has subpœnaed twenty New York cotton dealers to give evidence in the matter; and whether the Board of Trade will watch this inquiry with a view to take measures to prohibit international gambling in cotton options and futures.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) I have no official information as to the proceedings referred to, but the whole matter will be watched.

Electric Train Accidents - Buffer Carriages.

MR. MARSHALL HALL (Lancashire, Southport): To ask the Secretary to the

Board of Trade if, having regard to the great loss of life among passengers travelling in the front carriage of the electric train in the recent accident on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway at Hall Road, he will consider the advisability of taking steps, by legislation or otherwise, to make it compulsory for all trains of that description to have some sort of buffer, empty carriage, or other mechanical contrivance in the fore part of such trains, so that, in case of collision, the force of the impact may be, to some extent, broken; also whether, if the points leading into the siding in which the empty train was standing were what are known as facing points, the Board of Trade will consider the advisability of issuing further regulations with regard to the use of such points.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) The suggestions made by my hon. and learned friend will no doubt be dealt with by the inspecting officer in his report on the accident in question, and will be considered by the Board of Trade.

Norwegian Trawlers Convicted of Illegal Trawling at Wick.

MR. HARMSWORTH (Caithness-shire): To ask Mr. Attorney-General if he is aware that the master of the steam trawler "Veronica," of Stavanger, Norway, who resides at Grimsby, was recently convicted in the Wick Sheriff's Court of illegal trawling; and whether he can state if the Government have yet arrived at any decision as to taking steps for preventing a recurrence of these illegalities.

(*Answered by Sir Robert Finlay.*) I believe that the fact is as stated in the Question. The trawling in this case took place within territorial waters. I am informed that the law will be strictly enforced in case of the recurrence of such illegalities on the part of trawlers.

Closing of Lambay Coastguard Station.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the reasons why the coastguards have abandoned the Lambay station; and whether he can ascertain from the men formerly stationed there, or from any other source, how often Lambay Harbour was used as a refuge by fishermen or others during the past five years.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) The lease of the property expired on May 1st, 1904, and the importance of the duties of the station did not warrant the expense of its further retention. Inquiries are being made with regard to the last part of the Question, and I will communicate the result to the hon. Member as soon as possible.

Returns of Irish Imports and Exports.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Returns of Irish imports and exports will be collected by the Department of Agriculture in Ireland in the same manner, and published in a similar form, with the methods of the Board of Trade in England.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The Department are adopting, as far as possible, the classification and form of Return followed by the Board of Customs and Board of Trade. These Returns, however, relate to trade with foreign countries, in which case there is power to require the traders concerned to furnish comprehensive details, including the value of the commodities. There is no such power in the case of trade between different parts of the United Kingdom, and consequently the Department will have to rely upon information furnished by the port authorities and shipping companies. The methods of collection and form of publication will, therefore, necessarily differ in certain respects from those adopted by the Board of Trade.

The Late Irish Chief Crown and Treasury Solicitor and the De l'Herault Estate.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state on what date, and for what reason, did the late Irish Chief Crown and Treasury Solicitor, Mr. Lane-Joynt, vacate his appointment; whether he voluntarily resigned his position, or was called upon to do so, and, if so, by whom, and on what grounds; and whether his vacation of office was connected with the accounts, moneys, or expenditure of the intestate

estate of Victor Levy de l'Herault, deceased, or any other estate, whilst under his direction or control; what was the total amount expended by the Irish Government and its officers, from first to last, out of the Victor Levy de l'Herault intestate estate in their searches, journeys, inquiries, advertisements, law, and other payments and expenses with the object of finding any next-of-kin and heirs-at-law to that intestate estate, which proved unsuccessful, and in opposing applicants to the fund and property which had come into the hands of the Irish Government by reason of this intestacy.

(*Answered by Mr. Atkinson.*) The late Mr. Lane-Joynt's office was abolished in 1888 as a result of the adoption of a scheme of reorganisation and re-arrangement of offices, whereby the offices of Solicitor to the Treasury, Solicitor to the Board of Works, and Crown Solicitor for the County and City of Dublin were consolidated and united in the office now held by Sir P. Coll. The abolition of Mr. Lane-Joynt's office was in no way connected with the de l'Herault Estate. Accounts were rendered to the Treasury when the matter of that estate was wound up in 1899. It would be contrary to practice to disclose such accounts, and I have no materials which would enable me to distinguish the items detailed in the Question.

Catholic Officials in the Veterinary Branch of the Irish Department of Agriculture.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that Catholic gentlemen originally transferred to the Veterinary Branch of the Agricultural Department of Ireland are engaged in the following superior duties, viz., the drafting and writing of important correspondence, the conducting of registries, and the interviewing of callers on public business, and that their salaries, after eleven years service, are only £97 10s. per annum, while salaries ranging from £150 to £450 per annum are paid to officials of other religious persuasions serving in the Department and performing identical duties, he will cause an independent inquiry to be made into this condition of things.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I have repeatedly stated that there are no grounds for any further inquiry. The suggestion that the clerks referred to are placed at a disadvantage owing to their religious persuasion is wholly unfounded.

Threatening Attitude of Kaffirs in the Mooi River District.

MR. COGHILL (Stoke-upon-Trent): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Natal Government has received any complaints as to the threatening attitude of the Kaffirs in the Mooi River district to the white population; whether, in view of the growing feeling of insecurity amongst the farmers of that district, His Majesty's Government will insist that full and adequate protection for their lives and property shall be given to all white men and women by the Natal Government.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) These complaints have not been brought to my notice, and the hon. Member is doubtless aware that Natal is a self-governing colony, whose Government is responsible for its administration and security.

Thefts of Sheep by Kaffirs in the Mooi River District.

MR. COGHILL: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will make inquiries from the Government of Natal as to the losses sustained by the farmers in the Mooi River district, in respect of their sheep, at the hands of the neighbouring Kaffirs; whether he is aware that the sentences imposed by magistrates on Kaffirs, when caught, have proved inadequate to put a stop to these thefts; and whether more effective measures can be taken to protect farmers in the due exercise of their calling.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The matter has not been brought to my notice, and is one which entirely rests with the responsible Government of Natal.

Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner of British Bechuanaland Protectorate.

MASTER OF ELIBANK (Edinburgh, Midlothian): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, looking to the fact that the Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner in the British Bechuanaland Protectorate are not legally-trained officials, and that all appeals, irrespective of the amounts involved, lie from the one to the other, he will consider the possibility of placing Bechuanaland, in this respect, on the same footing as Rhodesia.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I will communicate with the High Commissioner and consider whether the course proposed by the hon. Member is practicable. I would, however, remind him that an appeal by special leave lies to the Privy Council, and that an appeal from the protectorate to His Majesty in Council has lately been considered and decided.

The 1st Battalion of the 5th Fusiliers.

MR. REGINALD LUCAS (Portsmouth): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the fact that the 1st Battalion of the 5th Fusiliers has been quartered at Mauritius for an unusually long period, he will say whether there has been considerable sickness amongst all ranks; and whether a date has yet been fixed for a change of station.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) This battalion arrived at Mauritius on the 15th April, 1903, from South Africa, and is under orders to proceed to India in January next. The average daily sickness for the last six months has amounted to five per cent. of the strength, and the report of the general state of health of the battalion is good.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Alleged Defective Ammunition at Aldershot.

MR. LOUIS SINCLAIR (Essex, Romford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that supplies of cartridges recently made at Woolwich Arsenal, and sent for use to Aldershot, were found, on account of the size of the bullet, to be useless; that a number of men had to be specially engaged at Aldershot to remove these bullets from the cases; and will he say what steps he proposes to take to save a similar waste of money and time in connection with other consignments.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): The General Officer Commanding-in-Chief reports that no defective ball ammunition has been supplied to Aldershot.

Quebec Licence Duty on Commercial Travellers.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to an Act passed by the Legislature of the Province of Quebec, which imposes a licence duty on all commercial travellers, representing establishments that have no place of business in Canada, who visit the province on business; whether this duty is imposed on British as well as other non-Canadian commercial travellers; and whether he will take steps to have this hindrance to free commerce within the Empire withdrawn, or at any rate to secure that a preference shall be given to British over foreign commercial travellers.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): I have nothing to add to the reply which I gave to a similar Question by the hon. Member for the Elland Division of the West Riding on July 17th†. I have not yet received the report which I have asked for from the Canadian Government on the subject.

Pay of Chinese Coolies in the Transvaal.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has official information to the effect that all the Chinese coolies employed on the Transvaal gold mines at piecework rates are now actually in receipt of wages of not less than 1s. 6d. a day.

*MR. LYTTELTON: No, Sir. Under the contract the Chinese are at liberty to take piecework at, which they can, and do, earn considerably more than 1s. 6d. a day, or day-work at a minimum wage of 1s. 6d.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxlix., 862.

Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL: Am I to understand that all the coolies who take piecework are actually earning more than 1s. 6d. a day?

*Mr. LYTTELTON: I have no information, but I have no reason to doubt that is the case.

Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that one of the most serious of the riots that have taken place on the Rand was due to the resistance offered by the coolies to the proposal that they should do piecework?

*Mr. LYTTELTON: No, Sir; the hon. Gentleman's information is incorrect. In consequence of the hon. Gentleman's statement on a former occasion, that the coolies were induced by coercion to sign the contract for piecework, I communicated with Lord Selborne. I have just received his reply, in which Lord Selborne states that the superintendent of foreign labour explained the proposal as to piecework to the coolies, that they received ten days to think it over, and that at the end of the period they all practically accepted it.

Mr. J. A. PEASE (Essex, Saffron Walden) asked whether it was not the fact that the majority of coolies could drill only fifteen inches per day, and that, consequently, on piecework their daily earnings would be less than 1s. 6d.

*Mr. LYTTELTON: My information is totally at variance with that statement. Any ordinary coolie can drill at least thirty-six inches a day, and many of them drill more than that amount.

Mr. LOUGH (Islington, W.): Having regard to the promises made to these men before they came to South Africa, cannot the right hon. Gentleman secure them a minimum wage of 1s. 6d. per day?

*Mr. LYTTELTON: If they ask for a minimum wage they get it. If they choose piecework, understanding they will earn more by it, they can do so.

Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL: Did not the right hon. Gentleman inform me on the 11th April that a serious riot had broken out in one of the mines owing to the resistance of the coolies to the pressure put on them to consent to piecework.

*Mr. LYTTELTON: Lord Selborne's telegram shows conclusively it was not so.

Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL: I would read the right hon. Gentleman's reply if it were in order.

Mr. LEIF JONES (Westmoreland, Appleby): How many coolies are actually earning less than 1s. 6d. per day?

Mr. CROOKS (Woolwich): Is it not customary when piecework is introduced to induce men to do over and above the work usually done at day rates so that the minimum is always secured and the men reap the advantage of the extra work?

*Mr. LYTTELTON: Where does the hon. Member mean it is customary?

Mr. CROOKS: In your own Departments and in the Royal Arsenal. [Ministerial interruption.] Hon. Members opposite may shout. Chinese slavery has no parallel.

Mr. WHITLEY (Halifax): Is it explained to these coolies that by accepting piecework they lose the benefit of the protection of the right hon. Gentleman's promise that they should earn not less than 1s. 6d. per day.

*Mr. LYTTELTON: The coolies are quite competent to consider it for themselves.

Mr. WHITLEY: That is not an Answer to my Question.

*Mr. LYTTELTON: I do not think it would be explained. I do not think it is the fact. If a man chooses to revert to day-work at the termination of his piecework he can get the minimum wage applicable to day work,

Alleged Support of German Subsidised Steamships by the British Government.

Mr. HOULT (Cheshire, Wirrall): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if his Department is supporting the competition of the German subsidised Hansa Steamship Line with British steamers from the east coast of England; and if he will explain why the freightage of 10,000 tons of stores for Bombay was given to this German line last week, although the British lines tendered at 8s. a ton.

The SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford): The India Office is not supporting the Hansa Line of steamers in its competition with British liners. No stores whatever have been shipped from England by that Department in German steamers.

Proposed Partition of Bengal.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether he has received and considered a memorial, signed by 60,000 of the inhabitants of Eastern Bengal, protesting against the proposals of the Government of India in reference to the partition of Bengal; whether the Papers upon this subject which are to be laid before Parliament have arrived; and whether he will name a date upon which they will be in the hands of Members of the House.

Mr. BRODRICK: The memorial to which the hon. Member refers was received by me yesterday, and will be duly considered, but the hon. Member will realise that the scheme of the Government of India was not decided upon without the fullest deliberation. The Government of India have framed a resolution on the subject of the reconstitution of the provinces of Bengal and Assam which I expect to receive from India in a few days, and which I hope to lay before Parliament before the end of the session; but I cannot at the present time name the precise date on which it will be laid on the Table.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTS: When will the Papers be in our hands?

Mr. BRODRICK: I am afraid I cannot say.

The London Police and the King of Spain's Visit.

Mr. LOUGH: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that his order of the 17th June last, directing that, in recognition of the visit of His Majesty the King of Spain, the whole of the Metropolitan Police actually on duty during that visit, exclusive of those employed at Woolwich Dockyard and War Department stations, should receive two extra days pay has not been strictly carried out: whether there are still some 300 men who have not yet received this extra pay; and whether he will issue directions that this order should at once be carried into full effect.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Akers-Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's): The grant of extra pay was made in recognition of the extra work entailed by the visit of His Majesty the King of Spain. Police employed in the service and at the cost of public departments or private individuals were not required to do extra work in consequence of the Royal visit; and, on the occasions of the visits of the King of Italy and of President Loubet, these men did not receive extra pay. All the others have received it, with the exception of men detached, suspended, or off pay.

Postal Arrangements at Strathcarron, Ross-shire.

Mr. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that much inconvenience is experienced in the Strathcarron district, Ross-shire, on account of insufficient facilities for the posting of letters; and will he arrange for the erection of one or two pillar-boxes in the district, preferably on the north side of the river.

The POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton): Since I had notice of the hon. Member's Question I have received through him a copy of a second memorial from the residents of Strathcarron with a request that

I will have further inquiry made. I shall be pleased to do so and will communicate the result to the hon. Member; although I do not anticipate that I shall be able to depart from my previous decision.

Cost of North Sea Fisheries Investigation.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, having regard to the fact that up to the 31st March, 1904, the sum of £23,875 3s. 8d. had been spent by the British Government in connection with the international scheme for investigating problems concerning the fisheries of the North Sea and adjacent waters, will he state what sum had been expended up to the 31st March last; and, seeing that the original estimate for expenditure on these investigations was fixed at £42,000, will he state whether it is proposed to increase that amount.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): The sum expended up to the 31st of March, 1905, was £36,814 3s. 2d., leaving, out of the sum of £42,000 originally agreed to by Parliament, a remanett of £5,185 16s. 10d. The work was not begun till July, 1902, and the three years would end in July, 1905. His Majesty's Government have agreed to continue the grant for a further period of two years.

British Monumental Art.

SIR ELLIOTT LEES (Birkenhead): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether the Department of Science and Art, with a view to maintaining an historical record of the phases of British monumental art, will consider the desirability of re-erecting, and preserving at South Kensington, such national monuments, erected in churches, out of public money and in pursuance of a vote by Parliament, as may now or hereafter be removed from those churches by the ecclesiastical authorities in charge thereof.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University): Unless a monument is of interest in the history of art generally, or in the development of monumental art, the Art Museum at South Kensington would not seem to be an appropriate place for it. Certainly the Board would not be willing that the Art Museum should become a repository for outcast monuments which ecclesiastical authorities may for one reason or another have decided to displace.

Public Schools at Lochs, Isle of Lewis.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate if he will state what sum is paid annually for firing, lighting, and cleaning, respectively, at the Lemreway public school, and at each public school in the parish of Lochs, Island of Lewis.

THE LORD-ADVOCATE (Mr. SCOTT DICKSON, Glasgow, Bridgton): The details required by the hon. Member are too long to be conveniently given orally, but if the hon. Member will put down an unstarred Question, I will put in a list, or, if he prefers it, I will hand the list to him.

Inverness Procurator-Fiscal.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate whether he is aware that Mr. Anderson, the Procurator-Fiscal for Inverness, acts as law agent for several landlords in the county; and will he, in the public interest, require him to devote his whole time to the duties of his office.

MR. SCOTT DICKSON: The Procurator-Fiscal for Inverness was appointed by the sheriff of the county in 1876. No restriction was placed on his engaging in private practice, and I cannot interfere in the matter as suggested.

Dog Poisoning by Gamekeepers in Inverness-shire.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate whether he is aware that the gamekeepers on the estate of the Mackintosh of Mackintosh, Inverness-shire, are in the habit of placing strychnine poison in close proximity to a main road for the purpose of destroying dogs and cats; and in view of the fact that a dog which was following its owner in the neighbourhood of Ruthven Farm on the 9th July was poisoned with strychnine, will he order an inquiry into the circumstances under which this poison was purchased; and will he state why the Procurator-Fiscal has failed to take action in the matter, although the circumstances of the case have been fully reported to him by the police.

Mr. SCOTT DICKSON: I am not aware of the facts as stated in the first part of the Question; the whole papers on the subject are, however, being at present considered by Crown Counsel, and I have asked for a report from Crown Counsel.

North Sea Fisheries Investigation.

Mr. BLACK (Banffshire): I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate whether any interim Report or Papers relating to the investigations of the International Council of the North Sea are available and will be published; and when he expects to be in a position to announce the final conclusions of that body.

Mr. SCOTT DICKSON: Papers in continuation of Command Paper 1313 of 1903, which are now being prepared, will contain information in regard to these investigations. I cannot at present fix a date at which the conclusions of the International Council will be available.

Trawling in the Moray Firth.

Mr. BLACK: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate whether any progress has been made by the Government, by negotiation with foreign Powers or otherwise, towards the exclusion from the Moray Firth of foreign trawlers or of British-owned trawlers registered in foreign ports.

Mr. SCOTT DICKSON: No progress has been made in the way of negotiation with foreign Powers. For the rest I may refer the hon. Member to the judgment delivered by the High Court of Justiciary in the case of Peters *v.* Olsen on the 20th ultimo.

Labourers' Cottages and Allotments.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether, in the case of labourers' cottages erected by a rural district council but subsequently transferred to an urban district council under the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, the latter council has no power to enlarge the allotments, although bound to maintain the cottages under the Labourers Acts; and, if not, will he advise the Local Government Board of Ireland to instruct urban councils as to their duties in the matter.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.): On the transfer mentioned the cottages become the property of the urban district council, and the Labourers Acts no longer apply so as to enable that council to enlarge the allotments under the Labourers Acts. The urban councils are well aware of the limitation of their powers.

Land Purchase in County Longford.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether any estates have been purchased by the Estates Commissioners, under Subsections 4 and 5 of Section 6 of the Land Purchase Act, 1903, outside the province of Connaught or the congested districts; and, if so, in what counties; and whether, considering that these sub-sections entirely fulfil the conditions of tenancy on the Galbraith, county Longford, Estate, action will be taken in reference thereto by the Estates Commissioners.

Mr. ATKINSON: The Answer to the first inquiry is in the negative. The Galbraith Estate is not one which could, in present circumstances, be purchased by the Land Commission under the subsections quoted, seeing that no application to the Commissioners has been made by the owner as required by Sub-section 1 of Section 6.

Warburton Estate, Queen's County.

Mr. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland can he say how long the Warburton Estate, Garryhinch, Queen's County, has been before the Land Judge's Court for sale; whether he is aware that the tenants have repeatedly expressed their willingness to purchase their holdings; and whether he will state what steps he proposes to take in the matter.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): I refer to the replies given to the hon. Member's similar Questions of May 29th, 1902,† and May 9th, 1904.‡ To these replies I have nothing to add.

Evicted Tenant on Lord Lansdowne's Luggacurran Estate.

MR. DELANY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the representative of the late James Byrne, of Tully, Queen's County, who was evicted on April 22nd, 1887, from Lord Lansdowne's estate at Luggacurran, has sent in a claim for reinstatement to the Estates Commissioners; and, in view of the fact that the estate is at present in the hands of the Commissioners for sale to the tenants, can he state what provision is being made for the representative of the late Mr. Byrne, who was evicted on the above date out of a holding of 189 acres.

MR. WALTER LONG: The evicted holding is occupied by another tenant, and is not part of the estate for sale. The untenanted land comprised in the estate now being sold is insufficient for the wants of evicted tenants in the immediate neigbourhood, and the Commissioners do not propose to allot any part of it to the representative of the evicted tenant referred to in the Question.

Estates Commissioners and Evicted Holdings.

MR. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state in how many cases landlords offered to sell evicted holdings on their own hands to the Estates Commissioners; and in how many cases purchase of such holdings was completed where the landlord did not sell the remainder of his estate either to the occupiers or to the Commissioners; and whether, in cases where landlords are still willing to sell such holdings with the object of having evicted tenants restored to their old homes, in accordance with the spirit of the Land Act of 1903, the Commissioners will be empowered to negotiate purchases.

MR. WALTER LONG: In two cases, in one of which the purchase has been completed, and in the other the evicted tenant is about to be reinstated but the purchase has not yet been completed. The Commissioners are prepared to consider applications by landlords that a single holding should be declared an estate for the purpose of sale to the evicted tenant.

Condition of Farmers on the Barrow Tralee Sea Coast.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Department of Agriculture will send an inspector to Barrow Tralee to report on the condition of farmers on the sea coast, whose houses are being closed up by the sand, and to suggest the improvements necessary to save them from further incursions.

MR. WALTER LONG: The Department will send an inspector to report in this matter at the first convenient opportunity.

Killarney Evicted Tenant.

MR. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have received an application from Mr. Daniel Shea, of Droumhumper, Killarney, for reinstatement in the farm from which he was evicted by the Earl of Kenmare; whether they have taken any, and what, steps to secure the reinstatement of this evicted tenant; whether he is aware that the agent of the landlord has written to the evicted tenant offering to reinstate him, but demanding terms that he could not comply with; and whether, in this case, where the landlord is willing to reinstate and the tenant willing to reoccupy lands which are at present vacant, the Estates Commissioners will communicate with the landlord, in order to effect a settlement in the interest of the evicted tenant.

MR. WALTER LONG: The application has been received, but in the absence of any proceedings for sale of the estate, the Commissioners have been unable to move in the matter. The

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† See (4) *Debates*, cviii., 910.

‡ See (4) *Debates*, cxxxiv., 764

Answer to the last inquiry is in the negative.

Mr. MURPHY: Does the right hon. Gentleman mean to say that when a landlord expresses his willingness to sell an evicted holding nothing whatever will be done by the Estates Commissioners?

Mr. WALTER LONG: The Commissioners have no power until application has been received.

Mr. MURPHY: Will the right hon. Gentleman call the attention of the Commissioners to the fact that this landlord is willing to sell and to reinstate the tenant?

Mr. WALTER LONG: What is the use of my doing so when they have no jurisdiction?

Mr. MURPHY: Surely under the circumstances this land could be treated as a separate estate?

Cusack Estate, County Longford.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the report of the inspector on the Cusack Estate has yet been received; when this report will be considered by the Estates Commissioners; and how many acres of untenanted land the inspector found on his inspection.

Mr. WALTER LONG: The inspector's report has not yet been received. When received it will be considered by the Commissioners.

South of Ireland Fisheries.

Mr. CREAN (Cork, S.E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Commissioners of Fisheries, in 1892, after examining witnesses in England, Scotland, the Isle of Man, and Ireland, recommended that for the protection of the mackerel fishery, both as regards its future prospects and the facilities of carrying it on, and for the protection of the other sea fisheries in the South of Ireland, a close season for the herring should be established off the coast of the county of Cork from Poor Head to Mizen Head from the 1st of April to 16th May in each year; if so, will he say whether these and other recommendations of the Commissioners have been carried out; and, if not, in face of the danger to this important industry and the repeated protests of those interested in the mackerel fishery, what action the Government intend taking in the matter.

Mr. WALTER LONG: The inspectors reported to the effect stated, but added that they had no powers to make a close season order of the nature indicated. The Department are arranging to hold another inquiry at Kinsale into this and other fishery questions which have arisen.

Mr. CREAN: If statutory powers are necessary, will the right hon. Gentleman introduce a Bill giving them next session,

Mr. WALTER LONG: Oh, I can make no promises for next session.

Projected Railway between Dromahair and Arigna.

Mr. P. A. McHUGH (Leitrim, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Congested Districts Board have appointed a committee to consider the advisability of assisting in the construction of a line of railway between Dromahair and Arigna; can he state the names of the gentlemen constituting the committee; have they made their inspection and inquiries; and, if they have not yet reported, will he request them, before coming to a decision, to consult with the Leitrim County Council and the Dromahair Committee.

Mr. WALTER LONG: The application made to the Board in connection with this projected line of railway was referred to Lord Shaftesbury and Sir Horace Plunkett, who did not, however, proceed with their inquiries, having regard to the proposal of the Government to carry out extensions to the Arigna mines and to Rooskey. The suggestion at the end of the Question is one for the consideration of the Board, to whom it has been referred.

Carnatall School Mistress.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Miss Rose Sweeney, a Catholic manual instructress, was appointed by the Presbyterian manager of Carnatall National School, county Tyrone, to be an instructress in the said school; that thereupon Mr. William Coote, a justice of the peace, summoned a meeting and commenced a boycott of the school on account of this girl being a Catholic; that an action was then taken against Mr. Coote in the Common Law Courts in Dublin, and was settled by the defendant undertaking to pay the costs of the case and remove the boycott of the school; that the defendant failed to fulfil his promise; that an action was then commenced in the Chancery Division by Miss Sweeney against this gentleman for an injunction and damages; and that Mr. Justice Barton granted both costs against him, and commented upon his conduct; and will he say whether an appeal has been lodged against this decree, and explain why the Irish Government have not only refrained from taking proceedings against this gentleman, but allowed him to retain the commission of the peace.

Mr. WALTER LONG: It has been ascertained from the Registrar of the Court of Appeal that an appeal in the case of Miss Sweeney against Mr. Coote has been lodged but has not yet come to trial. Pending a decision in that case I must decline to add anything to the statements I have already made.

Belfast Guardians and Kate Benson.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the proceeding at the Belfast Board of Guardians on July 25th, 1905, with reference to the case of a child named Kate Benson, who had been registered by the guardians a Protestant although her father had lived and died a Catholic, and she had been brought up in that creed until the time of his death; whether he is aware that the board's solicitor had written them to the effect that the child ought to be registered as a Catholic; that an attempt had been made by several of the guardians at the meeting to conceal the solicitor's letter; and that the meeting refused to rescind the resolution declaring the child a Protestant, but, instead of this, agreed to forward the solicitor's letter to the Local Government Board; and whether, pending the reply of the Board, he will order forthwith that the law be carried out, and that the child be registered and recognised as a Catholic.

Mr. WALTER LONG: The facts are generally as stated. The Local Government Board, however, are advised that the guardians complied with the law in registering the child as a Presbyterian, having regard to the fact that the surviving parent professed that religious creed and desired the child to be brought up in it.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the solicitor to the board stated that the action of the board was illegal?

Mr. WALTER LONG: No, Sir.

Alleged Attack on Kerry Police.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that on May 16th last Sergeant Killachy, Royal Irish Constabulary, of Ballyheigue, county Kerry, and two constables were attacked by Patrick Hara and John Hara while discharging their duties of protecting two bailiffs who were making a seizure under a decree; that the sergeant was knocked down and threatened with a knife; and that a cow which the bailiffs had seized was forcibly taken from them and driven away; and will he explain why the Haras were only prosecuted for a common assault on the sergeant, instead of being prosecuted by the Crown for the more serious offence of attacking the police while protecting the bailiffs and of forcibly taking goods from the bailiffs which they had seized under a decree.

Mr. WALTER LONG: My hon. friend has not been correctly informed.

The sergeant was not knocked down or threatened with a knife; the cow seized was not rescued; and the Haras were not prosecuted for a common assault only. Three sets of summons were served on the Haras. One for assault on the police, one for obstructing the police in the discharge of their duty, and one for injuring a constable's uniform. Convictions were obtained on the first and last, under which both the Haras were sentenced to one month's imprisonment with hard labour and Patrick Hara was ordered to pay £1 1s. for costs and compensation for the injury to the constable's uniform. Differences of opinion were apparently entertained by the bench as to the second charge, which was thereupon withdrawn, as the police were of opinion that justice had been sufficiently vindicated.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: Has the right hon. Gentleman seen a copy of the evidence in this case? I have, and the sergeant says he was knocked down and threatened with a knife.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL: Has not the hon. Member already brought sufficient disgrace on his country by the sale of whisky?

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the sole reason that this Question is asked is that the people of this district will not drink Dunville's rotten Irish whisky?

MR. WALTER LONG: The evidence available has been before the Irish Government, and the matter has been carefully inquired into.

The Alleged Outrage at Boyle.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that, on the night of July 11th, the house of Mr. Edward Magenis, a large grazier on the King-Harman Estate, near Boyle, in county Roscommon, was attacked by a number of men, who fired shots into the windows at intervals for three hours; and if he can state whether Mr. Magenis had refused to give up his farm at the dictation of the United League; and whether, in view of the fact that a few months ago in the same locality the statue of King William III. was pulled down and the perpetrators are still at large, he will take special steps to protect the lives and property of the inhabitants, and to bring the guilty parties to justice.

MR. WALTER LONG: I have now received a full report of the special police investigation into this matter conducted by Mr. O'Connell, a county inspector attached to the headquarters staff in Dublin, and by Mr. Pearson, the county inspector of Roscommon; and the conclusion arrived at by them is that no attack was made upon Mr. Magenis' house. That gentleman asserts that no one has asked him to give up his farm. The injury to the statue referred to in the last inquiry was committed at Boyle, five miles from Mr. Magenis' house. In that case the police have used, and are still using, every effort to bring the offenders to justice.

MR. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S.) asked whether the police had discovered how the windows of the house were broken —from inside or outside?

MR. WALTER LONG said that it would be a difficult question to decide. But he had satisfied himself that there was no foundation whatever for the suggestion that an attack had been made upon the house.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG asked whether the police had ascertained who it was that gave the report to the Press.

MR. WALTER LONG said the police had not discovered the person; he wished they had. The report appeared in papers representing different political Parties. No one regretted more than he did that reports of this kind should be inserted by the Press, when it was quite easy to ascertain beforehand whether they were true or false.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): Will the right hon. Gentleman endeavour to get the name of the ruffian who put the libel into the Press at a penny a line?

Cannot the police find out who is the Press Association's representative in Boyle? Everyone there knows very well the paper and the man.

Mr. **WALTER LONG**: The fact of matters being common knowledge does not justify their repetition by a Minister, or his making a charge against an individual based on them. I do not know who the person is. If there is any power in the law I can exercise to prevent a recurrence of this kind of thing I will not hesitate to use it.

Mr. **HAYDEN** asked whether the hon. Member for the Altrincham Division had any apology or personal explanation to make for having first given this foul slander Parliamentary circulation.

Mr. **DISRAELI** (Cheshire, Altrincham) said he had only asked the Question to obtain information; and he fully accepted the police report, which was not always the practice of hon. Gentlemen opposite.

Mr. **HAYDEN**: Can you explain why it took the police three weeks to find out this report was false?

Mr. **SPEAKER**: That hardly arises out of the Question.

Buncrana Telephone Service.

Mr. **MULDOON** (Donegal, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether the terms offered for the establishment of a post office exchange at Buncrana are £5 each for twenty-five guaranteed subscribers, and 3d. per message for trunk connection; and, if so, whether, in view of the amount of these terms, he is ready to reconsider them with a view to such modifications as may render them locally acceptable.

Lord **STANLEY**: The terms are correctly stated by the hon. Member, and I fear that, in view of the cost of establishing a telephone exchange at Buncrana and of connecting it with the trunk system, it will not be possible to modify them. It should be understood, of course, that the charge of £5 covers 480 local conversations

Irish Public Finance.

Sir **THOMAS ESMONDE** (Wexford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if any interest is obtained by the various Government Departments and Boards in Ireland on the credit balances of their accounts; if he will grant a Return showing the credit balances of each of the Government Departments and Boards in Ireland on March 31st, 1905; and if he will make arrangements to have tenders invited annually from the Irish banks for the keeping of the accounts of these various public Boards and Departments in future.

Mr. **VICTOR CAVENDISH**: The accounts of all the Irish voted services are kept by the Paymaster-General in Dublin. Separate balances are not kept by the various Departments. The Paymaster-General has a consolidated account at the Bank of Ireland, which is drawn upon for payments on behalf of all the Departments. This is a current account, which yields no interest, and the balance is maintained as low as is consistent with the requirements of the services. Apart from voted moneys, certain Irish Departments have other funds under their control, notably the Land Commission, the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, and the Congested Districts Board. I understand that it is the practice of the Land Commission to place their available balances on interest-bearing deposit. The Department of Agriculture has most of its funds invested, and the rest are placed on deposit so far as not required for current use. The practice of the Congested Districts Board is the same. A Return of all the funds under control of Irish Departments and the disposition of those funds would take time to prepare. The Government would not be willing to adopt a system of annual tenders for the keeping of the Departmental accounts.

Sir **THOMAS ESMONDE**: Is there any objection to the Return I asked for? I know it may take some time.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. **AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN**, Worcestershire, E.): I should like to look into that matter before definitely answering. The hon. Member and others have already brought certain matters to my notice with, I hope, satisfactory results. I should, therefore, like to make further inquiries, which will of necessity take some time.

Irish Franciscans' Manuscripts.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he is aware the calendaring of the manuscripts of the Irish Franciscans is nothing like finished, and that the volume so long promised by the Historical Manuscripts Commission as the result of their examination of these manuscripts will be but a very imperfect and partial representation of them; and if he can give any assurance that the volume stated to be in the printer's hands, and promised now for several years, will be published within the next six months, and that the completion of the calendar of these manuscripts will be proceeded with, and by whom.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: I understand that a Report on Franciscan Manuscripts in the Convent at Merchants Quay, Dublin, is well advanced at press, and will in all probability be issued within the next six months. The great bulk of the material not included in the volume now in press does not appear to come within the scope of the operations of the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners.

Trawling in the Moray Firth.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the North Sea international scientific investigations have now sufficiently advanced to enable the Government to form an opinion as to the advisability of closing against foreign as well as British trawlers areas such as the Moray Firth; and, if so, will he consider the expediency of recommending the Foreign Office to communicate with other European Powers on the subject, especially having regard to the fact that at the Christiania Conference a resolution in favour of closing such areas was carried.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The Answer to the first part of the hon. Gentleman's Question is in the negative. The International Council has not yet expressed any opinion on the point.

The Telephone Agreement.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can now fix a day for the discussion of the Report of the Select Committee on the Telephone Agreement between the Postmaster-General and the National Telephone Company.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am afraid I am not yet in a position to inform the hon. Gentleman.

Welsh Steam Coal.

MR. D. A. THOMAS (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he has under consideration the desirability of proposing legislation to empower the Government, in certain contingencies, to prohibit the export of Welsh steam coal, such as that now supplied for the use of the British Navy.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think it is necessary to have any special powers conferred upon the Government. I believe they have sufficient powers to prevent the export of steam coal under the circumstances contemplated in the Question.

COLONEL LUCAS (Suffolk, Lowestoft): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he will agree to the appointment of a Royal Commission, or, if not a Royal Commission, if he will agree to the appointment of a Committee, to inquire into all the circumstances of the purchase of collieries in South Wales by a so-called German syndicate, the inquiry particularly to include the value of the coal for steamships.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: None of the information at our disposal leads us to believe that there is a German syndicate in treaty for any area, or any important area, or any area at all, of the steam coal which is used by His Majesty's Navy. But, as I have told the House, we should not, and could not, view with indifference the acquisition by a foreign syndicate, or any syndicate in which foreign influences predominated, of that steam coal which is absolutely necessary to the mobility of our Fleets. Supposing we had grounds for believing that a foreign syndicate was in process of obtaining that control which we deprecate, I do not think it would be difficult to deal with the matter. We might meet it by providing that the measure passed within living memory, permitting foreigners to be possessed of real property in this country, should be so far modified as that they should not be allowed to possess real property which was absolutely necessary for the defence of these islands, or for the interests of His Majesty's Army or His Majesty's Navy. Such a Bill would, I think, be in consonance with accepted principles of legislation. I do not think the necessity for introducing it has yet shown itself; but, as far as the Government are concerned, that is the line upon which we might proceed should the necessity arise.

The Colonial Conference.

Mr. BLACK: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government's scheme for a Colonial Conference contemplates that the British delegates shall be empowered to entertain proposals for preferential trading with the Colonies based, *inter alia*, upon the taxation in this country of raw material such as wool or cotton.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman has with laudable perseverance asked me this exact Question a great many times. I have nothing to add to the Answer I have given him several times.

Mr. BLACK: Is the conference, then, not to be free and unfettered?

Mr. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple): Will the right hon. Gentleman say whether he declines to give a full and frank Answer on the ground that such an Answer might be injurious to the public interests?

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs): May I ask whether in the last few days notices have not been issued to the Colonial Governments inviting them to a conference for next year, and whether in the invitation there is anything said on this particular point.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I have no information bearing out the suggestion the hon. Member has just made to the House. It is not accurate.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: Not accurate that such notices have been sent?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir, it is not accurate.

Later,

Mr. SOARES: I wish to ask a Question on a point of order. Your predecessor, Mr. Speaker Gully, ruled that an Answer must be accepted by an hon. Member, even though such Answer was unsatisfactory, but I do not think he meant that any kind of an Answer would be acceptable. I have been looking up the authorities on the point, and the principal authority, I find, is that of Sir William Anson in "The Law and Customs of the Constitution," where he says that a Minister is bound to answer a Question unless it is contrary to the public service. A practice has grown up lately of not giving full and frank Answers.

*Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member must put his point of order and not make a speech.

Mr. SOARES: The point of order I desire to put to you, as guardian of the privileges of the minority, is whether a Minister ought not in every case to give a full and frank Answer to a Question, if such Answer would not be injurious to the public service?

*Mr. SPEAKER: The Answer is in the affirmative, but all the circumstances must be taken into consideration. If the same Question is frequently put, or Questions of a similar character are frequently put, the Minister is entitled to refer the Member to an Answer previously given.

Mr. BLACK: Supposing the original Answer is no Answer at all.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member may not have thought it an Answer, but probably the Minister who gave it may have thought it a very good one.

Supply.

MR. LOUGH: What Supply will be taken to-morrow?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The principal business to-morrow will be the Home Office Vote, and on Thursday the Foreign Office Vote.

MR. LOUGH: And on Friday?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No Supply on that day, and what other business we take will depend in large measure—indeed entirely—on the progress we make with other business.

MR. JOHN ELLIS: Why not take the Telephone Agreement?

MR. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil): Or the Unemployed Bill?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It must depend on how we have progressed with more important business.

The Manchester Unemployed Disturbance.

MR. KEIR HARDIE: I beg to ask the Home Secretary whether he has any information concerning the attack which the Manchester police made yesterday upon an unemployed procession, and what action he intends taking in the matter.

MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS: The information which has reached me from the authorities at Manchester shows that a procession of some hundreds of men marched through the main thoroughfares of Manchester in a disorderly manner and obstructed the traffic. The police requested them to allow the traffic to proceed, and as they refused to comply with this request, the police dispersed them. So far as I am able to judge on the information before me, the police in doing so used no more force than was absolutely necessary. In so doing the police were acting strictly in accordance with their duty, which is to maintain order and prevent obstruction in the streets. Three men were arrested and were brought before the city stipendiary magistrate this morning and their cases adjourned for a week. In reply to the latter part of the Question, I certainly could take no action while the case is *sub judice.* I must add that it is not I but the Manchester Watch Committee who are the police authority for Manchester and who are responsible for the action of the Manchester City Police. Any Question relating to the action of that force which may be addressed to me I can only refer to the Manchester Watch Committee for reply; and if it were to become necessary to hold any inquiry into what has taken place at Manchester it would be the watch committee's duty in the first instance, at any rate, to conduct such an inquiry.

MR. KEIR HARDIE: In view of the nature of that reply I will ask the Prime Minister whether his attention has been called to this matter, and whether he has any further announcement to make in connection with the Unemployed Bill.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: My attention has, of course, been called to the incident referred to; but I do not think myself that that incident in Manchester has, or ought to have, any relation whatever to the policy pursued by this House. Whether the House proceeds, as, of course, I should like it to be able to proceed, with the Bill as proposed to be amended by my right hon. friend depends on the view which the House takes of that measure. It ought not to depend upon any action taken in Manchester by the persons who refused, apparently, according to the report I have seen, to obey the law and respect the injunctions of the police when they were requested to obey the law. Whether the Bill can be proceeded with or not depends as much on the hon. Gentleman and his friends as on anybody else.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): May I suggest to the Prime Minister whether the Unemployed Bill could not have first place after the necessary business has been finished.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Well, no. That particular policy could not be pursued, as the hon. Gentleman will see at once, because if we deal with it at all we ought to deal with it before the Appropriation Bill, or, at all events, in sufficient time for the House of Lords to consider the measure. I do not see any prospect of that end being accomplished unless the House were prepared to take the Committee stage on Friday and the Report and Third Reading on Monday. I have received no hint from those interested on the other side that they are prepared to assent to the Bill as proposed to be amended by my right hon. friend; on the contrary, all the speeches made yesterday indicated the opposite policy on the part of hon. Gentlemen opposite.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE: I beg to ask leave to move the adjournment of the House in order to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance—namely, the attack made by the Manchester police upon a peaceable demonstration of unemployed workmen in Market Street yesterday.

*Mr. SPEAKER: I must point out to the hon. Member that the Home Office is not responsible for the action of the police. The police are under the control, guidance, and direction of the watch committee of the city of Manchester, and, therefore, I do not think it is permissible to raise in this House by way of criticism or attack on a Government Department a matter for which they are not responsible.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE: Is it not the case that in the last resort the Home Office is the supreme authority over the police? On a former occasion, when the Manchester police were accused of corruption, the Home Office compelled inquiry into the circumstances; and is it not the fact that the grant received by Manchester from the Government for police purposes is dependent upon the proper performance of duty by the police, and does that not make the Home Office responsible for their action?

*Mr. SPEAKER: It is true that a portion, I think half, of the cost of the police in Manchester is borne by the National Exchequer, but that does not make the Home Office *prima facie* responsible for the action of the police. If the hon. Member can show that the action of the watch committee has failed, that they have not been equal to the duties imposed upon them by the law, and that it is necessary to supersede them, or that the Home Office should come in and take up the duty which the watch committee are not able to carry out, then I think the hon. Member would be able to make a case. But that is not so. In the first instance, it is quite clear that the watch committee are responsible. That is one of the consequences of local government, and I do not think, therefore, that it would be permissible to call into account the action of the Home Office, who are not responsible.

Sir ROBERT REID (Dumfries Burghs): May I submit to you that in order to be a matter of urgent public importance it does not necessarily follow that it is in relation to any action of the Government? Might I suggest, for example, that there might arise in a self-governing colony or a foreign country a matter of such urgent public importance that it ought to be debated in this House, and that is not, of course, within the jurisdiction of the Government at all?

*Mr. SPEAKER: If that is so, who is to answer for it? There are a great many matters of urgent public importance which take place in Europe and elsewhere, but surely the hon. and learned Gentleman does not suggest that any of them should necessarily be discussed in this House? There must be some responsibility suggested on the part of the Government.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE: How am I to show the House that the local watch committee has failed in its duty if I am refused permission to move the adjournment of the House? Is it not a subject for consideration and discussion in the House of Commons that Englishmen have been bludgeoned in the streets of Manchester? If this Motion is refused, what other opportunity will there be to discuss the question?

*Mr. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member can show, as he seems to think, that the

Home Office is in some way responsible for this affair, I would say that there is an opportunity to-morrow on the Home Office Vote.

SIR J. FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.): As one of the Members for the city, may I suggest it is not for this House to assume that the police attacked the people. The whole matter is now under inquiry by the proper authority in Manchester.

*MR. SPEAKER: That is a question of merits and not of order. I have nothing to do with the merits of the case.

MR. CROOKS: Surely it is a question of urgent public importance—the lives of people who do not seem quite able to take care of themselves. It comes under the jurisdiction of the Home Office. Will the Home Secretary consent to send a Commission to Manchester to inquire into the facts of the case?

*MR. SPEAKER: That is not a point of order.

SUPPLY [18TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[MR. GRANT LAWSON (Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1905–6.

CLASS IV.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,652,548, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on March 31st 1906, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Board of Education, and of the various Establishments connected therewith, including sundry Grants in Aid."

*THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University): I believe it is usual that the representative of the Department should make some statement indicating the policy of the Department throughout the past year. This may be the more necessary, seeing that the Education Act of 1902 has been now working all over the country for some time past, and that the Board of Education is brought into relations with the local authorities, great and small, throughout the country for various educational purposes. One prominent feature of the Act of 1902 was that it made it for the first time possible to correlate or co-ordinate all branches of education in the hands of the great local authorities, each covering a large area and each dealing with education in its various forms. It is true that the counties in most cases are dotted about with what are called autonomous areas—boroughs and urban districts of a certain size responsible for elementary education—but they have powers of rating themselves towards secondary education for a small amount, and the county has further powers of rating them to a larger amount, rendering it necessary that they should work together for the purposes of education other than elementary. I am glad to say that the counties have cordially co-operated with the boroughs and local districts wherever they have been brought into contact.

If this co-ordination is to be practical in local areas it must also be the key-note of the policy of the Board of Education, which has in so many ways to work with the local authorities, to offer advice and assistance, and to exercise such influence as we can upon their action by means of the dispensation of Parliamentary grants. We have worked with the local authorities on these lines. Two years ago I described to the House how the staff of the Board had been reconstituted to meet the new requirements of the Education Act. But it is essential, if the Board is to work with local authorities, that it should be well informed as to what the local authorities are doing, what are the principles on which they are acting, and what is the condition of the various schools throughout the country. To that end we have to some extent this year reorganised the inspectorate of the Board so as to inform us on all the various subjects on which we need information. We have been anxious not to break our inspectorate into special compartments unconnected and incapable of working with one another; but at the same time it was necessary that we should have an inspectorate developed on special lines for special purposes, and it is quite impossible that the same men or women should pronounce a satisfactory opinion on the condition of a technical institute, an old grammar school, a pupil-teachers' centre, and the infants' department of a council school; and we have during the past year, without asking for a fresh money grant from the Exchequer, increased the varieties of our inspectors in what I hope will be a useful manner. We have extended the inspectorate for secondary schools. A year ago we had a chief inspectorate of three; now we have eighteen inspectors who will assist in informing us as to the condition of the secondary schools throughout the country, a matter needing constant and careful supervision by the Board. We have also an inspector specially for rural education, whose business it is to assist the rural authorities in providing in their rural schools such a course of study as will interest the children in country life; and, what is most important of all, we have now a staff of women inspectors, with a chief inspector at their head, who will, I hope, be of great use in informing us as to the special needs of the infants' and girls' departments of our elementary schools. I do not say that it is a completed work; it is merely the beginning of a larger specialisation of the inspectorate on these lines. The work of our elementary inspectors has been to some extent simplified. I hope that simplification may continue, and that, as we work in closer harmony with the local authorities we may be able to diminish the number of our elementary inspectorate, and in that way to increase the variety of the inspectorate on the lines I have described. This is the beginning of a work which I hope will continue to make progress. These are our great sources of information, together with the Consultative Committee and the Office of Special Inquiry which are now brought into closer relations. But I hope that the Board of Education will be well equipped for furnishing the local authorities with all the guidance and help on the great principles of education in its various aspects on which the local authorities can be expected to work.

Sir William Anson.

I propose now to touch, first of all, on those branches of education that deal with the conclusion of school life—I mean the evening schools and the technical institutes. There has been during the past year no great increase in the number of these schools or classes, but there has been a very satisfactory development in the thoroughness and efficiency of their work. I think perhaps one reason why the classes have not increased in number is that we have impressed on the local authorities, through whom we mostly work in this branch of our Department, and on other persons responsible for these institutions, that it is useless for young men or young women to embark on advanced technological study unless they have the rudiments of knowledge necessary to enable them to profit by these studies. We therefore ask for a preliminary test of fitness before the student is allowed to enter on this course. We have organised preliminary classes which prepare imperfectly equipped boys and girls for the proper use and the full advantage of the higher technological classes; but, as is not unnatural, young people who think that they are well capable of going further than their teachers think it advisable are somewhat reluctant to undergo this preliminary test and to attend these preliminary classes; and that may to some extent account for the small increase in the numbers of the classes during the past year.

I think also that local authorities, now that they have the whole sphere of education under their control, realise the range of their work, and the inter-connection of its various parts. They make technological work a part of a general scheme of education within their area. The courses of study are required to be longer; they are made more complete; and, above all things, they are more closely connected with the industries of the area. In fact, we make it a condition of the grant that there should be a full consideration of local requirements and local industries. In order to bring this about we must work closely with the local education authorities and with the employers of labour. As to the local authorities, all I can say is that we place our inspectors at their disposal, and we press on our inspectors the duty of urging upon the local authorities the importance of associating with themselves the employers of labour in this work. We impress it on them as a duty of paramount importance; and, as to the employers, we are collecting information as to the various ways in which they can promote the attendance of those who serve under them at these classes and institutions. We have some information already and we hope to collect more. The employer may make time for the employee to attend. He may even require him to attend the class. He may pay the fee for his attendance. He may offer prizes. There are various ways, in fact, and many of them are already in practice, by which great employers of labour may promote the education of those who serve under them by means of these technical classes. The Association of Technical Institutions is collecting full information on this point, and we are given to understand that when it is collected it will be placed at our disposal. We hope that our Office of Special Inquiries will be able to utilise the information and will put it in an available form for circulation among local authorities and employers of labour. I hope that in this way we are making these institutions of real use in raising the standard of knowledge and capacity among those who begin early practical work in large industries, and that this side of our work, although it has not advanced greatly in the past year, will advance more rapidly when its benefits are more fully understood. I think they are already largely understood by local authorities and are beginning to be more and more valued by employers of labour.

Another thing I may say as to evening classes and technical institutes is that we are now able to make a grant for physical training for the first time. We hope that this will be of real use to those students who have not many opportunities in the twenty-four hours of getting the exercise necessary to the proper development of the human frame; and we look for increasingly useful results from this new grant which we are now able to offer.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax): Will that apply to classes not held in technical school buildings but in private buildings.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON: That is so. I now pass to another part of our work, which also comes at the end of school life —the training of teachers. The phrase "training college" has to some extent become a misnomer, because its name would suggest that it is a place for the training of a person just about to enter the teaching profession; whereas it has become very largely a place for the education of those who were imperfectly educated as children and who intend to enter the teaching profession. The definition of a training college hitherto has been—

> "An institution for educating persons about to become teachers and for giving instruction in the principles and practice of teaching."

That must necessarily be a large part of the duty of training colleges for some time; because, until we have still further advanced the training of the pupil-teacher —that is to say, the training of the intending teacher in its earlier stages—we must supplement his imperfect education at the training college. But we have endeavoured to indicate what is our policy in the matter by a slight change in phrase, and a training college, in the regulations for this year, is defined as—

> "An institulon for giving instruction to persons intendng to become teachers in the principles and practice of teaching and for supplementing their education as far as may be necessary."

If we can improve the education of the intending teacher, both after leaving school and during his sojourn at the pupil-teacher centre, we shall lighten the burden of the training colleges and remove that extraordinarily miscellaneous quality of attainment on the part of the students who come to them for training and teaching.

The Committee will see how difficult is the task of the training college if I describe the different kinds of student who go there. There is first, the students who come for one year, and they are persons who have taken a University degree or are otherwise fully educated, who wish to enter the teaching profession, and who come to the training college simply to learn the practice of teaching. Or they may be certificated teachers, well educated, who have not been through the training college, and who come to the college, not so much to learn the practice of teaching as the history and theory of teaching; and to avail themselves of the leisure which the college gives them for the further pursuit of their more academic studies. There is another type of student, who may be called the normal type. He comes for two years, having passed the preliminary examination for a certificate. He is the student who needs the most care and special attention. He is very often over-ambitious to spend the greater part of his two years, not so much in training and in the studies which are directly concerned with the profession, as in the effort to obtain a degree; and I will mention the various precautions which we have been bound to take to prevent this student from expending his time on efforts which are beyond his capacity. Then we come to another class of students who are of two sorts. There is the student of considerable promise who comes to a day-training college connected with a University or University college, deliberately and with the full consent of the authorities over him, to study for a degree while carrying on his ordinary training work. There are also students coming originally for two years, who show exceptional merit and promise and who are allowed a third year to enable them to finish working for a degree; or—what we have arranged for the first time this year, and what will be of considerable value—when they have left the college and been for some time in the teaching profession, who are allowed to come back and have another year of training and study, which is devoted either to the pursuit of more advanced studies, or to going abroad to improve their knowledge of foreign languages. When the Committee consider these various types of student, they will see that the training college is subject to considerable difficulties in adapting its teaching to all the demands of the young men and women who come up with these various degrees af acquirement and with these various aims and objects.

Last year, in asking for this vote, I dwelt on the disadvantage which it is to so many of these students that they should expend so much time and energy in the pursuit of a degree. I think the House imagined that I disparaged the capacity of students, wished to damp their proper ambition, and was generally disposed to thwart meritorious effort. Nothing was further from my purpose. One is very anxious that the student should get all the benefit he can get from the more advanced work of the training college; but what we have to bear in mind is this—that hitherto the student has come up very imperfectly educated; that he at once comes into a different world of study; that he is not very well aware of his own limitations; that he perhaps over-estimates his own powers; and that he does not realise that the work for a degree, which is necessarily of a somewhat special character, presupposes a wide and solid foundation of knowledge which very often he does not possess. Now we require that, if a two years student is to work for a degree at the training college, he should at least have passed a matriculation examination before he is allowed to work for the degree. We mean two years hence to make that qualification more severe than it is at present. We shall ask for something more than the mere evidence of passing the matriculation to show that the two years student is qualified to work for a degree, and we claim to inquire into the process of the student during his life at the training college and stop it if we think he is wasting his time.

Mr. LEIF JONES (Westmoreland, Appleby): Is that the London matriculation examination?

*Sir WILLIAM ANSON: Any matriculation examination. I shall say one word as to the provision for training colleges. For the first time now the Government makes a grant, not merely for the maintenance of students at training colleges, but for the provision of training colleges themselves. I think it can hardly be said that the State has neglected the existence of training colleges, because I can assure the Committee that the Government grant, when added to the fee paid by the student, covers the cost of maintenance, but it does not cover the cost of the provision of the training colleges, and there is now a Government grant made of 25 per cent. on the educational part of the college. There is a natural disinclination on the part of the local education authorities to build training colleges, a very natural disinclination, because when they build their college and educate their teacher there they have no assurance that he will not pass into an adjoining, or even a distant, county and give the benefit to some other area of the training which he has received at the expense of the area in which he was educated. Of course that difficulty might be simplified if all local authorities built training colleges of their own, but unfortunately these proposals for the universal building of training colleges are something like the proposals for universal disarmament; the question is who shall begin; and until the local authorities have settled that matter by universal consent among themselves, I am afraid we shall have to rely very largely on voluntary efforts for the building of residential training colleges and endeavour to develop on the best lines we can the system of day training colleges, which, I think, are doing good work in various parts of the country. But we must guard against what I may call the inferior provision of training colleges. We have had a suggestion from local authorities that they should connect day training colleges with technical institutes, but we have had to point out that a technical institute, valuable as it is on its own lines, does not give that general education which we think ought to form, at any rate, a considerable part at present of the work of the training colleges.

MR. WILLIAM JONES (Carnarvonshire, Arfon): The hon. Baronet has dealt mainly with provisions for elementary teachers in training colleges; would he say what has been done or is likely to be done in the training of secondary teachers?

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON: I am afraid we have no prospect of a Government grant for secondary colleges, and I am afraid I am not in a position to say that much has been done in the past year in that direction. The policy, then, of our dealings with training colleges is to dwell as much on the training as to endeavour to improve the education which precedes entrance to the training college, so that if possible, though I am afraid it is a remote possibility, one year of the training college may suffice. If we can attain that ideal, the output of every training college would be immensely increased, and the expenditure of the local education authorities would be correspondingly reduced.

The chief material for the training college is the pupil-teacher, and as regards the pupil-teacher we follow the policy which I indicated two years ago. We would ask that the intending pupil-teacher should have at least two years of general education before going to a pupil-teacher centre. If he cannot go to a secondary school, he should go to a preparatory class, and while at the pupil teacher centre he should work half time only, and during the remainder of that time his education should be continued on liberal lines. We have to meet the convenience of the local education authorities as to the distribution of that half time of the pupil-teacher—that is to say, the local authorities have asked that there should be two terms study and then three terms half-time teaching and then another term of study, so that the teaching may be distributed over three terms. That is a matter of convenience for the staffing of the schools, and in that we are very anxious to meet the wishes of the local authorities. We are further giving a longer term of engagement to the pupil-teacher in rural areas, so that from fifteen to eighteen he may be engaged to work half time. Under the old system a boy or a girl spent several years in teaching during the greater part of every day, with such education as he or she could pick up from the head teacher before or after school hours, or as could be acquired independently. Now we ask for two years training, either in a secondary school or a preparatory class, and for two years half time at a pupil-teachers' centre, and in that way we hope that the education will be continued for at least four years before the student goes to the training college, and that then the pupil will be far better able than before to take advantage of the training offered.

I do not mean to say that we have solved the very difficult problem of the training of teachers. It is possible that, as the student was kept too closely to practical work in early life before, we have taken him too completely away from the schools now. Time alone can show whether the lines on which we are working are right. On the one hand it may be said that the long term of service of the old-fashioned pupil-teacher gave him a sort of instinctive facility in dealing with a class which the pupil-teacher under the new system will never secure; on the other hand, it may be said that he lost much in the way of education, and that this facility in dealing with a class has promoted that mechanical proficiency and excessive attention to discipline which, I think, is a feature of our English educational system. Though the local authorities have been reluctant to build training colleges, they have been active in the foundation of pupil-teacher centres. They have willingly connected them with secondary schools, and, in fact, we have had to call the attention of the local anthorities to this point, that, although it is very desirable that the pupil-teacher should enjoy the larger area and the freer life and education of a secondary school, you really must distinguish the pupil-teacher centre where secondary education is given as not providing the same advantages as the secondary school which is connected, closely it may be, with that centre.

This brings me now to the subject of our secondary schools. Two years ago I lamented to the Committee that what we did for secondary schools gave such a predominant influence to scientific teaching that we had heard from our inspectors —I am bound to say that I satisfied myself by visiting secondary schools—that the children were injured in their general education, and that they were imperfectly equipped for understanding and using the science taught, because they were so turned aside from languages and the topics of general education that their teaching was faulty and unsatisfactory. We have made very considerable changes in that direction. What was called the "A" grant was the large grant which turned the attention of the schools to science. There was also the "B" grant, a much smaller amount for which much less science was required. We now have one grant for a four years course, rising year by year for general education. Last year I was able to say that we should increase that grant at the end of two years where the teaching became specialised in the direction of science. Now we can, as it were, bifurcate the teaching at the end of two years, and give a larger grant either to education more fully scientific, with more advanced science, or to a course of study in which languages are the predominant element.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University): Do you give up science in the latter schools?

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON: No, they have science certainly. Our object has been to provide a general education in which science plays a proper part, and at a certain stage the student may specialise in the direction of advanced science or in the direction of languages. In no case is science neglected or thrust aside; it plays its part in the general education. I have only one or two other things to say beyond what I have laid down as to the general policy of the Board in regard to the secondary schools. We used to give a certain sum to meet sums contributed by local authorities for scholarships. We have not very much money to spend on secondary education, and we have come to the conclusion that it would be better to throw all our energies into the improvement of the schools by the enlargement of the grant, and then to leave local authorities to do what I think local authorities are much better able to do than we are, to select the boys and girls who are to have the scholarships and to provide them. We have, therefore, withdrawn the grant for scholarships and have given it to the schools, and I believe we are making better use of the money than before. Another point is that we have constantly pressed upon the local authorities that they should give to every secondary school some body of persons specially interested in the conduct of education in the district—what is called a governing body—and I think the local authorities are coming to see that without losing financial control or the ultimate authority which they possess over schools which are their own creation, it is useful to the schools and it strengthens the position of the headmasters if there is a body of persons whose business it is to look after the affairs and interests of the schools and to whom the headmaster may refer directly in regard to matters of school policy when he thinks it desirable. We have also been taken somewhat to task on the subject of fees. On that matter all we ask is that there should be an assurance of financial stability in the school if it is to receive the Government grant. If we can be assured that the school can be satisfactorily run without fees we ask no more, but as a rule I am bound to say that it is better that a fee should be paid. I have seldom found any difficulty, even in a poor area, in the payment of a fee, and I should think the schools in which no fees are paid are comparatively few, and I do not think anyone suffers by the imposition of such a fee as makes the parent and the child appreciate the value of the education given and ensures the financial stability of the school.

Before leaving this topic and going into the more burning subject of elementary education I should like to deal with a statement, which I have seen not infrequently, that the Act of 1902 has done nothing for higher education, that local authorities are doing nothing, and that the Act has not stimulated interest or in any way promoted the advancement of education to a higher level. I take the centres of secondary schools. In 1902 there were 193 pupil-teachers' classes or centres in counties and ninety-nine in boroughs. In 1905 there are 320 centres in counties, and 113 in boroughs, and the increase in number does not fully indicate the effect of the change. These are fully equipped centres for all purposes of education of the pupil-teacher. The old central classes were not perfectly equipped. They were the best that could be got, but they were not prepared or conducted with the adequacy of the pupil-teachers' centres of to-day. As regards the number of pupil-teachers attending the centres, taking the counties, there were entered in 1903, between January and July, 5,271 pupil-teachers. In January–August, 1904, there were 8,100 entries, and in the county boroughs there was an increase of rather more than 400. As regards secondary schools in receipt of Government grants and under local authorities, they have gone up between 1900 and 1905 from 212 to 599, and the Government grant earned has increased by £100,000. When I add to this that many local authorities have made a most careful survey of their whole area, and have mapped out schemes for the needs of schools in the different parts of the area, I think you may say that the Act of 1902 has stimulated the interest and the efficiency of local work in education to a very satisfactory degree.

Now I come to elementary education, and to refer to the Code. I would call attention to one or two points in the Elementary Code which I think hon. Members may deem worthy of remark. There is a provision in the Code which excludes teachers from being managers of schools. I should like to say a word about that. I believe the general opinion is that the teacher of an elementary school should not be the manager of another elementary school any more than the master of a secondary school should be on the governing body of another secondary school. I believe that as a general proposition it is a sound one, and the policy which it involves seems good. But it is the case that there are some education committees, on which teachers have a statutory right to serve if chosen, which consider it proper and necessary that all their members should act as managers of schools, and it is practically a condition of membership of the committee that any person on it should be willing to act as manager of one or more schools. If teachers were disqualified altogether from acting as managers they would, although statutorily qualified, be practically disqualified from serving on the education committees. That, I am sorry to say, came to the notice of the Board after the Code was out. It certainly was not my intention, and I do not think the intention of anyone who had anything to do with the preparing of the Code, that where management was an incident to work on an education committee, the teachers should be prevented from taking the part allotted on the education committee. I can only say now that I will take care—and the Department will take care—that provision will be made to meet that in the Code of next year, and in the meantime care will be taken that no teacher will be excluded from a place on an education committee by insistence on that Article of the Code.

There is another point in our Code which I think most important. It is that part which deals with higher elementary schools. The Minute which created the higher elementary schools in 1900 has become almost a dead letter, partly, perhaps, owing to the larger creation of secondary schools, but mainly, I think, owing to the severe scientific requirements and the necessity for elaborate scientific appliances which were imposed on higher elementary schools. The fact is there are only thirty higher elementary schools, and the number has only increased by five in the last three years. And yet there is a need for schools of this sort. If no intermediate type of schools between the elementary and the secondary is created, I very much fear it will lead to the lowering of the standard of the secondary schools, which ought to be essentially distinct from the elementary schools. There are many boys and girls, particularly boys, who cannot afford the four years course at the secondary schools but who do want something beyond the elementary school which will last on to the end of their school years, and what we propose in our new scheme of higher elementary schools is to drop the severe scientific requirements, and that enables us to lower the grant and so to multiply the schools. If we could not do that I fear we should have some difficulty in taking the line we have done. The object of the higher elementary schools will be to develop some part of the teaching of the elementary schools beyond what is possible in the elementary schools themselves. We require that elementary mathematics and English should certainly be taught in the higher elementary schools, and we also provide that some practical instruction should be given connected with the industries or conditions of the locality, which will give to the boys and girls some feeling that their education has, as it ought to have, some bearing on practical life. I think, if we can combine these two things for boys and girls from the ages of twelve to fifteen—a fuller development of the work of the elementary schools or some part of it with a more close connection between their education and practical life—we shall enable a number of boys and girls to carry on their education willingly and profitably in a way in which they have not been able to do before.

The only other matter connected with the Code to which I should like to call the attention of the Committee is the fact that we have called special attention to the teaching of the laws of health, and we have circulated a syllabus on the laws of health for which I am indebted to two hon. Members, namely—the hon. Member for the University of London and the hon. Member for the Rye Division—to whom I should like to express my acknowledgements, as I cannot help thinking that the syllabus which has been worked out on the lines they have given is one of the most practical and useful of the sort which has yet been issued by our Department or any other authority in charge of these matters.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): Does it contain any remarks on the hygienic value of alcohol?

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON: It certainly does, but I think the right hon. Gentleman will agree with me that many of the courses of teaching and lecturing on alcohol suffer from the somewhat exaggerated tone in which their denunciations of alcohol are couched, and from the criticism to which they were exposed on scientific grounds. We have taken care that alcohol and its use are dealt with, and I hope that a proper warning is given to children that it is bad for them, that they ought not to touch it, and that they can do very well without it, but we have not accompanied our remarks on alcohol either with those scientific dissertations or moral denunciations which I think have somewhat tinctured previous documents of that kind.

On the subject of elementary education there is one very general complaint, and that is the expense to the local authorities. I cannot offer a cure. I will suggest some sort of prevention, and in certain cases I can offer a very mild palliative. I will not charge the local authorities with extravagance. Perhaps it might sometimes be questioned whether it is always necessary to have the very best of everything, and whether appliances might not be made to last a little longer. But, on the other hand, I hope those authorities will not charge the Board with pressing them on to expenditure which is beyond their means. Two things I can say on behalf of the Board. Our new building rules have been carefully redrafted to distinguish what is essential from what might be described as counsels of perfection. There are certain things necessary for the health and comfort of children, and we have made it quite clear that those are necessary, but a great many other things which were so stated as to leave local authorities to consider them essential, we have now put down as things desirable, but susceptible of modification to meet the financial conditions of the area. Then we have distinctly counselled our inspectors that, under the pressure which now lies upon local authorities, and the heavy burden which education is causing them as the Education Act is being brought into work, they should not urge expenses which are not necessary for the health, comfort, or education of the children. That has been the line we have taken ever since the Act came into working, but it must be borne in mind that the remarks of an inspector and even his reports are sometimes misunderstood. The remarks made by an inspector are not necessarily embodied in his report, nor is the report of an inspector the same thing as an order of the Board. If a local authority have good reason to think that the report of an inspector is unreasonable they have only to come to the Board and state their case, and I think they may rely on a fair hearing.

But there is one word I should like to say to the local authority, and that is that they are running serious risk in some areas I know of of over-centralisation. I have some fear that education committees will not let anything slip out of their hands under, I think, a wholly unfounded apprehension that if they do they will lose the control they ought to exercise. If they will not delegate any of their functions, if they will endeavour to do all the work themselves, what will happen? The work will become mechanical, and when once it does it leads to expense. I know of cases in which salaries have been raised automatically—very properly in some cases, but in individual cases absurdly. That is to say, the local authority has determined that the salaries of persons holding certain positions in schools shall be uniformly raised, and they have never inquired what were the existing salaries or what the qualifications of the person whose salary was raised. I have known cases where persons in infant schools with practically no qualification in teaching, and with no expectation of any rise of salary, have suddenly found their salaries doubled merely because the order had gone forth that everything was to be automatically raised to a certain point. Then, if they will not delegate to bodies of sub-committees, or bodies of managers, they lose the control over small items of expense. If everything is done from the centre by correspondence small savings will not take place, and small unnecessary outlays will take place, or else there will be a great mass of correspondence with the central authority which is gratifying only to the officials who are there for the purpose of writing letters, and who somewhat enjoy a series of formal letters. And not only is there loss from want of close supervision, and from automatic rises of emolument without consideration of particular cases, but the whole cost of administration becomes very large. I believe I am not exaggerating when I say I have heard of a local authority the cost of whose administration was between £20,000 and £30,000 a year; and when I heard of it I wished I could have that money to raise the grant for secondary schools, especially when one thinks that some of that money went on clerical work, a great part of which was simply irritating. I must say I wish the local authorities would call to mind their powers as to creating sub-committees, and would urge such sub-committees to keep in constant touch with the managers of the school, giving a comparatively free hand to people who have no desire to run them into unnecessary expense, and whose interest in these matters is of importance. I feel that many local authorities are almost at the parting of the ways, at which they will either promote the education of an area, and create an interest throughout the area among many persons in education, or else will concentrate all power, not in the hands of the education committee, but in the hands of the organising secretary, who, owing to the weariness of the education committee for the mass of formal administrative business, will acquire all the power which the education committee thought ill advisedly to retain.

I would urge upon those local authorities the immense importance of sustaining personal interest in every department of our education, among members of the education committee, employers of labour, visitors and managers of schools. No grant from the Exchequer, and no rate aid for feeding the children, can do what the manager would do who went to the homes of the children and would teach the parents how to live, who would stimulate and organise voluntary effort, and would try to keep the children well nurtured both before school age and during school age. What is also urgently wanted is persons who will watch over the children when they leave school, take care that opportunities are not lost, and see that a boy or girl does not go into some employment where there is a small immediate payment but ultimate loss of the opportunity to avail themselves of the special capacities acquired at school. A very little time, trouble, and money would turn a boy from an office boy into an apprentice—the office boy being cast on the world before he is twenty, the apprentice moving on to higher regions of skilled labour. It will make all the differences to the future of our children if managers are encouraged to watch over the children, not only while they are at school, but at the critical moment of their life when leaving school. I would earnestly press all local authorities to curb the mechanical ingenuity of their organising secretary, and to do all they can to enlist the interest of, and give work to, all the voluntary agencies that are prepared to take an interest in the management of the school.

There is another aspect of this question, there are what are called necessitous areas, to which, so far as I can judge, there are only two ways of giving substantial relief. The first is the readjustment of the rating burden, or a redistribution of the rateable area, and that is a subject for legislation, probably of a difficult, but to my mind, of a somewhat urgent character. Or else we need a substantial addition to the aid grant from the Exchequer where a penny in the pound produces less than a certain sum per child in the area. I frankly say I will not ask for money, nominally for education, but really for the redress of the inequalities of our rating system, in order to do what an amendment of the rating law ought to do. That being so, I have to consider what are the remaining resources. There are a great many reasons why children under the age of five should be excluded from schools; their work is of small educational value, their attendance is accompanied very often by considerable risk to health. In tolerably well-to-do families they are almost always better at home, and in very poor families they ought to be provided for by a *crèche* or public nursery, but not by an elementary school. I hoped by this time to have been able to circulate some very interesting reports of women inspectors who were specially asked to report upon the condition of infant schools in various parts of the country, and to inform the Board what educational value attached to them. These reports are very strong and decided, and from what we have seen of them we have no hesitation in leaving it open to local authorities to exclude children under five years.

SIR JOHN GORST: Will those reports be published?

***SIR WILLIAM ANSON**: Yes, all of them. If you withdraw all grants for children under five we should save £850,000 in round numbers. What would be the result? Some areas would gain by the simple exclusion of the children under five; where the cost of the maintenance of the children exceeded the Parliamentary grant they would gain not merely in maintenance, but as time went on in the provision of schools. On the other hand, a very large number of areas would lose because, where schools in rural areas are small, and there may be only one teacher, they would save nothing in provision or maintenance while they would lose the grant. Of course we might withdraw the grant altogether and use the money for necessitous areas. But I could not be a party to what is called robbing Peter in order to pay Paul, to taking money from rural districts and an appreciable number of urban districts in order to assist particular areas. We have therefore decided upon a plan by which some of the areas will gain considerably and no area will lose. At present there is an annual grant of 17s. 3d. for all children up to an age between seven and eight, and 22s. for older scholars besides the fee grant and aid grant. We shall withdraw all but the aid grant and fee grant from the children under five, but there will be a uniform grant of 24s. for every child over five. If any area thinks it is to their advantage to exclude children under five, they can do so. On the other hand, if they do not think it is to their advantage, they can retain children under five and obtain the aid grant and fee grant. I do not pretend that this scheme will set the difficulty at rest. But I know of no other way without taking money from someone, or going begging to the Exchequer.

I have now told my story on the general education question; I fear at some length. But I do not think it is a story of which I or any one connected with the Department need be ashamed. In the course of the last two years and a-half we have brought the Education Act of 1902 into operation. During that time we have been in constant co-operation with the local authorities. With most of them we have worked on the most cordial terms, and I think that, even in cases where there have been differences, no local authority can complain of want of courtesy or consideration on the part of the Department. We have reconstituted our staff in order to meet the new conditions of education. We have done our best to promote interest in education throughout every area and among all classes of the community. I am quite aware that that work is only at the beginning and is necessarily incomplete; and I have no doubt that in many respects it is open to criticism. But I think I can say generally that we have laid down our work on sound lines and in such a way that it is capable of development in many directions, corresponding with the changes in our national life and the needs of our industries and commerce.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs) said he thought the statement of the hon. Baronet was a very disappointing one to those who expected great things of the Act of 1902. They had been told a story of not very much being accomplished. He had told them that the Education Act had cost a great deal of money, in fact the whole of his speech was a sort of belated repetition of the criticisms which were passed upon the Act when it was discussed in the House of Commons. When the Bill was before Parliament it was pointed out that its administration would turn out to be very expensive and that the results achieved would not be at all adequate to the cost. That was practically the admission of the Secretary to the Board of Education in his speech. They told him at the time that he would land the administration of education into the hands of officials, and that local initiative would be destroyed. What an admission the hon. Baronet had made upon this point. He had admitted that practically the whole thing from top to bottom was in the hands of the officials. That was exactly what was predicted. In opposing the Act they pleaded that the Government should give some sort of interest to the localities and that was what the hon. Baronet was contending now. He asked the managers to take more interest in the schools, and complained that they were appointed by a central authority. Why did the hon. Baronet not listen to their entreaties to give the local authorities the power to elect the managers? The speech to which they had just listened from the representative of the Government was a very earnest criticism of the Act upon the lines laid down by the opponents of the Act two years ago.

The hon. Baronet said that they had worked very harmoniously with the local authorities. He was afraid this notion of harmony had been taken from the Cabinet and the Party opposite, and judged by that standard, they might say that the local authorities were working harmoniously. In the past the local authorities in Wales had worked hard for education. They had built over 100 secondary schools in ten years and they had organised a first-rate system of secondary education. They had worked hard in the primary schools; and those were just the authorities with whom the Board of Education was in direct conflict at the present moment. He intended to move a reduction in this Vote. Here was an Act of Parliament which was regarded in a very hostile manner by the vast majority of the population in many parts of this country and it was passed without their consent, and without their being consulted. Consequently it had created a great deal of friction. The hon. Baronet knew that the Act would have to be modified in the direction in which those who were hostile required that it should be modified. He did not think anybody would challenge that statement. Seeing that there was only a short interval to be bridged over, they had decided to provoke quarrels with the local authorities which they knew would not be in existence in a year or two because they would come to an end whenever the present Government came to an end. [Cries of "No, no!"] What was the position? For about a year after the Act was passed the Government realised that that was the position of affairs, and on the whole they were prepared to act accordingly. They realised that it was most important to have an irritating controversy over an Act which did not represent a final settlement. But a change had come o'er the spirit of the dream. No Government before had ever wantonly provoked the people in this most irritating fashion. What was the first thing they did? The hon. Baronet had said that they had reconstituted the staff of the Board of Education to meet the changed circumstances. They had done that specially with regard to Wales, for they had handed over the administration of the Act in Wales to a clerk of the Education Department, who was not a man of any particular authority, or, judging by his correspondence, of any special intelligence. The name of Mr. Morant, the Permanent Secretary of the Department, did not appear at all. No doubt Mr. Morant was wise enough to see that the action of the Government in regard to Wales was a piece of folly, and did not wish to mix himself up with it.

What had happened? The first business of those appointed by the Department was to supply the Government with statements to mislead the House of Commons as to what had been done. They had a debate upon the administration of the Act in Wales in the month of May last, and he wished to call attention to three statements which were made about Carnarvonshire and Glamorganshire. In the debate in May last on the administration of the Act in Merionethshire, the hon. Baronet dragged in as a counter-move statements with regard to other counties. They naturally thought that a Minister would not make those statements without having investigated them, and yet inquiry showed that all those statements were without the slightest foundation. The complaint on that occasion was that in Merionethshire insanitary schools were being planted upon the rates. The managers had been allowed nearly two years to put these schools in order, but had not complied with the requirements of the local education authority, and the Board of Education had upheld them in their refusal. The hon. Baronet retorted that there were local education authorities who were guilty of keeping insanitary schools going, and he instanced the case of Pontypridd. Last year he said the Board had a long discussion with the local education authority and the managers of a voluntary school there. The local education authority insisted on certain alterations. The Board of Education admitted their necessity, but recognised the great difficulty of carrying them out on the existing site. Then the school was transferred to the local education authority, and the first thing that body did was to write to the Board of Education requesting that the school be allowed to remain *in statu* for two years. Would it be believed that there was not a word of truth in the last statement? It was true that the local education authority requested the managers to make certain alterations on sanitary grounds, and when it was found that the Board of Education supported that demand the managers abandoned the school. The local education authority took it over, and the first thing they did was to spend a considerable sum of money in carrying out the improvements which they had required of the managers Think of that fact being withheld from the House.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON: I deny that the local authority proposed anything. When they asked that the school should remain *in statu* the Board of Education insisted on certain requirements being carried out, and after a time the local authority carried them out.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said the hon. Baronet did not even now see that he was misleading the House in a most material particular. The inference he wished the House to draw was that, having asked the board of managers to improve the sanitary condition of the school, the local authority on themselves becoming possessed of the school had, without spending a penny on it, asked the Board of Education to allow it to remain as it was for two years. But the hon. Baronet also withheld the fact that the local education authority gave an undertaking to build a new school in the district within eighteen months.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON: That is really not the case. The hon. Member has attributed to me a false statement and a suppression of fact of which I should not dream of being guilty. The local education authority insisted on requirements. We entirely agreed. Then the school was transferred, and the first thing the local authority did was to ask us to allow the premises to remain in that condition for two years, until they could make other provision. They said nothing about making alterations. We insisted on their making these changes, and they were made. The material fact was that the local authority insisted on the managers making the changes. But when they came into possession themselves they asked the Board to allow the premises to remain as they were for two years. [MINISTERIAL cheers.]

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: The hon. Baronet states one thing now which he withheld then. He says that he knew that the local authority was making certain provision for improving the sanitary condition of the school.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON: I was not aware of anything, except the demand of the local authority to allow the school to remain *in statu* for two years.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: He knew they were going——

MR. DUKE (Plymouth): Is the hon. Member in order in assuming that the statement of the hon. Baronet is untrue, and that the hon. Baronet made it deliberately knowing that it was untrue?

THE CHAIRMAN: I think the hon. Member for Carnarvon is getting very near the line.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Yes, I am, deliberately. The Secretary to the Board of Education has made a series of false statements, and I will not have them.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is out of order in making an imputation of deliberate untruth against the Secretary to the Board of Education.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: I never said he had made a deliberate false statement. I said he made a series of false statements, and I still say so.

The CHAIRMAN: The difference is this. If the hon. Member states that the Minister made statements that were inaccurate——

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: False.

The CHAIRMAN: That is a matter of proof. If he says that the hon. Gentleman deliberately stated that which he knew to be untrue, that is out of order.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: I have simply to repeat what I said before, that the hon. Gentleman made a series of statements which were false. The word "deliberately" was imported by the hon. Member for Plymouth. When that hon. Member very improperly intervened I was asking the hon. Baronet two definite Questions. Did he know that this money had been expended, or was in course of being expended, upon improving the premises; and did he know at the time that the local education authority had undertaken to build a new school, and that they only decided to use the existing school as temporary premises?

***Sir WILLIAM ANSON**: I answer at once, though I do not think the Questions are material. The point was that the local authority said to the managers, "The school must be improved, and at once." They became possessed of the premises by transfer and they immediately wrote and asked the Board of Education to allow them to remain *in statu* for two years. I am perfectly well aware that during these two years they were going to build a new school. As to the alterations, all I knew was that the local authority which had decided these matters to be urgent asked that they should be allowed to remain as they were for two years, and the Board of Education insisted that changes should be made.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: And that they were then made. The hon. Gentleman withheld a material fact.

***Sir WILLIAM ANSON**: I was not aware that they were. The Board said that they must be made, and the demand was so urgent that I thought they must be made, but I did not know.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: And did not even inquire. The hon. Gentleman seemed to think that even now it was immaterial whether this school was to be used for temporary purposes or permanently. That was his view of telling the whole story to the House.

Turning to the case of Denbighshire, he said that the charge brought by the hon. Baronet was that while the council had surveyed the voluntary schools before the appointed day, they had not yet appointed anyone to survey the council schools. There was not a word of truth in that charge. The Denbighshire County Council appointed a surveyor to examine both classes of schools, and the work was completed in the case of both before the appointed day. The same resolution covered both the provided and non-provided schools, and they were examined at the same time. He recollected the cheers with which that statement was received in the House; hon. Members opposite felt that it was a triumphant Answer. But there was not a syllable of truth in the statement. The hon. Baronet, when his attention was called to the matter, refused to withdraw the statement in the House of Commons, but after about three weeks he wrote a letter to the Denbighshire County Council saying that that was not exactly what he meant—that what he really intended to say was that after the appointed day they did not hold the balance evenly between the two sets of schools, that he was sorry the phraseology was not quite correct, but that in substance and in fact the statement was perfectly true. That was the hon. Baronet's notion of the conduct of a gentleman when a false charge had been brought against the education authority! The statement ought to have been withdrawn and apologised for in the House of Commons, where it was made.

The same thing happened with regard to Carnarvonshire. Two or three schools were instanced where the repairs had not been up to the standard. The statement was absolutely correct as far as it went, but the hon. Baronet did not state the whole of the facts. Although there were two or three schools where the requirements had not been complied with within a month of their receipt from Whitehall, the local education authority had actually spent on repairs £6,400 out of revenue and had applied for loans to the amount of £25,000 for the purposes of enlarging and improving the school accommodation. That was £31,000 for a small county, representing between £2 and £3 per head per child in the schools. The hon. Baronet was aware of these circumstances, and his omission to mention them was a withdrawal of facts which had the result, he did not say intentionally, of misleading the House.

Another ground of complaint was that the hon. Baronet, while pressing the local education authorities to administer the law, was himself breaking the Act of 1902 and his own regulations. In Merionethshire about two years ago notices were served on the managers to repair their schools. Last year the hon. and learned Member opposite contradicted the statement that notices had been served. He now had the notices in his possession; they were most elaborate, giving the full report of the surveyor, and setting forth the requirements in respect of which the schools were to be repaired.

MR. DUKE thought that if reference were made to *Hansard* it would be seen that he merely asked whether notices had been served. He had been told that notices had not been served, and therefore he asked the hon. Member, who was likely to know and was usually well-informed about these matters, whether he knew.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said he recollected distinctly the hon. and learned Member saying afterwards that that was not his information. There were very few appeals to the Board of Education. Some of the schools were so bad that a short time ago two had to be closed. But although the managers had not obeyed the law that they should comply with the reasonable requirements of the local education authority, the hon. Baronet, in defiance of his own law, compelled the local education authority to maintain these schools. When the local authority asked about the repairs they were told that their first business was to maintain, and that if they did not the Board would not press the managers to comply with the law. What an extraordinary proposition! These schools were insanitary, badly lit, and unhealthy, and the position taken up by the hon. Baronet was that if the teachers were damaged by the withholding of a part of their salaries the Board would retaliate by forcing the children into these insanitary schools. What a position for a great constitutional authority to take up. And how had the Board acted as a Court of Appeal? They sent down one of their own clerks with an inspector to visit these schools; no notice was given to the local education authority; even their surveyor was not informed; but this clerk went round and said, "Oh, you need not take any particular notice of these things; you do so and so, and you will be all right." The next time the local education authority pressed for the carrying out of their requirements they were told, "An inspector was here the other day with a clerk, who told us that if we did certain things we need take no further notice of you." Was that what a Court of Appeal was supposed to do? What would the hon. and learned Member opposite think of a Court of Appeal which, before the case came on, sent its clerk to one of the litigants without notice to the other side, saying, "If you do certain things we will back you up when the appeal comes on, and judgment will go in your favour?" When the appeal came on the Board backed up their clerk, and upheld the opinion which had been delivered beforehand *ex parte*. That was a fraud on decent administration. And this was the Department which was telling the county councils in Wales how to administer the law, and threatening them with all sorts of pains and penalties if they did not carry it out.

But this was not all. The county of Glamorgan afforded another remarkable case. Two years ago the local education authority sent their surveyor to inspect all the schools. A full copy of his report was sent to the managers of the non-provided schools, with a request that they would point out any respects in which they complained of it. In May, 1904, the Board of Education gave a decision considerably modifying the requirements of the local education authority, and in some respects falling below the minimum of their own regulations. The local authority, however, accepted it. Then the Board of Education extended the time within which the managers were to carry out the requirements. That time had expired, but a considerable number of managers had not yet complied with the requirements even as modified by the Board of Education. Being advised that it was contrary to the Act of 1902 to maintain a school of which the managers declined to comply with the reasonable requirements of the local education authority, the county council gave notice that after July 31st, unless the requirements had been complied with, they would cease to maintain the schools. They had no other course open to them, and yet the Board of Education had stepped in and practically told them that if they ceased to maintain the schools they would be put in default. That was not administering the Act of Parliament. It simply meant that all the provisions with regard to structural requirements and repairs were thrown into the measure to secure its passage through the House of Commons, that they were never intended to be carried out, and that the only part of the Act which was meant to be enforced was that providing for the maintenance of these schools. Then in a correspondence the Department had tried to mislead the public by introducing all sorts of matters which had no basis in fact. They said that their decision in May, 1904, was not a hard and fast decision intended to be carried out, but simply a general indication of the lines upon which they thought the managers ought to proceed. Then they began to say that the requirements were unreasonable, that the maintenance of schools could not be refused because a path was not properly gravelled, or because a door opened in one direction instead of another. There were no such cases in the whole of the county, and the writer of the letter knew it perfectly well; they were introduced simply to prejudice the decision of the local education authority, who were face to face with the dilemma that if they carried out Section 7 of the Act of 1902 they would be put into default under the Act of 1904.

Part of the complaint of the Board of Education against the county councils was that they withheld payments which were overdue. Would it be believed that the Board of Education had adopted exactly the same course with regard to the education authorities? In the case of Merionethshire they had not paid the aid grants yet, although the education authority should have received by this time a substantial instalment. Upon what principles did the Secretary to the Board of Education found his complaint when he himself in January last withheld payments from the education authorities?

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON: I have withheld no payments except in due course of law under the Defaulting Authorities Act.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said the regulation of March 9th, 1904, laid down that the aid grant should be paid in two portions, one instalment early in the year at 4s. per head of the average attendance and the balance early in the second half of the financial year. Neither of those two instalments had been paid.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON said that aid grants were paid in advance for the average attendance in schools maintained during the year. The Treasury allowed them to pay that money in advance, but the Board of Education would not be acting fairly if they paid the money where they had reason to believe that the local authority was not going to maintain the schools. The moment the Board of Education got an assurance that the schools would be maintained they would send the money.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said the Board of Education under the Treasury Minute was supposed to pay this money in two instalments. He wished to know if the hon. Baronet could point out a single school in Merionethshire which had not been maintained by the local authority, where the salaries had not been paid, and where all the requirements had not been carried out.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON: Why do they not say that they are going to do that and then they will get the grant.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said that was an extraordinary proposition. Those schools were carrying out the law, and the Board refused to pay what was due unless they gave an assurance that they were going to act as a citizen ought to act.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: Has the hon. Member himself not said from time to time that they ought not to carry out this law?

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Did the hon. Baronet say that he was not going to pay any money to any county which at any time said it would not carry out the law? If so, why did he pay any money at all to Merionethshire or East Ham. The West Riding of Yorkshire also said they would not carry out the Act, and therefore why should he insist in taking this exceptional course in the case of Merionethshire. He supposed it was because it was a small county, and it was just the size of thing the Government liked to hit. Did the hon. Baronet say that he would pay no money unless the local education authority gave assurances which he had no right to ask from them.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON: All money earned will be paid, but we are not obliged to pay, and we ought not to pay, money in advance to authorities which have from time to time refused to carry out the law.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said that Merionethshire was carrying out the law, and the moment it did so payments were withheld. This Act was quite bad enough, but when it was administered in this spirit it was absolutely intolerable. The Board of Education were bringing pressure to bear upon local authorities to improve their schools. If there were insanitary schools he trusted the authorities would be compelled to put them in order. They did not complain, however, of pressure of this kind, and the only stipulation they made was that where the Board of Education made requisitions upon the local authorities they should be made upon the merits of the case and not as a punishment. If better ventilation was required it was all right to demand it, but such a demand should not be made purely to punish them because they were making requisitions upon somebody else. If the hon. Baronet only made such requisitions he would get no complaints; in fact, the more requisitions he made of that kind the more expensive and obnoxious would the system become. In Merionethshire the education authority gave the schools two years to comply with their requisitions, but a great many had not yet been complied with. The hon. Baronet made requisitions at the beginning of this year on Merionethshire and he had withheld the grants from schools there because his requisitions had not been complied with. If he considered two years was sufficient in this case why did he extend only three months indulgence to a council school?

In the case of Merionethshire the hon. Baronet complained that the ventilators were not of the right kind. He might say that those ventilators had been put in with the sanction of the Board of Education three or four years ago, but they had been condemned by the representative of the Board of Education. Later on representations were made as to whether those ventilators would be allowed to be used in other schools; and the Board of Education took two months to consider the matter. A month later they withheld the grants because those ventilators had not been put into the schools, although they had taken two months to consider whether they were the right sort or not. During the last eighteen months £13,000 had been expended upon improving schools in Merionethshire. If that sum were applied to Surrey it would be equivalent to £150,000 spent in improvements and in the enlargement of school accommodation. That sum was equal to £3 per head per child in the council schools, and therefore the charges made by the hon. Baronet could not be brought against Merionethshire. But if those schools were in an insanitary condition whose fault was it? It was entirely the fault of the Board of Education, because the present Government had been administering the Education Acts for the last ten years and they had allowed those schools to get in their present condition.

Take the case of Denbighshire as an illustration of the way in which the law had been administered by the present Government. In 1894 a school was condemned because of inadequate accommodation, and the Board of Education prepared plans for increasing it. The Conservative Government came in in 1895, and said they could not allow the school board to improve the school. The inspector reported year after year, condemning the school on account of the inadequate accommodation. The school board sent the plans back to the Board of Education, which returned them, and at last they gave the real reason, which was that there was a Church school in the district. They wanted to force the children to attend that school. That was in Denbighshire. That school was reported on by the inspector. They never knew it was reported on until this Act came into operation. When they got hold of the report they found that it had been condemned for years by the inspector, and that the Board of Education did nothing. They declined to allow the school board to extend the accommodation of their own school, and they allowed the other school to go on. That was the sort of thing that had gone on. It had gone on for two years under the hon. and learned Baronet. It was only after ten years that the position had become impossible. The children had actually to be taken into the open air and instructed there because there was no room for them in the school. If this was the way the law was administered by the Board of Education, how could they expect the local education authorities in Wales to carry it out? It was their Act of Parliament, and they were bound to administer it fairly and impartially The Board of Education were not there representing the interests of the non-provided schools. They were there to carry out the Act of Parliament, and they ought to do so impartially. The Welsh local education authorities were carrying out the Act against their will. They represented people who hated it and who would take the first opportunity to alter it. The Board of Education having passed this Act should administer it impartially.

What was the position in Wales at the present time? There was an Act of Parliament which was obnoxious to the vast majority of the people and which deprived them of all interest in the schools. Non-conformists formed four-fifths of the population, and most of the spiritual, moral, and social work of the villages was done by them, and yet they were to have only two out of four managers, which practically disfranchised them, and were not allowed to have a single teacher in the schools because they were disqualified by the trust deeds. The bulk of the people who paid the rates out of which the schools were maintained were Nonconformists, and, moreover, these people were those that contributed most largely to the wealth of the district by their labour. It was exceedingly hard, therefore, that these people should not be allowed to take any interest in their schools. Having regard to the peculiar position of Wales, one would have thought that the Government would have shown some consideration for the county councils. An Act of Parliament was imposed upon the people of Wales which was an insult to their faith, and the local education authorities were expected to administer it. Welsh Members were bound to bring these facts before the House, and when the time came they would appeal to the country upon this matter.

SIR JOHN GORST said he had listened to the speech of the hon. Member for Carnarvon with very great regret and sorrow. There were not many opportunities in that House for discussing education, and it was a pity that the discussion that afternoon should be interrupted by a speech of such sectarian bitterness. The special charges which the hon. Member had brought against the Board of Education would no doubt be replied to in due time by the Secretary of the Department. He would only say that it appeared to him that a great many of the accusations appeared to reply to themselves. He did not know that the hon. Baronet would have an arduous task in replying to the parts of the speech which did not reply to themselves. It was perfectly right and constitutional that the hon. Member should attack the Secretary to the Board of Education, but it was quite unusual, and he thought quite un-Parliamentary, to mention by name the permanent Civil servants of the Crown who were not responsible to the House for their acts. [AN HON. MEMBER: But they are.] Their duty was to obey their official chiefs, the President of the Board of Education and the Secretary to the Board of Education. They were not present in that House to defend themselves, and the hon. Baronet was responsible to the House for everything they did and for every letter they sent to a local authority.

He totally disagreed with the hon. Member for Carnarvon when he said that the effect of the Education Act of 1902 was to diminish local interest in education. The whole of his speech showed what an extraordinary amount of interest there was. In the autumn of last year he had the privilege of taking part in a Welsh education meeting at Shrewsbury. It was attended by men of every creed and every political opinion. The whole question of education was discussed in the most businesslike manner, and there was not a word of religious bitterness brought into the case at all. It was a practical meeting which he dared say had produced a great deal of good to education in Wales. He looked upon speeches such as that to which they had just listened as mere transient phenomena which would very soon pass away. The great principle of the Act of 1902 which made the municipalities of this country responsible for education would never be repealed and would never be altered. No doubt changes would be made in the working of the Act in various particulars, but he believed that the religious difficulty which had arisen in Wales and in a few counties in England would be a transient matter and would not affect the lasting good which the Act would effect.

He had given notice of a Motion to reduce the Education Vote by £500,000, but he did not intend to move it. He did want to call attention to the enormous and preventable waste of money in connection with the education of a large number of children who were not fit to receive the instruction which was provided. The theory of the Board of Education seemed to be that when they had provided schools, teachers, and apparatus their business was to teach any children who came, that they had no responsibility for the condition in which these children were, and that they had no obligation even to see that they were in a condition to receive instruction. It seemed to him that it would be a wise and reasonable thing for the Board of Education to take some trouble to see what was the condition of a child when it first came to school. In Germany every child when it first came to school was medically examined. The child's condition was recorded—its weight, its chest measurement; and this medical examination was repeated every year, so that in a Prussian school they had the history of a child's physical progress at school from the time of entering until the day it left. He could not help thinking that there were a good many education authorities in this country who held a medical examination of this kind, more or less. He had been very much surprised when the hon. Baronet told the House that a Committee had been directed to inquire into the various systems practised by the different local authorities in that regard, and he would be very much interested to learn what that Committee had found out. He would be very much interested to know how much the local authorities had done to satisfy themselves as to the physical condition of the children.

He would remind the Committee that in this matter the Board of Education had the most absolute power; in that they could put into the Code the conditions on which the Parliamentary grant was to be paid. Why should not the Board of Education make it a condition of receiving a grant that proper and reasonable attention should be given by the local authorities to the fact whether, when the children came to school, they were in a condition to receive instruction? That was a reasonable condition, because otherwise they spent large sums of money, which the Committee voted, on children who were physically unfit to receive instruction. The Committee should recollect the immense responsibility which rested on the State, on the Board of Education, and on the local authorities on behalf of these children, who were under their daily observation from the time they were five years old till they were fourteen. Medical testimony was unanimous that during that period, if proper care was taken of the children, all the mischief that had been done by malnutrition in early infancy could be retrieved; that if it could be only assured that from five to fourteen years of age the physical condition of the children was adequately cared for, almost all that mischief could be cured. The local education authority and the local sanitary authority had absolute power to ensure that the children were properly treated and cared for during school time; and he was bound to say that the Board of Education had shown an indifference in this matter and that many local authorities had entirely neglected their duty. At Charlottenburg the education authority picked out of the schools all the feeble children during the summer months, put them into an electric tram and carried them into the forest, where there was a special forest school, at which these children were kept during the whole day in the open air. They had play, and meals, and everything which could conduce to the restoration of their physical health. And then they were brought back at night to their own homes. The effect of that was that these children were restored to their families completely cured and well both as regarded their bodies and minds. That could not be done here, because none of the buildings in the forests would answer to the requirements of the Board of Education.

He wished to call attention to the enormous waste of money caused by epidemics. He was told that a large number of schools were closed on account of epidemics, such as measles and smallpox; and while they were so closed, the salaries of the teachers and the rent of the schools went on, while no teaching of any kind was given. There was no provision made in the schools to detect the beginnings of such an epidemic. He thought that instructions should be given to the teachers at the beginning of such an epidemic, to report to the medical officer. The cost of epidemics was one of the greatest sources of expense to the ratepayers, and if there were medical inspection that could be prevented, at the outbreak, by the isolation of the children who were observed by the medical officer to be suffering from the first stages of the disease.

Another point was that a great number of children were totally unfit to receive instruction because they were so overworked out of school hours. In 1899 he told the House of Commons that a great part of the money voted was wasted on that account. Ultimately a joint Home Office and Education Office Committee was appointed to inquire into the matter, and that Committee made a most excellent Report and recommended legislation. But would the Committee believe it, in this Metropolis a local inquiry was going on on the same subject promoted by the Home Office? No by-laws had been made upon the subject by the Home Office or the Education Office, though the London County Council Education Committee had recently made by-laws on the subject.

Another point was that a proper medical examination of the children in school would lead to the stamping out of that dread disease—tuberculosis. All medical authorities were agreed that that was a disease that ought not and need not exist in a civilised community; but the seed-bed of tuberculosis lay in the bodies of these unhappy, ill-nourished children. A proper examination in the schools of children from three to five years of age would discover the symptoms, and the disease could be stamped out. He did not think that the hon. Baronet had laid great stress on the observance of hygienic laws in the schools. The hon. Baronet had referred to the encouragement given in the syllabus to hygienic education; but if they were to make hygiene effective, it must not be taught in the same way as any other special subject, The present object seemed to be to prepare boys and girls to answer questions in examination papers, and there it ended. But what was wanted was to go into the pupils' houses. He wanted to teach young mothers, and to establish a system of visiting such as was established in most German cities and under which competent people went and instructed young mothers in their own homes how to bring up their children.

He had listened with great interest to the statement of the hon. Baronet that local authorities were no longer to be compelled to provide schools for children between three and five years of age. He thought that was a step in the right direction. But he did not think they would be able to get the public generally to give up the right of having their children cared for by the local authorities. And what they would have to do would be, not to abolish infant schools, but to turn them into nurseries where children were not to be taught, but where they were to be amused, cared for, and looked after. They did not want very highly-trained teachers who had studied all the 'ologies and taken a very high degree at training colleges for that purpose, but they wanted a motherly person who was fond of children, and who was a good nurse. He was sorry to say that the Board of Education did not really yet realise what a child was. It was true they had some women inspectors, and he believed they had told the Board a good deal about children they did not know before. Those women inspectors, however, were a very small number compared with the schools, and he hoped they were going to be increased, because he always thought women knew a great deal more about little children than men. He did not think that the Board of Education realised that a child of five years old was only a baby. We were quite singular in beginning education at so early an age. In no country but ours did they begin until the child was six and in some cases seven. If they were going to have little children of five years of age at school, they must treat them as babies; they could not treat them in the same way as older children. Yet he found in the Code of this year—a very important and advanced Code, which gave a great promise of further progress on the part of the Board of Education—the following clause—

> "The necessary recreation interval in the case of infants under five years of age must be fifteen minutes in duration and may be extended to half an hour."

That was very good, and, if he were a teacher, he should certainly make it half an hour. Then they went on to say that in the case of scholars over five years of age the interval must be ten minutes. Therefore, a child of five years of age was treated just like an older child. It had to be in school the whole time the school was going except for ten minutes. He had no hesitation in saying that anybody who knew and watched and studied children would never put such a provision into the Code. Unfortunately, it was in, and being in it must be observed, because the Controller and Auditor-General would disallow grants made for children if it was shown that they had had half an hour's recreation. He hoped inspectors and the authorities would overlook any transgression of that rule. Ten minutes out of a school morning was not enough recreation for a child of five years of age. No artist made his model sit so long as that. An artist's model had ten minutes interval every hour. Surely a child who was kept in one place ought to have not more than twenty-five minutes instruction at a time. In the school at Charlottenburg to which he had referred they had no more than twenty-five minutes instruction at a time. They might have altogether two hours in the course of the day, but not more than twenty-five minutes at one time. He was quite sure, if the Board of Education would consult their inspectors before the next Code was drawn up, they would find this recreation clause would undergo very considerable alteration.

He thought it would be an excellent thing if provision were made, in all the schools, for the children being washed. It was a small matter, but it was a very important matter, and it was very easily done. It could be done in a very cheap and simple manner. There were some schools in which children were washed, but there were a great many in which they were not washed, and he believed, if such a provision were made by the Board of Education, it would cost very little money, and would not only conduce to the health of the children whilst they were at school, but would give them habits of cleanliness which would be of enormous advantage to their health in after life. Nothing was more disagreeable to the world at large than dirty people, and he was quite sure if this regulation were introduced into the elementary schools we should have a race very much cleaner and, therefore, better and healthier. He hoped he had introduced a totally different atmosphere into the debate than was introduced by the Member for Carnarvon, and he hoped in the rest of their discussion they would remember they were all Christians, and that there were a great number of things which would conduce to the health and welfare of the enormous mass of children whom the Board of Education had to instruct, and upon which they could agree.

Mr. BRYCE said he always listened with interest to the speeches of the hon. Member for Cambridge University, for he always spoke with knowledge. But the hon. Member had that day complained of the hon. Member for Carnarvon for his arraignment of the Board of Education, and had implied that it would be better on the one occasion which they had in that House to discuss educational questions if they confined themselves to matters upon which they could agree and offered practical suggestions for improving the educational machinery of the country. They all agreed with that. He was sure all of them would wish to bring all the knowledge and experience that either as legislators or as private citizens they had acquired as regarded the education of the country to the assistance of the Board to make the system complete. But he would ask his right hon. friend who began the sectarian controversy and who introduced the element of antagonism into Wales?

There were one or two topics on which the Parliamentary Secretary had touched to which he desired to refer. One was raised by the right hon. Gentleman just now. What was being done with regard to the Committee which they were promised at the beginning of the session? Nothing had been said by the Secretary to the Board of Education upon that subject. When was the Committee going to report, and would the right hon. Gentleman see his way to give some effect to its recommendations? It seemed to him that what the right hon. Baronet had said about training colleges was far from satisfactory. There was no part of our educational system more unsatisfactory. In 1837 the intention was that training colleges should be established by the Government. That plan was unfortunately abandoned, and sectarian institutions under a quasi-private management were allowed to grow up and were subsidised by the Government. That had turned out a most unsatisfactory method, whether they looked at it from the religious or the educational side. These men ought to be brought up with other young men who were going to be engaged in other occupations. He believed we gave far too much money to sectarian colleges, and he was of opinion that if the Government had undertaken from the first to establish these colleges it would have been more economical. He thought the right way now would be, as he was glad to see the Parliamentary Secretary was doing, to make them as much as possible day institutions. In 1902 a proposal was made to enable local authorities to establish training colleges, and he gathered from what the Parliamentary Secretary had said that that proposal had been carried out to a very small extent. How could they expect that local authorities would spend large sums of money in the establishment of such colleges? That was always a hopeless dream on the part of the Government, and it was pointed out at the time that the Government could not expect local authorities to spend money in that way. But that was only one aspect of the financial side of the question which did not receive the attention it should have done.

Our educational expenditure was growing at an enormous rate. The Parliamentary grant this year exceeded £17,000,000, of which £11,000,000 were spent on elementary education in England and Wales. In addition to that, the sum which this year was to be expended from the rates was roughly estimated at £8,000,000. So that there was £19,000,000 of money, partly Treasury and partly local, spent on elementary education in England and Wales. That was a most stupendous sum, which in his opinion was too large. He would not say it was too large if he was sure that it was all well spent because he believed if it were well spent, it might conduce to the benefit of the country. But he did not think there was anyone interested in education who did believe it was well spent, who did not believe that large economies could be effected, and who did not believe that we were not getting value for our money. There was only one way to see that this money was well spent, and that was the way pointed out by Mr. Robert Lowe many years ago, that there should be some effort made to see what the work was that the grant did. It was too large a subject to go into the details of at the present time, and he merely called attention to it because he thought the time was approaching when they ought to have some real inquiry into the system under which grants were given. A great many grants were given and they ought to be simplified and given on a different system; they ought to be more proportionate to the performance of the schools, and the inspector ought to have some other alternative to that which he at present had, which was, as he believed, that an inspector might either reduce the grant by a shilling a head or else recommend that the school should lose its grant altogether.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON said the Board of Education took a much larger power to reduce the grant. It might fine the school or rather the local authority in respect of an unsatisfactory school.

MR. BRYCE: Is that on the inspector's report.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON: Yes.

MR. BRYCE said he was far from being sure that it was a good thing that the inspector should be an autocrat in a matter of this kind, because unless they found men who were really angels those men were apt to make mistakes in their inspections. A full investigation was required on this matter. Whether that investigation should be by Parliamentary Committee or Royal Commission or by some other body he was not prepared to say, but the matter certainly required more consideration than it had had, and the question should soon be approached in a serious spirit.

One great cause of expense had been referred to by his hon. friend in that part of his speech in which he dwelt on the difficulty arising in the administration of schools from over-centralisation. If everything was done from the centre they could not have those small economies which were so effective. Too much power would be given to the permanent officials, especially to the organising secretary, who would believe he had everything to do, and who would oust all the managers in order to do it. His hon. friend had waxed quite eloquent in pointing out how much the managers might do for a child, and how much the interest the local managers took in the welfare of particular children in a school might do for the children of that school; how much a child might be helped on in life, and how great a stimulus might be given to its progress. But those remarks had not been heard for the first time; they were first heard in 1902, in the shape of counsel given to the Government as to what the inevitable result would be if they persisted in introducing their system of areas far too large and so removing the local authority from close contact with the people. Everything that had been said by his hon. friend that day had been said before, by way of prophecy, and it had come true. In 1902 it was pointed out that if the county was made the local education authority it could not know in many cases what was going on in the county; and that the local education authority would be deprived of local knowledge. Now they heard that their time was taken up in dealing with trivial questions which ought to be left to the managers. But that must be so. If the managers were given such small powers they could not take the initiative, and if they were continually obliged to write letters on these trivial matters to the organising secretary they would not get men of the same organising spirit, because they would not get the chance to do what they wished to do. That was one of the real morals of the Act of 1902, and one of the reforms which would have to be introduced when they again dealt with education would be to give the local authority a more local character and so do away with one of the fatal faults of this unfortunate Act.

Another point in which the Act had fulfilled their predictions was that comparatively little had been done for secondary education. They had been told that the result of the Act would be that elementary and secondary education would be in the same hands, that they would work well together, and that much would be done in the way of secondary and technical instruction. Comparatively little had been done. Far less had been done than the country needed. One of the most pressing needs of the country was secondary as well as technical instruction. That had proceeded with very slow steps, and the Board of Education was not able to do much to stimulate it because the rates were rising and elementary education was absolutely necessary. And while local authorities felt that they were obliged to spend so much on elementary education they were a little chary of dipping into the pockets of the ratepayers for secondary or technical instruction.

What else had they learned from this Act? A phrase used by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister always haunted them. The right hon. Gentleman had said so many times that this was a great educational reform that at last he had come to believe it so far as a Gentleman filled with philosophic doubt could believe anything. They were told that in future years this educational reform would take a high place in the achievements of the Government, but as a fact it had placed upon the local authorities a large amount of work the expense of which they were not able to bear. No one who knew London and other large cities would say that the work was better done now than by the old school boards. As regarded the controversial side, the ink of the Act was hardly dry before the highest prelates of the Church were inviting Nonconformists to meet them in conference to consider how the Act might be amended, so little was finality secured, and thus, ever since, instead of discussing the question from the point of view of the improvement of educational methods, they had been obliged to continue the discussion of sectarian grievances.

Much had been heard about the difficulties in Wales, and the Committee would expect the hon. Baronet to try to prove that the Board had sailed with an even keel and had not made any requirements upon the educational authorities to carry out the law so far as their duties went without at the same time allowing them to see that the non-provided schools also carried out their obligations. In addition to the troubles in Wales there had been thousands of passive resisters in England, and the movement showed no signs of diminution. Great authorities in England, such as the county council in Yorkshire, were associating themselves with the action of Wales, and declaring that they would go to the extreme limit allowed by the law to restrict the mischievous results of the Act. That was the consequence of passing a law which was unwelcome to the Dissenters of England. The Government were warned as to the area they proposed to introduce, the probable loss of local interest, and the enormous additional expenditure that would be entailed, and all that had happened was the natural result of what was a rare occurrence in England, viz., the passing of a Bill against the obvious will and sentiment of the mass of the people. This was notably the case in Wales. Wales was unlike England in many respects, and in none more than in her passion for education and her willingness to spend money on educational purposes. Thus Wales was just a case in which a wise Government would have felt that it was undesirable to do anything that might check education or place the people in antagonism to the educational machinery. Commonsense men would have either passed a separate Bill for Wales or at any rate exempted Wales from the English measure, and so have saved themselves all the trouble which had now come upon the Government. He did not know that there had ever been a better example of the danger of endeavouring to use a majority against the dormant sentiment of the people.

The great deficiency in the political character of the Prime Minister was not only that he had a disregard and almost a contempt for facts in the main, but that he seemed to think that when face to face with some strong popular conviction, all that was necessary was to pour scorn upon that conviction and proceed to treat it as though it were non-existent. What a good time the right hon. Gentleman would have had had he lived in the seventeenth century! What a valuable counsellor he would have been for Charles I. Strafford would not have been more successful in bringing about civil war than the First Lord of the Treasury. But unhappily all these misfortunes had fallen on the innocent head of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, who, he believed, had been the most unwilling agent in pushing through the later portions of the education scheme of the Government, and who would probably be only too glad to deal in a lenient spirit with the Welsh county councils if the Act permitted him to do so. He wished the hon. Baronet well out of the difficulties into which the Government had fallen. All would agree with the right hon. Baronet the Member for Cambridge University that these troubles were only transient and would soon pass away. Welsh Members might take comfort in the fact that they would last no longer than the present Parliament.

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CARSON, Dublin University): And some portion of the next Parliament.

MR. BRYCE said they might last for some portion of the next Parliament, but he hoped for no long portion. There was a general agreement that the present Act could not stand, and that one of the first duties of the new Parliament would be to endeavour to bring about that accord between popular sentiment and the law which ought always to exist. No doubt there would be difficulties, but none greater, he hoped, than the common-sense of the people would overcome. In this matter they relied with some confidence on the commonsense of the English people. He believed they desired to have some kind of religious instruction, to do no injustice to anyone's convictions, and to have a share in the management of their own schools. With these simple principles before them, he did not despair of the new Parliament solving this tangled problem. Therefore, he trusted that they might look forward at no distant date to a cessation of the troubles by which they were now assailed from the sectarian side, and to the devotion of the energies of the House to the bringing of the educational system into full and proper accord with the needs of the country.

MR. CRIPPS (Lancashire, Stretford) said that in one sense every Act of Parliament dealing with great educational questions must be capable of amendment from time to time, but as regarded the main principles of the Act of 1902, he entirely differed from the view of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. He believed not only that that Act was good and right in its inception as a great educational reform, but, considering many of the novel principles and ideas which were introduced, that it had on the whole worked exceedingly well, and had entirely realised the best hopes of its strongest supporters. He entirely denied that the Act, instead of stimulating, had deadened local interest in education. No Act of recent years had done so much to arouse local interest—in some cases amounting to friction—in educational questions.

The account given by the hon. Member for Carnarvon of the friction which had arisen in Wales showed that the interest of the Welsh counties in educational questions had been rendered not less, but more, acute by the Act of 1902. With reference to the speech of the hon. Member, he would only say that if he desired to promote harmony in the working of the educational machinery he could not be congratulated on the methods he had adopted. But the speech had an entirely different object. The hon. Member had never disguised the fact that he wished to bring the Act of 1902 to an end, and his speech to-night was perfectly consistent with that attitude. It was not delivered from a desire to promote educational efficiency, but to do what he could to make the Act work as badly as possible, in order that he might obtain increased support in his attack on the educational policy of the Government. He was not blaming the hon. Member, but at all events he should not talk about any desire to promote harmony between local authorities and the Board of Education, as he must know that the speech was designed to produce the maximum amount of friction between the local and the central authorities.

As to the working of the Act, while he held that the country area was the only possible area for educational efficiency, he agreed that it was always lamentable when the managers did not take any efficient or effective interest in the schools with which they were connected. He agreed that at present local managers were not taking that local interest which under the Act one would have anticipated. He thought the reason—and he knew it was the reason in his county—was that the county council had attempted far too much to centralise its administration. It had attempted to interfere with the coal scuttle and all those minor matters which ought to be left to the managers, with the result that the managers, who probably under other conditions would be the best managers, said that they would not have their time taken up by these petty details being constantly referred to the central authority. Could that be dealt with under the Act? He said it could. He disagreed that there was anything in the Act to prevent the formation of committees. He thought committees ought to be formed in order to decentralise if necessary. If county councils took up a reasonable attitude and left these matters of minor detail and of merely local interest to the local managers, they would have the same local interest as formerly, supplemented by county stimulus, which was of great advantage, at least in agricultural districts, as regarded the pressing forward of the great interests of educational reform. So far from there being any reason why under the Act there should be a lack of local stimulus, he said that if the Act were properly administered it brought that about to a greater extent than could ever have been done under the old conditions.

Everyone in the House surely disliked sectarian animosity, and especially any political and sectarian animosity in connection with education. The difference between them—and he did not want to make any special charge against hon. Gentlemen opposite—was who promoted that sectarian animosity? Speaking on behalf of the Church of England, he said that they had never taken any steps which could properly be considered to be calculated to promote any sectarian animosity in the matter of elementary and national education. This sectarian difficulty never came to the front in local districts on educational matters; it only came to the front when it was made the substratum of political friction, which ought to be kept outside of education altogether, but which did more than any other topic to interfere with what was the real interest to all, viz., the best treatment of the children of the country. The whole history of the case showed that sectarianism in religious education had been brought forward, and deliberately brought forward, for political purposes outside the real educational question altogether.

Undoubtedly the great question as regarded education in the future was the financial aspect, and that was very largely emphasised by what the right hon. Gentleman opposite had said. He said that about £19,000,000 a year was being spent at the present time for our public elementary education, and that of that £19,000,000 about £8,000,000 came from the rates. If £8,000,000 came from the rates, it meant roughly an average rate of between 9d. and 10d., because a penny on the rate produced rather over £1,800,000. Therefore, they had got, in addition to an enormous expenditure of £11,000,000 from the National Exchequer. no less a sum from the rates than something like 9½d. in the £. Why was that? He considered it arose from two causes. First, as regarded a large number of educational matters, they had overlapping authority; they had power given, for instance, to the inspector of the Board of Education, and they had power given to the inspector of local authority. They might have them making different and even inconsistent requirements as regarded school buildings, and, if they were not to have absolute waste—and he thought there was an enormous amount of waste in our educational organisation—they must make each party duly responsible for particular portions of the educational expenditure. Where the county authority was responsible it ought to have control; and where the Board of Education was responsible it ought to have control. While they had two bodies with overlapping authority they got no sense of responsibility whatever as regarded expenditure for educational purposes in many directions, with the fatal result that at the present time a very large proportion of our educational expenditure was, he believed, being entirely and unfortunately wasted.

It was not, however, only the way money was spent, but also the way in which money was raised; they had overlapping in the raising of money as well as overlapping in the spending of it, and what they must have sooner or later if they were not to be overwhelmed by expenditure on elementary education was the local rates supplying the local objects, and the central funds supplying those purposes under the control of the central Board. So long as they had money supplied by the central Board and controlled by the local authorities they must have waste, and, in the same way, so long as the localities had to provide expenditure in respect of matters of control by the Board of Education and in respect of which they had no local control they were certain to have waste, and it really must be essential in some early reform of our educational expenditure to draw out carefully what ought to be provided from the National Exchequer and what ought to be provided locally. It must be separated, and what came from the National Exchequer must be supervised by the Board of Education much more effectually than now, and what was provided locally must be supervised by the local authority, which would have full responsibility for that expenditure. It was a most faulty system, and especially in our educational administration at the present time, to allow the Board of Education to put any kind of expenditure upon the ratepayers, the ratepayers not being liable to the Board or responsible or in touch with the Board. They therefore had one body saying what was to be spent and another body finding the money. He said frankly that he despaired of any reform whatever until the matter was taken in hand and dealt with on principle from top to bottom. They had no guarantee in the future that the expenditure might not be more oppressive than it had been in the past, and if they made it too oppressive they would create a reaction which would tell very heavily, perhaps for some period of time, against the whole education system of this country. Although they had speeches on general theory and general principle, if these speeches were not to have practical application they were of no use whatever.

As to training colleges, was it conceivable that they could have any proper system under present conditions? Could they have no proper solution of one of the great questions of education, namely, the proper supply of teachers? Of course it was a national matter, and nothing but a national matter, to provide an efficient body of teachers for our elementary education system trained in proper colleges by the State. Until that was done he did not think it was any good for the representative of the Board of Education in that House to come down and give certain figures as to the increase of the training colleges. That was not going to the root of the matter at all. The difficulty was a financial one, and in order that the people should find the money they must convince them that the burden was placed on the right shoulders. Being a national burden the rates ought not to be called upon at all. How could they expect one county to provide a college when the teacher trained there might be employed in another county.

He agreed entirely with what the hon. Baronet said in regard to higher elementary schools. He wished to emphasise it because of its importance in agricultural districts where they could not have a proper system of secondary education. In the poorer rural districts it was extremely important that they should provide some system to take the place of the higher elementary schools. There was only one matter which he did not quite appreciate, and he wished an Answer on the point. Did the hon. Baronet mean that he would find himself in a position to have a greater number of these schools by reducing them to less efficiency than they were in at the present moment. He said he would alter the character of the schools. He gathered from that that the hon. Baronet meant decreasing their efficiency.

The only suggestion of economy made by the hon. Gentleman was one in which he entirely concurred. There could not be more wasteful expenditure than the providing of an expensive school system for children who were not capable of profiting by that education owing to their very early age. He entirely concurred in the statement that children between three and five years of age ought not to go to the elementary schools at all. They were spending vast sums of money on the education of children between three and six years of age, and they were making them less efficient than if they had commenced their education at the latter age. How long were they going to allow this to go on? This was not a theoretical matter. How could anyone justify the spending of money in order to cause deterioration in the ultimate condition of the people of this country? That was what was stated on the face of the code. It was not that they did no harm, but it was that they did a great deal of harm, and did it at a great deal of expense. That was not only wasteful but deleterious, and it ought to be brought to an end at the earliest possible moment. Parents, they knew, liked to get rid of the children at an early age, but if that was so let *crèches* be provided for the children so that that they could have places to play in, and that, when the educational age did arrive, they might be able to take advantage of the system which the nation provided. How long were they to talk theoretically, and yet allow a matter of this kind to be a blot on our education system? In connection with this change the hon. Baronet said there was a saving of £850,000. He should have thought that the saving would have been very much greater. He was entirely against dealing with children at a time when it did more harm than good. He understood that it was by saving on that expenditure that the hon. Baronet thought he might assist the necessitous districts. He did not believe that any substantial benefit would be given to the necessitous districts under the hon. Baronet's scheme. He believed the remedy from that source would be absolutely fallacious with regard to the poorer necessitous districts which were at present so oppressed. As to the working of the Act of 1902, he entirely differed from the views expressed on the Opposition side of the House. He believed the Act was working admirably.

*Dr. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.) said he found himself in agreement with what was stated by the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down in regard to the local financial burden in connection with education. That part of the general statement of the Parliamentary Secretary which had reference to the cost of education was by far the most important part of it. The burden of education at the present time represented a very acute problem, and it was becoming much more acute. Unless they went very carefully indeed the burden was so heavy on localities that they would create a dangerous reaction against education.

What was the position before the passing of the Act of 1902, in regard to the question of local finance? There was no local rate at all in the case of eight county boroughs, in the case of about a fourth of the municipal boroughs and urban districts, and in about a third of the rural parishes. The mean rate in the places in which there were rates was 12·2d in the £1 in England, and 13·5d. in Wales. The Act had revolutionised all that. All the hitherto non-rated areas now found that they had a rate for education imposed on them for the first time. In the administrative counties the result had been to equalise very largely the local burden for education, because they brought under contribution areas which had never contributed at all in the past. They had equalised so that they had to pay 6d. or 7½d. for an education rate all over the county, whereas before they only paid in a third of the county nothing at all, and in the other two-thirds from a half-penny to 2s. 6d. In the urban areas under the Act of 1902 there had been a uniform increase in the charge for local education. That was acutely true, especially in the rapidly growing areas where there was a large industrial population and a low rateable value. In East Ham the rate immediately prior to the Act of 1902 was 17·8d. in the £1; it was now 34d.; in Edmonton it was 21·7d. before the Act, now it was 36d.; in Halifax it was, before the Act, 18·8d., now it was 25d.; in Norwich it was, before the Act, 17·5d., now it was 25d.; in Walthamstow it was, before the Act, 22·3d., now it was 29d.; in West Ham it was, before the Act, 28·74d. and now it was 35d. The direct effect on these industrial areas was enormously to increase the rate. What was wanted was a thoroughly scientific inquiry into the incidence of the local burden on account of education. They wanted to ascertain the proper proportion which should be borne by the Imperial Exchequer and by the local ratepayers. What was wanted was that a largely increased proportion of the whole amount of the burden should be borne by the Imperial Exchequer and less by the local authority. They wanted to bear in mind one vital factor in this scientific inquiry as to the cost of the burden of education, and that was as to the relationship between the proceeds from the rateable value and the number of the working class children to be educated.

Let him give a few examples of the wide diversity which existed at the present time. In the urban district of Beckenham the 1d. in the £1 produced per child in average attendance 8s., while in Edmonton it produced only 1s. 6d. per child, and yet the system of giving Exchequer relief in these two areas was absolutely identical. Now, examine the education rate; at Beckenham it amounted to 8½d., and in Edmonton it was 3s. Take East Ham, 1d. in the £1 brought in 1s. 10d. per child, and in Ealing 7s. 9d. per child. The direct result was that in East Ham the education rate was 2s. 10d. in the £1, and in Ealing 7d. He would take two instances from the provinces. At Bournemouth 1d. in the £1 produced 7s. per child and the rate amounted to 4¾d.; while at Gateshead 1d. in the £1 produced 1s. 7d. per child and the rate was 1s. 9d. It was on account of that great diversity that he asked that there should be a scientific, financial inquiry as to the incidence of the burden of the education rate, and the true proportion which ought to be borne by the Imperial Exchequer and the local authority.

It was true that by way of immediate relief the children under five were to be excluded from the schools if the local authority desired it. He entirely disagreed with that suggestion, although he admitted there was a lot to be said on both sides, especially in relation to the slums of our great cities, unless due provision was made for municipal *crèches*. He contemplated with quite other than equanimity the putting out of these infants into the gutter or the alternative of their being burned to death in their own wretched homes. What he wanted was infant schools for the care of these poor children. If money was to be saved by this process, it should, of course, go to the necessitous areas. That was a difficult problem, no doubt, but it ought to be faced. Take the case of East Ham, which had been brought before the House already, when the Government did give, in some form or other, a pledge to mitigate the enormous amount of the education rate in that borough. There they had got 2,000 children under five years of age; 3,000 between five and seven; and 16,000 over seven years of age. What were they going to do in that case? East Ham would lose 17s. on the 2,000, which was equal to £1,700. But it cost more to educate these infants than the government grant realised. So if they were all turned out the generous estimate of the net gain on that loss, so to speak, would be £400. Then they gained on the children between five and seven years of age at 7s. per child a total amounting to £1,000, and they gained on the 16,000 children over seven years of age £1,600. That was at the very outside. The total gain then would be about £3,000.

£3,000 a year in East Ham was really 1½d. in the £. The East Ham rate at the present time was 34d., so that the relief the Government was offering East Ham would reduce their rate from 34d. to 32½d. The right hon. Baronet called it a very mild palliative; he should call it something stronger. He wanted to hear what East Ham would say about it, and he hoped his hon. friend the Member for North West Ham, who had taken a lively interest in this, would give them his views. He thought the right hon. Baronet might have excogitated something better than this; they had £80,000 to play with, and they used it indiscriminately. Here was a sum which they were to use for the special purpose of assisting necessitous areas, and they took this little pittance and scattered it right and left everywhere. Why did they want to spend it in a 9d. agricultural area or a 4¾d. urban area when they had got areas where the rates reached 3s.? All the sum ought to be spent exclusively and entirely upon those necessitous areas. He could well understand that East Ham, West Ham, Walthamstow, and Leytonstone would be angry with the Government, especially after the pledges they had received in the matter.

There was one other matter with which he was bound to deal, and in connection with which he personally had received some little disillusionment. When the Bill of 1902 was before the House he ventured to move, on October 28th, an Amendment that it should not be lawful for any body of managers to make it a condition of appointment in the case of any teacher that the said teacher should undertake to perform or to abstain from performing any duties outside the ordinary school hours or unconnected with the ordinary work of the school. He did not desire that a teacher who consented and wished to play the organ and conduct the choir should not be at liberty to do so, but he desired that it should not be made a condition of his employment. The Committee, he thought he might fairly say, was on October 28th, 1902, entirely with him. The House agreed that his proposition was a fair one, but it was pointed out to him that it was undesirable to put it in the Bill, and he agreed that perhaps that was the right view. The Parliamentary Secretary and the Prime Minister undertook that the matter should be dealt with in the Education Code, and thereafter the following was put in the Code and was there now—

> "The teacher should not be required to perform any duties except such as are connected with the work of the school or to abstain outside the school hours from any occupations which do not interfere with the due performance of his duties as teacher of a public elementary school."

He was profoundly disappointed and even disgusted with the serious breach of faith, as he thought, on the part of the Department and the Parliamentary Secretary in regard to the non-fulfilment of the pledge set out in the Code that the teacher should be free to take or leave those duties as seemed desirable to him. It was really a breach of faith with the House of Commons. He had called the attention of the Parliamentary Secretary to a letter from the Rev. James Payton, of Hopton Wafers Church School, Cleobury Mortimer, of February, 9th, 1904. It was to a teacher applying for a post, and the following was an extract from it—

> "Your application is being considered by the managers. In regard to music, may I ask if you know anything of the organ. The present master has played ours, and for that, and looking after the lamps, receives a small annual payment of about £4. This would be open to his successor. Of course this is a private matter and is no condition of the appointment."

It was all very well to say that, but the applicant would say that, if it was essential and he could not do it, he would not get the post. He had put a Question to the Parliamentary Secretary and the following was his Answer—

> "I have seen the contents of the letter to which the hon. Member refers; it is a letter of inquiry addressed by one of six managers to a candidate for a teacher's place, as to whether he can play the organ, and contains some information as to work done by the retiring teacher outside the duties of his post. There is nothing in the letter to suggest that the undertaking of this work was a condition of appointment—indeed, the exact contrary was stated—

or that the manager who wrote the letter addressed this inquiry on behalf of his five colleagues."

The Parliamentary Secretary was too simple for this world, or he would have known that that reply was a distinct encouragement to managers to put those conditions in. That reply was followed immediately by all sorts of other advertisements of a similar kind. He would read one or two examples—

> "East Stoke School, Dorset.—Wanted Head Mistress at Christmas for Church school, one who could play the organ sometimes preferred."

He would take Oxford next—

> "Stratton, Audley, Bicester, Oxon.—Wanted the Head Teacher, or a member of his family, to undertake the duties of organist in Parish Church on separate terms."

Let him take Devonshire—

> "Wanted, Headmaster; harmonium, Church, extra. Choral service."

He would go to North Riding. There there was a gentleman, Mr. Chambers, of Brompton Vicarage, Yorkshire, who wrote—

> "I have to thank you for your application. We should give preference to any candidate both able and willing to give their help on Sunday with a small organ in church, and to teach the choir (mostly the day-school boys) hymns, etc. It is my unpleasant duty to say that we have one or two applicants who seem likely to suit us, and who are both able and willing to take the organ."

He enclosed a circular and he said it was prepared for candidates for the curacy, and—

> "Will give you an idea whether you will be able to co-operate loyally with me. If you think not, you had much better say so at once. We have no use for a bigot or a Protestant."

He would take another case from Wiltshire, viz., Stapleford—

> "If applying, please send the following particulars with your application form: Are you a communicant of the Church of England? Musical—able to play any instrument? If appointed, can you assist in the Sunday school? I hold two parishes, and the teachers in each take the Sunday school duties. The locality is healthy. Water supply good."

This great Act, which he believed would put a stop to all this, had been used in such a way as practically to continue these applications, and he was a little ashamed that the Parliamentary Secretary, in view of his pledges to the House, had not put his foot down more strongly and stated that these things should not be done, and that the school should be struck off the grant list if they were done. The point he was making was that the Department had not done what it ought to have done. He thought they had agreed to pay the teachers for teaching and that if they wished to have their Sundays to themselves the Board of Education could secure that. But the Board did not seem to have done much in that direction. He had been simple enough when the Act was in Committee to trust to the hon. Baronet's promises that these things should be put in the Code, when he should have insisted on having them in the Act itself and not have trusted to the subterranean methods of the Department. He hoped the Committee would insist that the Parliamentary Secretary should assure them that he would be more firm in the future than he had been in the past in insisting on the spirit as well as the letter of the law, and that he would give the teachers the freedom to do what they pleased in their private time.

*SIR FRANCIS POWELL (Wigan) said he altogether agreed with the remarks made by previous speakers as to the enormous expense of elementary education. The sum expended had been arrived at, not by policy, nor by foresight, but by a series of accidents. Different changes had been made in the Code with the desire of extending and improving education, and the expenditure had been in favour not of economy but extravagance. While any sum spent on elementary education beyond the amount necessary was really mischievous, secondary education was being starved, and nothing better could be done for education than to transfer a considerable sum from elementary to secondary education. The stipends of the highly qualified gentlemen who were now taking part in the instruction in secondary schools were such as to be most injurious to those institutions. These young men who had distinguished themselves at college, and taken high degrees, received a salary quite unequal to their deserts, and their prospects for the future were not such as anyone could desire.

The right hon. Member had spoken of the Act of 1902 as having broken down owing to the size of the areas. He himself could see no reason whatever why power should not have been given to sub-divide some of the large areas. The area of the West Riding of Yorkshire was no doubt enormous, and the difficulty in dealing with that vast area was increased by the fact that it was not uniform. It was broken territory, and it was interfered with by county boroughs which had powers of their own quite independent of the local authority. But a large area was not necessarily unworkable, because in the adjoining county of Lancashire they had a similar area in which there was no discord; where there was entire union and complete harmony. This arose not from the constitution of the district but from the temper and tone of the population. He concurred with what had been said by several Members who had preceded him as to undue centralisation. He believed that decentralisation was necessary, because the central authority was overburdened with a multiplicity of detail with which it was unable to deal, and, on the other hand, the managers had not that freedom of action which was absolutely necessary for the sake of the schools themselves. Managers on the spot knew much better than people at a distance what were the real needs of a school, and if they had to confine their energies to filling up forms, analysing abstracts, and producing reports, they might cease to take that interest in the local school which was essential if that school was to form a valuable educational centre.

The question of the training of teachers could not remain in its present position. When the time came for dealing with the colleges, regard would have to be had to those in existence; to secularise colleges which had been erected by different religious denominations would be an act of injustice, and would inflict an injury upon the cause, not only of religious education, but of education generally. Any such attempt would lead to bitterness and controversy, and could not fail to be most prejudicial to the cause of education. One difficulty was in connection with the training in day-training colleges. In such colleges as the University of Leeds or of Manchester the student had not only to learn his business as a teacher, but also to pursue the general branches of literature and science taught at the college, thus having double duties to perform. The same difficulty had been experienced abroad. He heartily welcomed the changes in the Code this year with reference to the training of teachers. One of the greatest difficulties in connection with the subject was the wastage of teachers. Teachers were educated at vast expense, and then after a few years they frequently left the profession and took up other careers, which was hardly in accordance with the promises they had given. Another great difficulty was the uncertainty that existed as to the scene of their future activities. Yorkshire or Lancashire could hardly be expected to found magnificent and liberally-equipped institutions when they had no guarantee that the students trained therein would remain in their respective counties. That was the fatal objection to the system of purely provincial colleges. He believed that the only method of dealing with the problem was by making the training of teachers a national charge and placing the training colleges under national management. The pupil-teacher difficulty, which was intimately connected with the training of teachers, would, he believed, tend to become even more acute in future years, as there was an increasing reluctance on the part of many young men to become pupil-teachers.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

PIER AND HARBOUR PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 1) BILL [LORDS].

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment proposed on Consideration of the Bill, as amended [27th July].

Which Amendment was—

"In page 14, line 1, to leave out to the end of schedule (Tralee and Fenit Pier and Harbour Order.)—(*Mr. Butcher.*)

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out to the word 'time' in page 16, line 6, stand part of the Bill."

Question put, and negatived.

Bill to be read the third time To-morrow.

SUPPLY [18TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. GRANT LAWSON (Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1905-6.

CLASS IV.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,652,548, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Board of Education and of the various Establishments connected therewith, including sundry Grants in Aid."

*SIR **FRANCIS POWELL**, continuing his speech, said when the Committee adjourned he was dealing with the question of the pupil-teachers. When he read the words "pupil-teachers" in his notes he was reminded of the warm sympathy with which his old friend Mr. Forster regarded these boys and girls, and how he had always looked forward to the time when they would enter on their career under happier circumstances. That time had come, and all felt great satisfaction at the fact that their labour would be less arduous and that their prospects were more hopeful. They had had exactly the same difficulty with regard to the pupil-teachers as that which had occurred in the case of the day-training colleges. They had to carry on, on the one hand, special training, and on the other they had to have regard to the general culture of the teacher, as without technical knowledge he would fail in teaching, and without general information and culture he would fail no less lamentably from a different cause. As regards general culture, the attention of educationists would no doubt from time to time have to be turned to that difficult problem. He was not certain that some of those engaged in training colleges did not exaggerate the importance of technical training.

Coming to the question of children under the age of five years, he said that historically the addition to the schools for the accommodation of children under five years of age was not voluntary on the part of the localities but forced upon them by successive Governments. This was one of those questions in which the Administration would have done wisely to pay attention to local opinion rather than their own views. In dealing with this question of infants between the ages of three and five years, they were confronted with two facts which could not be ignored. The children were there, and the schools were there, and it would be quite impossible to leave these young creatures on the streets to take their chance. Whether the institution was called a *crèche*, a nursery, or a school, these institutions must exist. The children must receive due attention, and expense must be devoted to their welfare. He believed from many visits he had paid to schools that many of these baby rooms were nothing more than nurseries. Upon the last occasion he visited such a department he asked the teacher what they did, and her answer was "we mostly play." That was, he believed, a literally true and accurate account of what took place in these baby rooms. It was important that great attention should be paid to the health of these young creatures, but the Committee must not be oblivious to the fact that these babies had mental faculties which might develop somewhat more rapidly than many believed.

He congratulated the Government on the simplicity of the new Code. All the parents had an interest in the

Code adopted in the elementary schools, and such was now the composition of the Code that everybody could understand what it contained, and would know what was going on as regarded the children. The system of endowed schools had undergone a great change in the last few years. The endowed schools were now regarded as part of the great educational system of the country and no longer treated as separate compartments. This was a subject on which the Government must congratulate themselves. By the present action of the Board of Education as regards these schools they were between two forces. On the one hand, they had those who desired technical education and on the other those who confined their attention, perhaps unduly, to the classical side of education. The education of this country ought to embrace both. The mere classical scholar was apt to become a narrow pedant, as was also the mere man of science. What was desired was a combination of both sides.

He rejoiced in the new rules respecting buildings; they were more elastic than formerly and they were more to the advantage of education. He believed that when they had had regard to the proper amount of cubic space and the sanitary conditions and ventilation generally they had reached the end of their necessities and that when they went beyond that they injured the cause they were desirous of promoting and wasted money.

He believed that solid progress was being made under the Act, although there were some who did not regard the operation of the Act as he did. But each must be guided by his own experience, and his experience had been a happy one. No doubt there were difficulties and struggles and antagonism, but he believed those difficulties would pass away and that the more interested people were in the progress of education the less inclined they would be to enter into those quarrels, some of which were so trifling that it was difficult—except to a heated imagination—to recognise their existence. He hoped they would be able to concentrate their whole attention on the education of the people of the country, but he could not see any hope of a solution of the educational problem if they were to restrict themselves to a system of secular education. He was perfectly convinced that secular education was odious to the mind of this country, and that peace and harmony would never be secured by such a system. He believed one result of the Act of 1902 had been to create in the country a wider and more intelligent interest in education, and that in years to come the citizens of this country would enter on their various duties with minds much better prepared than those of their predecessors. They would be better acquainted with the noble literature of their own tongue, and would be more familiar than at present with the history of that land of which they ought to be proud to be citizens. He believed that in the future all difficulties would be removed and this very perplexing problem solved. Of course they could not foretell the future, but he felt sanguine in regard to it; and of this he was perfectly certain, that peace would never come upon the educational world by the abolition of an Act of Parliament or by the fall of one Government.

SIR ALFRED THOMAS (Glamorganshire, E.) said that if the hon. Baronet who had just sat down felt any difficulty with regard to the future of the training colleges in reference to religion he would recommend him to take a leaf out of the book of Wales. In Wales they had no difficulty with regard to that question. They had settled it, and settled it in a way that was entirely satisfactory to all. They had been denounced as reckless agitators and as having but one object in life, which was to excite their fellow-countrymen into rebellion. It might be news to some of the supporters of the Government to be told that, speaking for colleagues with whom he was associated, he could say that for the past two years they had been the restraining force that had kept several Welsh counties from open revolt. Also it was but scant justice to say that his hon. friend the Member for the Carnarvon Boroughs had done all in his power to find some means to bridge over the gulf that now divided the friends of provided and non-provided schools. In fact, they at one time thought he had succeeded, and he would have done, had the other Bishops and clergy been as wise in their generation as the prelate of St. Asaph. So anxious was the Member for Carnarvon to meet the scruples of Churchmen that he was prepared to go further in that direction than the majority of Free Churchmen desired. Though he himself would not have volunteered to offer the terms presented by his hon. friend, yet he would have had no hesitation in affirming that so wishful were the Nonconformists of Wales to terminate the strife that they would have faithfully and loyally carried out the St. Asaph concordat. But as those terms were rejected by the other Bishops and clergy he was now quite certain that if approached by these gentlemen who refused the concordat to come to terms on the basis of the draft agreement the Free Churchmen of Wales would refuse even to discuss the question. The Church people had lost a golden opportunity, one that would never recur again, and it was only fair to say that the great majority of Nonconformists were not sorry that such was the case. But let it not be forgotten, in all the bitterness that might yet arise, that the friends of sectarian education were given the opportunity of securing a system of religious instruction which was approved by the ablest leader of the Church in Wales, and that they had not the good sense to take advantage of the concession.

The Government were warned time after time what would be the result of that measure, a piece of legislation enacted in defiance of the expressed disapprobation of the people. He had no hesitation in saying that no measure enacted in face of so much opposition ever received more lenient treatment than the Education Act of 1902. If they wanted proof of that they had it in the statesmanlike letter of Mr. Mansel Franklyn to the Board of Education. That document showed how anxious the county council of Glamorgan were to give managers of non-provided schools ample time to comply with the requirements of sanitary regulations. It also showed the partiality of the Board of Education in encouraging non-provided schools to evade the requirements of the county surveyor. Indeed, if the Board of Education were as anxious to smooth the path of the Act as they had been to pile up obstacles and difficulties, even the Act as it stood might have been workable. Whether it was the wish of the Board that such should be the case it was not for him to say, but if we were to judge by the action of the Board, the last thing they desired was the peaceful and satisfactory administration of the Act in the Welsh counties. They especially desired to draw the attention of English Members to the demeanour of Mr. Mansel Franklyn, for in him they would see how a gentleman in a perfectly independent position, who was neither a Nonconformist nor, he believed, a Liberal in politics, viewed the question. When the history of this great strife was written, his name would be placed among the most highly honoured, as one of the boldest and bravest champions of freedom of conscience. They had been blamed for not advising county councils to put the non-provided schools upon the rates. Had those who advocated such a policy seriously thought what would be the result of such a policy? It would result in making four-fifths of the Welsh people passive resisters. Surely they did not wish the Liberal councillors to stultify themselves and their friends and become self-made revolters? No, it had been their wish and ardent desire if possible to repress and not to incite strife. They again said that it was in the power of the Board of Education to so adjust matters as to make it possible to proceed without coming to a dead-lock. If that were the desire of the Board of Education then they might reckon upon the Welsh Members as their allies. But if they were determined to make the Act as odious and distasteful as possible to the Welsh they would find that Welsh Members would not desert their friends but would be with them in fighting the battle of the people. He begged to move a reduction of the Vote by £100.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,652,448, be granted for the said Service."—(*Sir Alfred Thomas.*)

LIEUT.-COLONEL PRYCE-JONES (Montgomery Boroughs) claimed the indulgence of the Committee to reply to some of the points raised by the hon. Member for Carnarvon. He wished to compliment the hon. Member upon his brilliancy in debate and upon possessing a soft and persuasive voice, and he was only sorry that upon this occasion the hon. Member was not advocating a cause more worthy of his great abilities. He could not help thinking that the hon. Member had forgotten that at the present moment there was a Government in power which believed in retaliation. Why should the Board of Education, who represented the Government, not exercise full control over the grants given by the Government? Surely they were entrusted with full powers in regard to the money devoted to educational purposes in all parts of the country. Two-thirds of the money for elementary education came from the National Exchequer, and it was only right that the Board of Education should have full control over that money. Did the hon. Member for Carnarvon believe in using his influence to administer the Act properly? He challenged him on that point.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Of course I am in favour of administering the Act properly, but my notion of what is proper may not be the same as that of the hon. and gallant Member.

LIEUT.-COLONEL PRYCE-JONES said that the non-payment of the salaries of the teachers when they were due was a deliberate evasion of the law and a defiance of that House; it was a defiance of the Act of Parliament passed in the year 1902 for the improvement of education all over the country, and yet by adopting the course they had done the Welsh county councils were now breaking and had actually broken their own contracts with the school teachers in order to further some end which he was quite at a loss to understand. In Montgomeryshire the Act had not been administered as it ought to have been. It might interest the Committee to know what had been done in that county. The education authority there consisted of the whole of the members of the county council, including the aldermen, nine-tenths of whom were gentlemen who voted according to the orders of the Party of which the hon. Member for Carnarvon was the distinguished leader; and besides these there were some twenty co-opted members and most of these also acted under the same orders as the members of the county council; so that the minority were always out-voted and their position was not an enviable one. The minority had loyally abided by the Act, and they had always supported the majority whenever they believed that they were acting in the interests of education, and they had never retaliated in any way. The majority had appointed a number of clerks and sub-clerks to fill the different positions under the education authority, as the fruit of their victory, and it was extremely hard for the minority to find that they had been treated in the way they had been. Some of the most capable educationists in the county were numbered amongst the minority. Only a few weeks ago this authority decided that they would not pay the teachers' salaries although the minority loudly protested against that course being taken.

The hon. Member for Carnarvon had stated that the Act would come to an end when the present Government gave up office. The same thing was said by hon. Gentlemen opposite about the Agricultural Rating Act, but it had been renewed several times since that prediction was made, and he ventured to say that the Education Act would continue in force even after His Majesty's Government had ceased to exist and had given way to a Government which might be better but would probably be much worse than the present Government. [AN HON. MEMBER: That is impossible.] What chance was there of the Education Act being amended in the direction which extreme Nonconformists desired, whatever Government or whatever Party were in power? What chance was there of any Party altering the main principles of the Act of 1902? That Act was passed by the very large majority of 237, and even the Defaulting Act passed subsequently did not cause a single Member of the Front Opposition Bench to speak in opposition to it. The provision made in the Act was the only way in which they could have denominational schools, and, while people insisted upon denominational teaching, such accommodation would have to be provided. As the right hon. Gentleman the late Home Secretary (Mr. Asquith) said on the Second Reading of the 1902 Act—

> "If the denominational schools are taken over, denominational teaching must go on."

How were hon. Members on the opposite side to get over that stile?

The hon. Member for Carnarvon had complained that the Education Act threw the management of education too much into the hands of officials, but in his own county the Party opposite were themselves to blame for this state of things, because instead of allowing the old voluntary managers to remain as in the past, the friends of hon. Members opposite insisted upon appointing district committees in a small county and appointing clerks at good salaries, thus burdening the ratepayers with unnecessary expense. The charges made by the hon. Member against the administration of the Education Act did not appear to him to be well founded. He did not think that the Nonconformists would be any better off after a settlement of this question by the Party that may be returned at the next election, and he was as anxious as anyone that they should have a compromise now which would meet the views of moderate men of all sides. He only wished that the faddists and extremists on both sides would leave this question to others to settle in an amicable spirit. He was extremely obliged to the Committee for the patient hearing they had given him, and he hoped hon. Members would again show their determination to back up law and order and support the Board of Education in their efforts to act fairly and justly to all schools, whether voluntary schools or Board schools.

*SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston) said he had listened to the remarks of the hon. and gallant Member opposite with interest, and he welcomed his statement that in his own county and in the Principality generally he would like moderate counsels to prevail on both sides It ought, however, to be remembered that the present great difficulty had not been brought about by hon. Members sitting on the Opposition side, but was due to the fact that they felt very keenly the extra burden and the injustice of the Act of 1902. He sincerely hoped that the moderate friends of the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite would find some means of reducing that burden and lessening that injustice in order to bring about a condition of affairs which would be more conducive to the welfare of education in the Principality.

The hon. Baronet who introduced this Vote referred to the general work which had been done under the Act of 1902, and, among other things he referred to the increased inspectorate which he had initiated for the purpose of inspecting schools throughout the country. He had made out that there had been a considerable increase in that inspectorate, and they all knew from the figures which had been given that the Education Act of 1902 had been a most expensive piece of legislation. The Act had been brought in mainly for the purpose of saving the voluntary schools, and in carrying out that object a huge burden had been placed upon the ratepayers throughout the Principality and throughout England, and the result had been also to add vastly to the expenses of the Imperial Exchequer. Therefore, from that point of view the Act of 1902 stood condemned. That fact alone was sufficient to condemn the Act, and it would require all the ingenuity of the successors of the present Government to keep the expenditure within due limits, and at the same time maintain the efficiency of education. They could not have a better illustration of the increased expenditure which had been brought about than this enormous increase in the inspectorate in addition to the increase in local expenditure upon officials.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON: I may say that I announced with some satisfaction that it would not be necessary for us to ask for any additional money.

*SIR WALTER FOSTER said they had been looking forward to a reduction of the burdens thrown upon local authorities, and now they had had additional burdens thrown upon them. With regard to the inspection of the schools, where one or two inspectors were considered sufficient in the past under the present system sometimes four inspectors visited the same locality to study the schools, and that must add considerably to the burdens thrown upon the Imperial Exchequer. The hon. Baronet had also referred to female inspectors. That was a very good step, but he did not think it had been carried out to any large extent.

The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University had pointed out that it was essential for the proper administration of the schools, and for other reasons, that there should be some attempt made either locally or Imperially to obtain medical inspection of the scholars. He was afraid that that idea had not been advancing lately under the new Act. Before this Act came into existence there was in various parts of the country a tendency to give medical officers charge of schools for the purpose of inspection, and that was a very salutary step because it aimed at looking after the general well-being of the schools and the scholars. In some parts of the country that tendency had been checked under the new Act. He thought there was not the same tendency to appoint medical officers for schools as there was formerly. He hoped the hon. Baronet would in his official capacity encourage the movement. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University rather prophesied too much when he said that by this means they could stamp out tuberculosis; still they might do much to mitigate the spread of that disease by proper medical inspection.

As to the great question of race deterioration, the only way in which they could find out the true position in which the population stood would be by the study scientifically of the whole of the school population of the United Kingdom. If there were attached to the various schools under that Act a system of inspection by medical officers, a collection of vital statistics would be gradually built up which would show the actual condition of our growing population. If they only took the statistics of recruiting for the Army, they would think that the deterioration was very great, but, on the other hand, scientific bodies which had expressed an opinion on this point said that the evidence was not sufficient to justify many of the alarming statements made as to race deterioration in this country. That question could only be settled satisfactorily by a study of the growing population, and if they had a system similar to that which existed in Prussia and some other countries for the medical inspection of children when they came to school, and once a year during the period of their school life, they would obtain information which would be invaluable for social as well as for scientific purposes, and would once and for all justify or destroy the statements about race deterioration.

When they came to deal with the greater question as to how they should treat the very poorest of the population who came to school under conditions which rendered them unable to benefit by the instruction provided, medical inspection would enable them to separate those children and see that they were properly fed. The question of feeding children was one of the greatest difficulties they had to face. There were on the one side serious social considerations, and on the other side they had to consider the irreparable mischief which might be done to the growing population. He believed that the only way to solve the question was by systematic medical inspection such as existed on the Continent. He believed scores of men might be obtained for a small honorarium who would be at the call of the headmaster or headmistress for the purpose of reporting on the health of the children. In that way they would save ten times the amount which the inspection would cost by preventing the occurrence of epidemics. What happened now? A child was sent to school in accordance with the compulsion placed on the parent. The child had a little sore throat which was looked upon as a trivial matter and yet it might be the origin of a diphtheritic trouble which might cause the school to be shut up and hundreds of pounds lost to the ratepayers. Careful supervision of children in the early stages of disease would prevent many schools being closed from epidemics and many young persons being lost to the country, and sorrow would be prevented in many a humble home. In various parts of the northern districts of Scotland schools had frequently to close on account of the outbreak of disease. If the Secretary to the Board of Education would give heed to the observations of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University he would take a step forward which would be fraught with great good, not only to the educational efficiency of the country, but also to the health and well-being of the scholars.

He congratulated the right hon. Gentleman on the syllabus which had been issued dealing with the subject of hygiene. He was glad that his hon. friends the Members for London University and for Rye had assisted in the preparation of the syllabus. The great feature of such a syllabus should be simplicity. Some of the books of this kind dealt far too elaborately with certain controversial subjects. He did not think that classes on hygiene were likely to do all that some expected. He thought that a wise teacher, properly taught himself, could convey in simple language the principles of the laws by which people should live and maintain their health, and could thus render much more efficient service than could be obtained by having a regular system of instruction in classes for young people.

He would ask the right hon. Gentleman to pause a little before he proceeded too far in excluding the younger children from the schools. He himself did not wish young children taught much under five years of age, but if infant schools were to be done away with they should, in the interest of the poor, find some substitute, in order that the children might be properly disciplined and nourished. Some kind of kindergarten and *crèche* would be an ideal system for the treatment of young children who could not be looked after at home. He was glad that the right hon. Gentleman was taking steps in that direction. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would proceed cautiously and not inflict a hardship on poor people who had hitherto availed themselves of the infant schools.

SIR CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford) said that he was not personally enthusiastic on the subject of education in rural districts, and he was delighted and rather surprised to hear the right hon. Member for Aberdeen denounce the extraordinary and frightful expense of education in those districts. The right hon. Gentleman was an expert on the subject, and he was sure that the Committee would take his words to heart. He welcomed the right hon. Gentleman as a robust and most useful recruit, and he regretted that he had not found salvation when the Bill was introduced three years ago, and that he did not vote against it on every occasion, as he had done himself. He thought the hon. and learned Member for the Stretford Division was right when he said that if the Education Department were not careful of what they were about there would be a reaction. If the hon. and learned Gentleman would go to the eastern counties he would find a considerable reaction already. What they complained of was the extraordinary expense of education to the country. It was £19,000,000, and what had they to show for it? There was something to show for the money which was spent on the Navy and Army, but the only asset they had got in the case of education was the hon. Member for Oxford University, who sat on the Front Bench. That was all very well, but it did not do much good when they came to pay their rates. What they wanted to do in rural districts was to put the whole of the education rate on the shoulders of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He could not understand why people in the agricultural districts should pay for education by direct taxation, and he protested with all the force of which he was capable against the ruinous charges which were put upon them simply to carry out the wishes of faddists or fanatics who thought about nothing but education, and who were only too glad if they could make the cost as much as possible. He regretted that he would not be able to support the Amendment of his hon. friend. He was sent there to support the Government and he was not going to vote against them. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Aberdeen and his hon. friend below the gangway had, he was bound to say, his enthusiastic though somewhat platonic support.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire) said there was no man in the House who understood educational matters better than the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University. The right hon. Gentleman had brought a very important question before the Committee. It had been referred to in the House on different occasions during the past year but they had done nothing at all. The problem how to feed the starving children who came to the schools was one which ought to be faced. The Blue-book contained melancholy reading on this subject. The right hon. Gentleman told him some time ago that such a thing as hungry children going to school in Germany was unknown. It was stated that 10 per cent. of the children attending elementary schools came in a semi-starving condition. It was very difficult to say how the question should be dealt with. He thought it would be necessary to have a regular system of feeding those children. It could be done at a very small cost. He believed it could be done for a penny per meal. He started an experiment in his own parish, and he found that a child could be provided with a wholesome meal for a halfpenny. The children should be medically examined and those who were underfed should be provided with meals. The cost should be levied on the parents in all cases where they were able to pay. It would cost about £1 a year to give one meal to each of those children. No doubt the rates were extremely heavy in many parts of the country, and he was the last man to advocate the throwing away of money, but this was not throwing away money. This was really a necessary expense. Those who had read the Report on physical deterioration must feel the force of what he said. He did not know that a more melancholy Paper had ever been issued to Parliament than that. A large part of the town population was very often utterly underfed. The children received food which they could not digest, and from the earliest age they became feeble rickety creatures unable to earn a living. A great part of the problem of the unemployed and the unemployable arose from that fact. The problem of the slum population would never be solved until they had a compulsory system of continuation schools in this country. The children who now ran wild in the streets should be given a course of technical and industrial education.

Mr. ERNEST GRAY (West Ham, N.) said it was very unfortunate that in the debates on the Estimates it was not possible to concentrate attention on one particular subject and obtain the judgment of the Committee upon it. They had before them most prominently the question of the administration of the Education Act in Wales, but the circumstances were such that they were bound to introduce other topics, and he feared that in the result they would not get a definite decision on any particular question. He was one of those who did not approve of the whole of the work of the Board of Education, but equally he was bound to express his disagreement with the remarks which had fallen from hon. Members opposite with regard to the effect of the Education Act. He ventured to say that the general effect of the measure in England, if not in Wales—and he was in as good a position to judge as hon. Gentlemen opposite—was that it had brought about greater good than he should have dared to hope when it was introduced in 1902. He gave the Board of Education credit for their part of the work which had been accomplished. The teaching staff in the voluntary and the council schools had been increased in number and quality; inadequate apparatus had been thrown aside and modern appliances had been introduced; school buildings had been very materially improved; the health and comfort of the children within the schools, whether council or voluntary schools, had been materially improved; the children were leading better and healthier lives; and the local authorities had been brought into contact with elementary and secondary education in a better way than under the old system. Schemes of scholarships which were utterly impossible under the old school boards had been set forth, the training of teachers had been materially improved, and many young people were going to the secondary schools, and afterwards into the pupil-teachers' centres and training colleges, in a way which was utterly impossible before the Act of 1902.

He admitted that the Board of Education had not been able to do much except in the way of guidance and direction in regard to the secondary schools. The local authorities had accomplished far more for the secondary schools than many hon. Members would have dared to hope for in the stormy months of 1902. Professor Michael Sadler had rendered valuable assistance by going about advising the great local authorities as to the schemes which they should adopt in their several districts for the co-ordination of elementary, secondary, and higher education. They must not be impatient. They must not in the contemplation of the difficulties which had arisen, and which had been largely influenced by sectarian prejudice in Wales, give them undue prominence and lose sight of the great good that was being accomplished in the country. He did not regret that the cost of education had increased, but he regretted most emphatically the present division of that cost as between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the local authorities. He was bound to dissent from the view which had been expressed several times that evening that the Education Act of 1902 had accomplished no good and produced much mischief. He was one of those who looked at the Act, not from the point of view of the voluntary schools, or from the standpoint of a political Party, but simply from the point of view of the children of the next generation, and he could say that the Act had done a great deal of good.

There were one or two phrases in the speech of the Secretary to the Board of Education with which he agreed, viz., those in which the hon. Baronet had drawn attention to the fact that in some districts the new educational authorities were attempting to take the details of educational administration into their own hands, and out of those of the local managers. This constant attention to detail resulted in the loss of primary control. He hoped that the education committees would accept the advice of the Secretary to the Board of Education, and delegate more of their powers to local managers. In this way the committees would be able to devote more attention to working out the larger problems of education, and would obviate the danger of letting the whole control of educational work fall into the hands of permanent officials, than which there could be no greater danger to the cause of education in this country.

His main object in addressing the Committee was to call attention to one special detail in the speech of the Secretary to the Board of Education. Several months ago he had himself endeavoured to bring before the House the serious difficulty under which several districts laboured on account of the utter impossibility of carrying out the Education Act in consequence of the heavy burden that fell on the local rates. The statement of the hon. Baronet in regard to this point was, to his mind, not very clear. So far as he understood the hon. Gentleman, the local authorities were now free to exclude children under five years of age from school. It was admitted that both educationally and from the point of view of public health these children were better excluded, yet the Board of Education went on encouraging their attendance by the grants offered. Was that courageous? Was that safeguarding the future of the children? There was a mass of evidence that the health of children under five years of age was impaired by attendance at school, and the medical profession were unanimous in supporting that view. He himself believed that epidemics amongst young children, which were the cause of so much sorrow, would be lessened or prevented if these very young children were excluded from the public schools. In his judgment, infants of tender years should be taught under the care of trained nurses in a *crèche* where their deficiencies and deformities could be recognised and treated. The Board of Education, with its usual lack of courage and disregard of public opinion, went on paying grants for these children under five years of age. [An HON. MEMBER on the OPPOSITION Benches: And you go on voting for them.] His hon. friend was somewhat too previous, and, as usual, inaccurate. It was unfortunate that this vote could not be taken on that particular issue; otherwise it had been his intention to move a reduction of the Vote as he had done on other occasions without much help from hon. Gentlemen opposite.

As he understood the scheme of the hon. Baronet, these children were to be paid for, but not at the full rate. Was the difference between the lesser grant and the whole grant of 35s. to be devoted to the relief of the heavily-rated districts? A scheme had been worked out which it was calculated would give East Ham the relief of a 1½d. in the £. If the hon. Baronet was prepared to give more, how much would he give? Three pence? He would take the amount as threepence, and that would leave the local authority of East Ham with a rate of 2s. 9d. in the £. He was sure that the local authority would not take that petty relief, and he ventured to prophesy that the Board of Education would have more trouble in this matter in the autumn than over the Welsh schools. There was a growing feeling in the country that the present system was manifestly unjust. He insisted that the proposed scheme was unworthy of the Government; and certainly it was utterly insufficient for the district he represented. He wondered that anybody, knowing what the difficulty was, and how heavily these people were burdened, had the courage to stand up and propose such a paltry scheme. The money would be absolutely frittered away over, instead of being ear-marked to assist, the districts where the need was the greatest. If he could have a clear issue on this question he would record his vote against the Government, and he held that if the districts whose opinion he attempted to voice were represented in the House according to population, the Government would not have dared to propose such a scheme.

***MR. EDWARDS** (Radnor) said he sympathised with the hon. Member who had just spoken in the bitter feeling that he had towards the scheme of the present Government. The hon. Gentleman, like Mr. Snodgrass, had apparently made up his mind to take his coat off. It seemed rather late in the session to have found out what he ought to have done earlier. There had hardly been a speaker on the Ministerial side who had said a good word for the Government in the matter of education. The only exception was the hon. Member for the Montgomery Boroughs, who was one of his own countrymen. He, however, had not had time to belabour the Government because he spent the whole of his speech in belabouring the hon. Member for Carnarvon. In doing that he had quoted a speech by the right hon. Member for East Fife who asked—

"What are we going to do?"

We have only one remedy in this matter. After all, it is a very simple remedy. It is that if you want to give children sectarian religious instruction you should do it at your own charge. The hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Board of Education, in May last, asked how it was possible to have two standards for good repair — one for voluntary schools and one for council schools. To suggest that there was a double standard in Wales was an unjust imputation. The same accusation had been made in his own county. At one of the meetings of the education committee a member said it was reported that a great difference was made by the committee between provided and non-provided schools, and the same sort of statement was used by an hon. and learned Member opposite. His friend said that statement was perfectly untrue as regarded the county he lived in. Of course, his friend was a Radical and Nonconformist, and many people might suppose that his information was rather biassed. But he appealed to the chairman of the building committee, who was a Churchman and Tory, and he confirmed his friend's statement and said it was quite true that they were treating the non-provided schools and the provided schools on their own merits. There was therefore no foundation for the charge of a double standard. He dared say the managers of some of the voluntary schools had found themselves in difficulties, but he thought they had produced their difficulties by their extravagance in spending money which was not their own. In his own county there was a very great increase in expenditure after the appointed day in the first year under the Act. For example, in the matter of books and stationery two years before the appointed day the average expenditure was £427. After the appointed day it rose to £585, an increase of £158. For fuel, lighting, and cleaning the average before the appointed day was £498. That rose to £575 the first year after the appointed day. If the schools were as efficient as they were said to have been before the appointed day, it seemed to him to have been gross extravagance to have increased the expenditure in that way.

The Board of Education were very hard on the Welsh county councils and charged them with law-breaking. In Wales they found the clerical party also charging the Welsh county councils with law-breaking. He desired to speak with respect of the leaders of his Church, but was it wise for them to bring this charge against the Welsh county councils, and to denounce an opposition which was based on conscience? At that very time a Royal Commission was sitting, which had a mass of startling evidence before it of law-breaking on the part of the clergy who, in matters of ritual and doctrine, were breaking—conscientiously, no doubt—but still breaking their legal oaths and solemn pledges. The Nonconformists of Wales were breaking no oaths. The only thing that they avowed was that education which was paid for by the people of the country should be under their control.

With regard to the charge of lawlessness one of the Welsh Bishops, the Bishop of St. David's, had set the seal of his approval on the Welsh Nonconformist policy. The Bishop, on the 30th May, demonstrated that the county of Merioneth, by using the aid grant under Section 10 of the Act of 1902 mainly for non-provided schools, would have been able to maintain all these schools without taking a penny from the rates. The Bishop regarded this manipulation of the aid grant as the "dignified course which would have been worthy of the county's honourable religious record." These were his words about a county which he and his friends denounced as law-breaking when it suited their convenience. The Bishop, so far from questioning the justice of the Nonconformist contention, showed them a more excellent way of carrying out their policy, and after that Episcopal sanction they could no longer be charged with law-breaking. But the Welsh county councils were more scrupulously legal than their opponents in refusing to use the aid grant which was calculated on the average attendance in all schools entirely for one class of schools. The balance of the aid grant which came out of the Imperial Exchequer was, he believed, handed over to the Diocesan Associations. He was told that these Diocesan Association had used that balance for the repair of voluntary schools. What he wanted to point out was that a conscience which saw in the aid grant at one time a means for repairing non-provided schools and at another time a method of carrying on the Welsh policy, whatever else it might be, was certainly not inelastic. The Welsh people were the most law-abiding people in the United Kingdom, and their consciences were sensitive to anything like outrage. In Wales it was a matter of conscience, and he would ask whether English Churchmen were wise in needlessly offending their Welsh brethren, when at no distant date, as they all believed, the Act must and would be amended. Meanwhile, what was happening? The officials at Whitehall, instead of establishing and setting in order a great system of national education, were spending their time in answering architectural conundrums, and in voluminous correspondence about paltry quibbles and straw-splittings. It reminded one of the earlier days of Rugby football when they saw two sides hacking each other fiercely while the ball lay at a distance neglected by both. Was it too late to plead for wiser counsels in the matter of the administration of the Act in Wales? If the controversy went on, probably neither side would get what it wanted. Was there not yet time for the leaders of both sides, by mutual consession, to put an end to the strife? Wales was unanimous and resolute, and it felt acutely and expressed with vigour the growing feeling of all classes of the community about the injustice of the Education Act of 1902.

MR. LOUIS SINCLAIR (Essex, Romford) said that, representing as he did East Ham, he must express regret at the meagre relief which was to be offered to the distressed districts. He remembered well the words used by the Prime Minister as to the extravagance of East Ham in the administration of the Act, and he was fortunate to prove that East Ham was not extravagant, but compared favourably in the matter of economy with any other district, the cost per head being £3 7s. 5d. as compared with £4 1s. 6d. for London. The proposal of the Secretary to the Board of Education to give relief all round was not in conformity with the promise held out to the East Ham Council when it rescinded its resolution. He did not say that a pledge was given to East Ham that the distressed districts should be relieved, but he did say that they were under an impression that relief would be afforded them, and in consequence of that they rescinded their resolution. He would, if he might, point out the great interest and anxiety which existed in East Ham with regard to the matter. It was a supporter of the Government who moved that the council should not administer the Education Act; and on the day in which the resolution of the council was rescinded, he had a long talk with Mr. Effingham begging him to rescind the resolution in order that the hands of the Government might be unfettered. That gentleman took his advice, and the excitement under which he laboured was so great that he died within half-an-hour of having rescinded the resolution. He thought he was doing something which would unfetter the hands of the Government, and which would enable relief to be afforded to that distressed district.

What was the relief? He gathered that instead of 22s. per head, the annual grant, they were to get 24s., 2s. more, and that children from three to five years of age need not attend the elementary schools. That was no relief at all, and the proposal of the Government at this late period of the session would produce throughout the country the deepest disappointment, because they had hoped that the money which they would now save and which would not go to the education of children between three to five years of age would have been allocated, not to districts which were well off and which had only to pay 4d., 5d., or 6d. in rates for educational purposes, but to districts which had to pay, as East Ham would have to pay next year, 3s. to the educational rate, in spite of the relief which had been promised. It would cause the bitterest resentment, and would no doubt be the means of united action on the part of distressed districts in order to see what they could do to force the hands of the Government.

What was it that East Ham and other districts required? They said they did not educate the children for East Ham alone. The burden was cast upon them of educating the children to a certain extent for the whole of the county. Whether they dwelt eventually in London or East Ham they were bound to give them an efficient education, and was it fair for the Government to give money at its disposal to rich towns and boroughs which had voluntary schools, which did not require the dole, and which could do without it thoroughly well, and not give relief to them? Relief was promised in the Act of 1902; it was promised that the relief given to distressed districts would be greater than under the act of 1897. Nothing of the kind had taken place. East Ham, as he could conclusively prove, received less. It only received 10s. 3d. per head now, whereas under the workings of the old Act it received 10s. 6d. per head. Consequently, it was in a worse position than before; it felt that the pledges given to it as a distressed district had not been fulfilled, and that in the hopes raised when the deputation waited upon the Prime Minister they had been disappointed. East Ham in the last few years had grown from 20,000 to 120,000 in population, and they must now look forward, although they had a general rate of 9s. 6d. in the £, to that rate being increased, not only owing to the increase of population, but also on account of the burden cast upon them in the administration of the Education Act. The position of East Ham would become more and more intolerable. When other districts found themselves in the same position, he did not know what their action would be. He remembered that when the council decided to rescind their resolution, they said that they would again decline to administer the Act; and they would do all they possibly could to show how impossible it was for them to bear the enormous burden which would be cast upon them in the future. He thought the opinion was shared by all that the burden of education should not rest upon the district alone, but that it should be borne by the State with a certain contribution from the local authority. He appreciated what the hon. Member for Camberwell had said with regard to the need for a better administration of moneys, and with regard to the equalisation of the State contribution and the local burden. The Government should make good the deficiencies which the local authorities were unable to bear, and until that was done there would be no satisfaction, and the Education Act of 1902 would be a farce.

*MR. LEIF JONES (Westmoreland, Appleby) said there was a good deal of sympathy on their side of the House with the hon. Member who had just spoken and with the hon. Member for West Ham in their disappointment that the Government had not fulfilled the pledge given early in the year, but their sympathy was tempered with the feeling that it was rather late in the day for anyone to be deceived by the promises of the Government. He intended to vote with the Welsh Members, and he desired to express the feeling of continued amazement which filled him when he contemplated the educational position in Wales. After all, the people in England could hardly claim to be regarded as great lovers of education, but if there was one part of the United Kingdom where they really cared for education, it was Wales. The Welsh people had shown it by the sacrifices they had made and were prepared to make for it. Yet they found themselves in a position of declaring war upon that part of the United Kingdom. He sometimes thought the action of the Department must be based upon ignorance, and that the mistakes made in dealing with Wales arose from supposing Wales to be the same as England. Surely a wise Education Minister would have delighted to honour Wales, and so have administered the Act as to deal with a people who loved education in a gentle way, encouraging them in the good course they had hitherto pursued. Instead of that, however, the Government had declared war upon the very people who had cared for education. They had passed through the House, by means of the closure, a Coercion Act for the Welsh authorities, who, after all, were carrying out the will of the people who elected them; and they were trying to compel the Welsh people to accept a system which did violence to their consciences. It was a foolish attempt and was doomed to failure.

He could not say that the speech of the Minister of Education that afternoon was pitched in a very triumphant key. It was very largely an admission of the criticisms made upon the Education Bill when it passed through the House in 1902. Member after Member had pointed to the danger, admitted that day by the Minister, of increasing centralisation, and the displacement of all local management and interest in the carrying on of the schools. He could endorse that from his personal experience as a manager. Authorities were taking more and more into their hands and were depriving managers of practically all functions in connection with the schools, and he thought the right hon. Baronet would have to do something more than implore the education authorities not to destroy local interest, and would have to compel them to leave more to local initiative and management if he wished to prevent the whole educational system from passing into the hands of the officials of those authorities. Centralisation at the present moment went down to the smallest detail, and managers were discouraged from taking any practical interest in the schools. He was not surprised that the managers were not trusted and that local interest was dying out, because the parents of the districts were not allowed to choose the managers. When the school board in a town in his constituency was dispossessed, the chairman and the leading members of the board were ignored, and two people who at the last election had been rejected were placed at the head of the managers. That was the way to kill education in the country. Nothing made up for local interest: no machinery, no equipment, no expenditure would secure an efficient system unless the parents cared about education and were in a position to give effect to their interest in the schools. The Act of 1902 was killing the interest of the localities, and they were not getting full return for their vast expenditure upon education. Unless steps were taken to revive the interest of the localities, there would be more and more to criticise and complain of in the working of the Education Act.

He wished to thank the Minister for his promise that lessons in hygiene and temperance would in future be included in the curriculum of the schools. As an old temperance worker, he would like to congratulate the temperance societies on the work which they had done and which had at last been crowned by the acceptance of their teaching by the Government. The history of the movement was one of extreme interest. The unlearned had taught the learned, and scientific men were taking lessons from men who had no science other than the experience of life. The doctors of to-day were learning the lesson pretty thoroughly. Last year a remarkable petition, signed by nearly 15,000 doctors practising in the United Kingdom, was presented by a deputation, headed by Sir William Broadbent, to Lord Londonderry, asking the Education Department to establish hygiene and temperance teaching in the schools. Lord Londonderry replied that he could do nothing until the Report of the Physical Deterioration Committee had been issued. That Report was a justification, if any were needed, of the statements made by the doctors in their petition, and endorsed their recommendation that all the children in the schools should be trained in hygiene and temperance. The right hon. Baronet talked about exaggeration in some of the syllabuses drawn up in this connection, but he would ask Members not to rule out any statements as extravagant merely because they went beyond their own experience. In this matter the strongest statements had been made by men who knew most about it. He had been engaged in temperance work for twenty years, and his statements on the matter grew stronger year by year the more he knew about the subject. He was therefore not surprised to find that the Committee on Physical Deterioration used strong language, and declared that it was convinced that the consumption of alcoholic stimulants was a most potent and deadly agent of physical deterioration. He did not know whether the right hon. Baronet would call that exaggeration. It was certainly strong enough to satisfy even himself, and he was thankful the Minister was willing to act upon it and introduce this teaching. But they had not seen the syllabus, and he felt some uneasiness lest in his desire to avoid exaggeration the hon. Baronet should have minimised the truth. What they wanted was a course of teaching in hygiene and temperance which would exactly state the present position of the scientific world upon the question. He did not understand why the right hon. Baronet had not consulted the representative committee of doctors which waited upon Lord Londonderry. He regretted that he had not taken counsel with that powerful body, which would, he felt sure, have supplied the Board of Education with a course of teaching which would have been safeguarded from exaggeration by the eminent scientific attainments of the men composing it, and which would have embodied neither more nor less than the truth upon this vital question.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping) said that as a Member for an agricultural constituency, he should like to be allowed to voice the complaint the agricultural districts had. He did not speak as an enemy of education at all, for he had always done his best to assist the Board of Education, and he supported the

Education Act and still had no doubt that their expectations in regard to it would be fulfilled; but he spoke on behalf of farmers unable to understand fine points of education, and he thought he might be able to show that, although they were good friends of education, they did labour under considerable difficulties. Farmers did not and could not understand the extraordinary benefits that would result to them in the long run from education. He had hoped that the present Act would have overcome those difficulties to a certain extent, but the education was no better than it was, and the charge had been very heavily increased. Whatever the result might be in the long run, there was no doubt whatever that at the present time the education rates under which farmers laboured were very heavy and difficult to bear. The hon. Member for Camberwell, with whom he always wished to find all the fault he could, had an unfortunate knack of putting into his speeches something with which he was bound to agree, and the hon. Member had admirably voiced the hope, which he also entertained, that the Government would inquire into the incidence of taxation as between the local and the Imperial contributions. He would not, like his hon. friend behind him, boldly demand that the whole of the burden should be borne by the Imperial Exchequer, but he certainly thought that some proportion, to be determined after proper inquiry, should be so borne, leaving the balance to be provided by the locality as a guarantee that the money would not be wasted. He did not believe that sectarian feeling would ever be eliminated. The main point he desired to press upon the Government was that in the country districts they were suffering under a burden which, while not impossible, was very difficult for them to bear, and that people whom they had persuaded of its value were being made to dislike education by reason of the heavy pecuniary sacrifice they were called upon to make.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON said the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University had dealt with several points, some of which hardly concerned the Board of Education at all. The spread of infectious disease and the employment of children out of school hours concerned rather the Local Government Board and the Home Office than the Board of Education, but in respect of managers looking after the homes of school children, he had always advocated that as the real remedy for some of the evils of which complaint was made. He fully agreed that to the personal influence of the managers on the homes of the children we might look for an amelioration of the condition of the children. As to the feeding and medical inspection of children, he hoped soon that the Committee which had been appointed would make its Report. He believed it would appear that there was more voluntary effort available for the purpose of feeding children than had been supposed; that individuals and small bodies of persons, as well as the known and recognised societies, had provided meals for children without any attempt at organisation; and that if all these resources were brought together we should go a long way to meet the difficulty. As to medical inspection, there was a great deal already going on in the boroughs, though not in the counties. Many of the new local education authorities had medical officers of their own, being sanitary as well as education authorities. They did not appoint medical officers, as the school boards did, for special education purposes, but they used to some extent the officer who belonged to them as sanitary authority for the purposes of the schools. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that he entirely agreed with him that this question of medical inspection was of the utmost importance, and that he hoped for good results from the Report of this Committee. So far as he had anything to do with the matter, he would do his best to promote the medical inspection of children in the schools.

The right hon. Member for Aberdeen had addressed the Committee somewhat as though he were speaking on the Second Reading of a Bill amending the Education Act of 1902. He commented on the shortcomings of the Act, and on the various ways in which it might be bettered, but in one matter he did injustice to the Act as it stood. He said that the managers of the schools had no power, could have no power, and could receive no power such as the managers formerly possessed from the local education authorities. If he looked at the schedule of the Act he would see that the managers could have just as much authority as the local authority chose to give them. They could constitute sub-committees consisting wholly or in part of their own members to deal with any matter that the local education authority chose to entrust to them, so that there would be no difficulty in constituting sub-committees for elementary education throughout an area and entrusting managers with extensive powers which would make them fully capable of attending to the details of the affairs of the elementary schools. As regarded the effect of the Act on secondary schools and the action of local authorities, the right hon. Gentleman complained of it as likely to be of no effect. All he could say was that the number of secondary schools had been trebled in the last three years, and the right hon. Gentleman would have to go back a number of years under the law as it stood before the Act of 1902 to find anything like such an increase. With reference to the fear that by reducing the grant the Board would reduce the efficiency of the higher elementary schools, he might say that they had reduced the grant because they had reduced the excessive requirements which made the schools so expensive that no local authority chose to bring them into existence. They could combine the extension of the teaching in the schools with the technical instruction suited for the requirements of the area at a less cost than was involved by the maintenance of higher elementary schools under the rules of 1900. They had not sacrificed efficiency in any way, although they had been able to reduce the grant.

Some hon. Members had been very severe as to the proposals he had made in regard to the use of the money which might be saved by the exclusion of children under five. He had never suggested that he was offering a remedy for rating inequalities. Those could only be dealt with by a serious effort to alter rating burdens or rateable areas. What he did offer was the employment of money which would be saved by the exclusion of children under five so that no area would lose, and that some areas would substantially gain. The hon. Member for Camberwell and the hon. Member for West Ham seemed to him unduly to minimise the substantial reduction in the burden upon East Ham which would result from this exclusion. They seemed to forget that every child under five was stated by the hon. Member for West Ham to cost the local authority £1 over and above the Parliamentary grant, and that for every child between five and seven and a-half the increase of grant was 7s., and above that age 2s., which meant a substantial addition to the resources of the area. In addition to that, the provision of school accommodation in areas with growing populations was materially affected, and their liabilities considerably diminished by the exclusion of children under five years of age. It was not entirely a settled question whether children of five were better inside or outside of school, though his own inclination was towards the view that they were better outside. To say that the Board of Education had shown a want of courage in leaving it to the local education authorities to determine what was best for their respective areas was an unfair criticism on the Board, and showed some little want of confidence in the local authorities. He believed the division of the grant was a fair division. His critics forgot that if the money saved by withdrawing grants for children under five had been exclusively devoted to the necessitous areas, these rural counties which had nothing to gain by his exclusion of these children and much to lose by the withdrawal of the grant, would have suffered heavily. At any rate the Department had done the best it could with the money at its disposal, not for the relief of rating inequalities, but for educational purposes.

He deeply regretted that the hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs should have introduced in terms of reproach the names of permanent officers unable to defend themselves. Such action was unusual and uncalled for, and he believed it would be deprecated by most Members of the House. For every word spoken, every letter written, and every act done by those gentlemen he personally was responsible, and he was glad of the opportunity of paying a just tribute to the eminent merits of the officials concerned with whom he was proud to act in the work of his Department. The hon. Member also thought fit to say that he had made a series of deliberately false statements.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I must correct that. If I said that the hon. Member made a deliberately false statement the Chairman would certainly have called upon me to withdraw. I distinctly said that I did not charge the hon. Member with making deliberately false statements. What I said was that he repeated statements that were false, which is a very different thing.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON said he understood the hon. Member to use the word "deliberate," but he gladly accepted his assurance that that was not so. With regard to Denbighshire, although he had made a blunder in the mode of expression, as he admitted to the Denbighshire County Council, in substance and spirit what he said was strictly true. In March the county council wrote to all the voluntary schools requiring them to carry out the improvements demanded by the inspector by April 1st. In February and March the Board of Education wrote to the county council asking them to carry out certain improvements and repairs in the council schools, but they were met time after time with the statement that these matters must be referred to the county surveyor, who would not enter upon his duties until the beginning of April. He submitted, therefore, that he was right in saying that different standards were established for the council and for the voluntary schools. He was glad to say the county council withdrew those demands upon the voluntary schools and gave them a reasonable time to carry out the improvements required.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.) asked whether the hon. Baronet was aware of the time that elapsed between the service of the first notice with regard to the repairs and the 1st of March to which he referred.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON was understood to say that the voluntary schools received no formal notice of the requirements before March 1st.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS: That is not accurate.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON, passing to the Pontypridd School, said the facts were these. In 1904 the county council wrote to the Board saying the school was insanitary and unfit for the use and occupation of children. The Board agreed, and the school was transferred to the council. Immediately afterwards the council asked to be allowed to utilise the buildings for eighteen months while another school was built. The Board stated that they could only allow it if the alterations in the offices were made which the county council themselves had demanded from the voluntary school managers. He believed that within a reasonable time those alterations were carried out, but his point was that whereas the county council had said that the school was unfit for the occupation of children while it was a voluntary school, immediately it became a council school they asked to be allowed to us it without any alterations whatever.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Only while they were building a new one.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON: But they had already said it was unfit for the use and occupation of children.

SIR ALFRED THOMAS asked whether they did not make certain alterations before they used it.

*SIR WILLIAM ANSON said that, as to the Carnarvonshire schools, he thought the hon. Member for Carnarvon must know very well that there were a great many in serious need of repair, but the Board of Education had the greatest difficulty not merely in getting the repairs done but in getting an answer from the local authorities as to when they would be begun. And when loans were talked of, he thought the hon. Member ought to know that, so far as he could learn from the Local Government Board, the only two loans authorised were one for a school at Llandudno of £4,000 and one of £600 for general repairs, and that really was a very small proportion of the £30,000 which the hon. Member said, in so magnificent a way, was the amount which the local authorities were prepared to spend in the repair of their schools.

The hon. Member said they had provoked a conflict. But who started the conflict? Who started the "No Rate" resolution? Who started what was popularly known as "the Lloyd-George" policy? He did not think the Board of Education could be said to have embarked upon a conflict in Wales when the hon. Member for Carnarvon had gone about the county addressing public meetings and urging the local authorities to set at nought the Act of 1902. The Board were asked "Why make this a period of conflict?" His reply was that they could not allow it to be made a period of oppression; they could not allow the teachers to have their salaries dealt with as was the case in the county of Montgomery, where money which teachers had earned during the quarter preceding the holidays was withheld, and where not merely inconvenience, but actual distress was caused by the action of the local authority; or managers to be oppressed by the non-payment of money due to them for the maintenance of the schools. Sorry as they were to continue the conflict which was begun by the hon. Gentleman, the Board of Education must see to the observance of the law, and they must take care that no injustice or hardship was done either to the managers, teachers, or children in the voluntary schools.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 220; Noes, 250. (Division List No. 319.)

AYES.

Abraham, Wm. (Cork, N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Benn, John Williams
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Bright, Allan Heywood
Broadhurst, Henry
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, N.E.(YorkN.R.Whitby
Buxton, Sydney Chas. (Poplar)
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Cullinan, J.

Dalziel, James Henry
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay(Galway)
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hn. Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, CaptEC(SAndrew'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Sir F. H. (Maidstone)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alexander(Lanark,NE
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hn. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corie
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hn. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis

Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Harwood, George
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hn. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson, Dr. Chas. Fredk.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David B. (Swansea)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, Wm. (Carnarvonshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.)
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir J. F. (Accrington)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David

Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Mooney, John J.
Morley, Chas. (Breconshire)
Morley, Rt. Hn. J. (Montrose
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, James (RoscommonN
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parrott, William
Pearson, Sir Weetman D.
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Perks, Robert William
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Reid, Sir R.Threshie (Dumfries
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs)
Roche, Augustine (Cork)
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Samuel, Herb. L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Seely, Maj.J.E.B. Isle of Wight
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, RtHnCR(Northants)
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, TheodoreC. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, David A. (Merthyr)
Thompson, Dr.EC(Monagh'n,N
Tillett, Louis John
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Wallace, Robert
Walton, John Lawson(Leeds,S.
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, H. J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Woodhouse, Sir JT(Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
Anson, Sir Wm. Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt.Hn. H. O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn.SirH.
Bagot, Capt.Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt Hn A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt.HnGeraldW(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bathurst, Hn. Allen Benjamin
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Michael H.
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Bousfield, William Robert
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hn. Sir John
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H.M(DublinUniv.
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hn. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, RtHn.J.A(Worc.
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton
Chaplin, Rt. Hn. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hn. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hn. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir H. D. (Chatham)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hn. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir Wm. Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir Wm. Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fellowes, Rt Hn Ailwyn Edwd.
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.Sir J (Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hn. George H.
Finlay, Rt.HnSirR B(Inv'rn'ss
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
Fitzroy, Hn. EdwardAlgernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj Evans(T'rH'm'ts)
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hn. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Hn. George Joachim

Goulding, Edward Alfred
Greene, Sir E W(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, H. D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Halsey, Rt.Hn. Thomas F.
Hamilton, RtHnLordG(Midd'x
Hamilton, Marq.of L'nd'nderry
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, Sir Jas. (Staffords,N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, J. (Kent, Faversham)
Howard, J. (Midd.,Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks. N. R.)
Jeffreys, Rt. Hn. Arthur Fred
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kennaway, Rt.Hn. SirJohn H.
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt.Hn.Col.W.
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hn. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, Hn. H.L.W. (Mile End)
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut,-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter (Bristol,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsm'th)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Chas. (Liverpool)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W.F.
Maxwell, Rt Hn SirHE(Wigt'n)
Maxwell,W J H(Dumfriesshire)
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Chas. J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hn. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington)
Peel, Hn. Wm. R. Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt. Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reed, Sir Edw. James (Cardiff
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie, Rt.Hn.Chas.Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herb. (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Samuel, Sir H. S. (Limehouse)
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Col.Ed. J.
Seely, Chas. Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, Wm. Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, Sir H. (Renfrew
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford, East)
Smith, H.C.(North'mbTydeside
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hon. Arthur(Ormskirk
Stanley, Edward Jas (Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.HnJ G. Oxf'd Univ.
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Turnour, Viscount
Vincent, Col.SirC.EH(Sheffield.
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt. Hn. SirWilliamH
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E.(Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G.E. (Notts.
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn.E. R. (Bath
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C.B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

Original Question again proposed.

And, it being after Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again To-morrow.

EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) said that the extraordinary disadvantage of continuing business at this hour (12.15) was that a large majority of the Members of the House were not in a fit frame of mind to carry on discussion. It might easily happen that important Bills would slip through, not because they were innocuous, but because the titles could not be heard when read by the clerk. He had not heard the title when it was first read and he thought it desirable that the senior clerk should endeavour to develop more distinct enunciation of the various important proposals that came before the House.

*MR. SPEAKER: I must ask the hon. Member to address himself to the Bill before the House.

MR. FLYNN said he was endeavouring to explain, but for the hubbub of hon. Gentlemen opposite, that this was an Expiring Laws Continuance Bill. [MINISTERIAL ironical laughter]. Hon. Gentleman opposite would have cheered much more heartily if it had been an Expiring Government Continuance Bill, and they would have come down with a much bigger majority to vote for the Second Reading. He objected to this Bill on principle and on its details. It embodied one of the very worst principles connected with the legislation of this country. It took up certain Acts, and certain clauses of other Acts. It did not differentiate as to how far an Act was good or bad, or as to whether it was required or not. They were merely scheduled—whether it were an Act to prevent Irishmen from carrying arms in their own country, or to encourage jury-packing in Ireland; or a Bill to provide for the continuance of the Government of the day. The viciousness of a Bill of this kind was that it lumped together a number of Bills connected with principles which were vital, and it was carried without discussion. Of course, in a Bill of this kind one was deprived, from the very nature of the case, from going into the schedules. Why should Parliament meet year after year, and session after session, and adopt a hotch-potch system like this? It was an inartistic system. It simply enabled the Government to drag on its existence from month to month, and when they did not know what they were going to do to reform these old laws, they put them into the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill. [MINISTERIAL ironical cheers.] He would remind hon. Gentlemen opposite that they did not know the first principles of the British Constitution. They had come there that night for another purpose than to discuss the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill. His point was that such a Bill ought not to be necessary. It was an anachronism and it was a scandal to continue these old Acts in this slap-dash fashion—Acts like the Peace Preservation Act, and the Sunday Closing Act. [MINISTERIAL ironical cheers.] Hon. Gentlemen laughed, but they held the liberties of Ireland in their hands. It would be far more manly and honest for the Government to come forward and face the House of Commons and discuss each one of these Acts.

MR. CHURCHILL (Oldham) said that the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had stated a number of objections, many of them of a very serious character, to the class of legislation represented by this Bill, and against the methods of dealing with them. It would be in the recollection of hon. Gentlemen that at the end of last session he had an opportunity of moving an Amendment which enabled the House to express its opinion on the kind of objection represented by the hon. Gentleman's Amendment. He then moved—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, it is inexpedient that when important Acts of Parliament have been passed for a limited period, any of such Acts should be included in a general Bill for the continuation of expiring laws brought in at the close of the session without affording any fair opportunity of considering the propriety of its discontinuance or modification."

That was the Amendment which he begged now formally to submit to the House in order to enable it to come to a decision on the question at issue. It was framed in accordance with precedent; and it followed almost exactly the phraseology of the Amendment moved many years ago by the late Mr. Butt.

Any hon. Member or right hon. Gentleman who ran his eyes over the list of thirty-five Acts in the schedule could not fail to see how very varied and important the subjects dealt with were. The object of putting them in the schedule was to enable the House on the Committee stage of the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill to discuss and examine them. They were not placed permanently upon the Statute-book in order that the House might, under the form of this Act, have an opportunity of reviewing and revising them year by year; but all the advantage of that inconvenient method of legislation would be destroyed if they were to allow the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill to become a mere matter of form. It was not only not a mere matter of form, but it was intended to bring the whole of the legislation which they desired to renew year by year definitely before Parliament in order that Parliament might express its opinion upon it in detail. It was no partisan assertion that he made, because the House would remember that the Vaccination Act was specially placed in the schedule of the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill in order that it might be discussed from time to time when questions about its administration arose. He ventured to renew the general objection he made last year of throwing thirty-five Acts, some good, some bad, some indifferent, some important, and some insignificant, into one single measure, and then trying to pass that measure through the House as though, forsooth, it was a matter of small importance. He followed a great and important example in criticising the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill. The late Lord Salisbury expressed very strong opinions indeed against that method of legislation. Mr. Disraeli, a Constitutionalist even superior to the late Mr. Butt, also attacked the method, and the present Prime Minister, whose respect for constitutional forms was so well known, had on several occasions commented severely upon it. It was not necessary for him to state at any greater length the reasons which actuated him in moving the Amendment, and he would content himself with formally moving.

*MAJOR SEELY (Isle of Wight) seconded. He said he really considered this method of prolonging Acts of Parliament without discussion was one which should not pass without protest; and he thought he could show that there was at least something in the contention that had been raised. There were some matters in the Bill of very little importance, but there were others of the greatest importance which had been purposely made annual Acts because it was intended that they should be debated year by year. There was one such Act which affected the defences of the country, viz., the Suspension of the Militia Ballot Act. When that Act was passed, it was the obvious intention that the House should review in each year the reasons why it should not continue that method of ensuring the due defence of the country. For his part, if he were asked whether it was wise to suspend the Militia Ballot Act, he should say it was wise under ordinary circumstances but that it was not wise this year, when the whole defences of the country had be thrown into the melting-pot, to suspend this Act without obtaining some assurances from the Government as to the Auxiliary Forces.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not entitled to discuss the separate Acts in the Bill; he must wait until the schedule is reached.

*MAJOR SEELY, continuing, said that there were many Acts which were specifically intended to be the subject of discussion every year; otherwise they would not have been made annual. And if that was so, it was not only proper, but their duty to discuss them before they were re-enacted, and he hoped an opportunity would be given for the fullest discussion of them when the Committee stage was reached.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out all the words after the word 'That,' and add the words 'in the opinion of this House, it is inexpedient that when important Acts of Parliament have been passed for a limited period any of such Acts should be included in a general Bill for the Continuance of Expiring Laws brought in at the close of the session without affording any fair opportunity of considering the propriety of their discontinuance or of their modification."—(*Mr. Churchill.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.) said the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill and every Bill of the kind passed for the last thirty-one years were a violation of a solemn pledge given on July 25th, 1874, by the Government of that day. An Amendment, almost on the same lines as that proposed by the junior Member for Oldham, was then proposed by Mr. Butt and was accepted by the Government, and he recollected Mr. Butt then saying that henceforth over every Act which was intended for a limited time there would be full powers of discussion and amendment. He had the solemn pledge of the Tory Government of that day, and pledges then given by the Treasury Bench had some force and solidarity. This Amendment was based upon observations made by Lord Salisbury and Lord Carnarvon in 1873, when they appealed against the gross impropriety of the system of re-enacting legislation in an omnibus Bill. In 1874 there was a full discussion of the various Acts in the schedule, and Mr. Disraeli distinctly stated that two particular Acts should no longer be contained in a Continuance Bill, and that if their continuance were required separate Bills should be brought in early in the session when there would be an opportunity for discussion. Thirty-one years had elapsed, and yet one of the Acts mentioned by Mr. Disraeli was included in the schedule of the present Bill. After that, what was to be thought of the pledges of any Government? Then, too, the Bill embodied the vicious principle of legislation by reference, which made it impossible for any ordinarily intelligent man to be sure of his ground in dealing with its provisions. Because the Bill embodied statutes which were bulwarks of the Constitution, such as the Ballot Act, which ought to be made permanent, and statutes contrary to the principles of the Constitution which ought to be repealed, and because the measure was a standing monument of the violation of a solemn pledge which Irish Members were foolish enough to accept, he should support the Amendment.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax) said that last year when this Bill was under discussion in Committee it was shown that many of the statutes included in the schedule were hopelessly out of date, and it was suggested that the time had come when a small Committee should be appointed to revise the schedule of the Bill. He was not sure that a pledge was not given in that direction, but at any rate the case was largely admitted. He hoped that the Prime Minister would give an assurance that if he occupied his present position at the beginning of a new session he would give his consideration to that suggestion.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.) referred to the inclusion of the Arms Act in the Bill, and pointed out that in Ireland the Wild Birds Protection Act was in perpetual force there because the Irish people could carry no arms for sporting purposes. The seagull in Ireland had become a land bird. He had seen the gulls come many miles inland year by year, with the result that the crops of the farmer suffered seriously and the young fish in the rivers were disappearing. It was time the Government seriously considered the question with a view, at any rate, to farmers being allowed to use sporting weapons for their own defence.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.) appealed to the House to come to a decision. He did not withdraw from what he had previously said on this subject. Every Government during thirty-one years had felt that whatever might be the objections in dealing with Acts in this particular way, the impossibility of rejecting this Bill on the Second Reading stage was overwhelming. It would throw the whole country into confusion. Whether a Committee would be able to find a remedy he could not say, but to revise the Bill in the manner suggested by the hon. Member for Halifax would be the business of a session, because, of course, the decision of the Committee upon each individual Act would have to be reviewed by the House. He could not pledge himself to appoint a Committee in another session, though he admitted that the subject might be worthy of consideration.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.) said the House had heard the customary speech from the Prime Minister on this Bill. Last year the right hon. Gentleman appealed to the House to tolerate the system for one year more.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I never said that.

MR. MACVEAGH: I am quoting from *Hansard.*

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If the hon. Member means that I said the system would come to an end in a year he is in error.

MR. MACVEAGH said he distinctly remembered the right hon. Gentleman asking the House to tolerate the system for one year more. They had tolerated the system for another year, and they were now entitled to enter an emphatic protest against its continuance. The fact that a foolish thing had been done for twenty years was no reason for its further repetition. A large body of opinion in the House had always protested against this method of legislation. That this was a crude and ill-considered Bill was shown by the fact that it embodied many antiquated and obsolete Acts. It was time some steps were taken to separate the wheat from the chaff, and to make permanent those laws which should be permanent, and repeal those which had become obsolete. Nobody would suggest the repeal of the Ballot Act or the Corrupt Practices Act, and it was absurd that the House should be asked every year to re-enact those measures instead of their being made permanent. Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Disraeli, the late Lord Salisbury, and many others, had declared that the system should be carefully considered, and brought within stricter limits, while in 1874 Mr. Disraeli distinctly promised that two Acts, one of which was the Arms Act, should no longer be included in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, and that if its continuance was necessary a separate Bill would be introduced. Not the slightest effort had been made to give effect to those pledges, and the Arms Act still appeared in the schedule. To show the absurdity of the inclusion of some of the Acts he might mention the Sand Grouse Act. He was not an authority on grouse, but he was informed that there were no sand grouse in the country; why, then, should the House be asked to re-enact that measure? Another Act was one dealing with the Irish linen trade. It was seventy-one years old, and there was not a single clause in it to which any member of the linen trade paid the slightest attention. The time had come when the House should take a firm stand and insist on the fulfilment of the pledges which had been given. Nationalist Members would continue to oppose with the utmost energy the passing of this Bill so long as it included the re-enactment of the Arms Act against which they had never ceased to protest, and which was administered all over Ireland in a scandalous and partisan manner.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR (Kildare, N.) joined in the protest against the method of legislation embodied in this Bill. After an absence of some years from Parliament he had noticed many changes in the House, in its procedure, and in its *personnel*; only one thing seemed unchangeable, and that was the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill. Governments might come and Governments might go, but the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill went on for ever. If there was one thing more than another which he had heard inveighed against by Judges on the Bench and all who had to deal with the administration of the law it was legislation by reference. If there was anything worse than legislation by reference it was legislation by an Expiring Laws Continuance Bill. If Acts were good they should be made permanent; if they were bad they should be removed from the Statute-book. To take only one instance, Members probably did not know that the Sunday Closing Act was a partial Bill applying only to certain parts of Ireland. If it was a good Bill it should be applied to the other parts, and if it was bad it should be removed from the Statute-book. He protested against the method of legislation which was exemplified by the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.) rose to continue the debate.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided:—Ayes, 206; Noes, 162. (Division List No. 320.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour. RtHn GeraldW.(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brymer, William Ernest
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt HnJ. A. (Worc.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Davies, SirHoratio D. (Chatham
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber Edmund B. (Hants), W.
Fellowes Rt. Hn. Ailwyn Edwd.
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Rt HnSirR. B. (Inv'rn'ss
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flower, Sir Ernest

Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S. W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Godson, Sir AugustusFrederick
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj-Evans(T'rH'mlets
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir EW(B'rySEd'm'nds
Greene, HenryD. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, RtHn LordG(Midd'x
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nderry
Hardy, Laurence(Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton(Tynem'th)
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, Sir James(Staffords. NW
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, John (Kent, Faversh'm
Hozier, Hon. JamesHenry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks, N.R.)
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hn. Col. W.
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, Hn. H. L. W. (Mile End
Lawson, JohnGrant (Yorks, NR
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants, Fareham
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, FrederickN. S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. CharlesW. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S)
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Raginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Marks, Harry Hananel
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W. J. H(Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas

Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Morgan, David J(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, HerbertPike(Darlington
Peel, Hn. Wm. RobertWellesley
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reed, Sir Edw. James(Cardiff)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. (Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, SirH. (Renfrew)
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, HC(North'um. Tyneside
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir MarkJ. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stroyan John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Turnour, Viscount
Walrond, Rt. Hn. SirWilliam H.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles GE. (Notts.)

Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn.E.R.(Bath)
Wortley, Rt.Hon. C.B.Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander

Tellers for the Ayes—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood, and Viscount Valentia.

NOES.

Abraham,William (Cork, N E)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P
Ambrose, Robert
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S)
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Bright, Allan Heywood
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Buxton,Sydney Charles(Poplar
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Cullinan, J
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dobbie, Joseph
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,Capt.EC(S.Andrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick Charles
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay,Alexander (Lanark,NE
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Griffith, Ellis J.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis
Hardie, J.Keir(MerthyrTydvil)
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir ArthurD.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Jones,David Brynmor(Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent P.(Cavan,W
Kilbride, Denis
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex.(Donegal,W.)
Lawson, SirWilfred (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir JosephF.(Accrington
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Mooney, John J.
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Moss, Samuel
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan,Col. John P.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor,James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon,N
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Reckitt, Harold James
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Reid, Sir R. Threshie(Dumfries
Richards, Thomas
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Roche, John (Galway East)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Samuel, Herbert L.(Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, RtHnC.R.(Northants)
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, DavidAlfred(Merthyr
Thompson, Dr.EC(Monagh'n,N
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Woodhouse, SirJT.(Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Churchill and Major Seely.

Question put accordingly, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The House divided:—Ayes, 206; Noes, 161. (Division List No. 321.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allhusen, AugustusHenryEden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher,Rt.Hn. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy

Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hon. A. J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, RtHnGerald W.(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. Sir John
Brymer, William Ernest
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J.H.M.(DublinUniv.
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain,Rt.Hn.J.A.(Worc.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Davies, SirHoratioD.(Chatham
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hon.Sir JosephC.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir JohnE.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke,Rt.Hon.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fellowes,Rt Hn.Ailwyn Edward
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.SirJ.(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, RtHnSirRB.(Inv'rn'ss.
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzroy, Hon. EdwardAlgernon
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, PhilipS.(Warwick,S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Godson, Sir AugustusFrederick
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon,Maj Evans-(T'rH'ml'ts
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,SirE.W.(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, RtHnLordG.(Middx
Hamilton, Marq.of(L'nd'nd'rry
Hardy,Laurence (Kent,Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton(Tynem'th)
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, ArthurHoward(Hanley
Heath, SirJames (Staffords.NW
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield, Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, John(Kent Faversham
Hozier, Hon.James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks., N.R.
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. ArthurFred.
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T.(Denbigh
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt.Hon.Col. W
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, Hn.H.L.W.(Mile End)
Lawson, JohnGrant(Yorks,N.R
Lee, ArthurH.(Hants.Fareham)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. CharlesW.(Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas,ReginaldJ.(Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire
Marks, Harry Hananel
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell,W.J.H.(Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Morgan, DavidJ(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, HerbertPike(Darlington
Peel,Hn.Wm. Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reed, Sir Edw. James (Cardiff)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie, Rt.Hon.Chas.Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, Sir H.(Renfrew)
Sinclair, Louis (Romford
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford, East)
Smith, HC (North'mb.Tyneside
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley,Hn.Arthuur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Rt.Hon.Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir MarkJ.M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Turnour, Viscount
Walrond,Rt.Hn.SirWilliam H.
Warde, Col. C. E.
Welby, Sir Charles G.E.(Notts.)
Whiteley, H. (Ashtonund.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn.E.R. (Bath)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Bright, Allan Heywood
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Cullinan, J.
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.
Dobbie, Joseph
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt. E. C. (S Andrw's Bghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alexander (Lanark, NE
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt Hn. Herbert John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Griffith, Ellis, J.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Holland. Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hutchinson. Dr. Charles Fredk.
Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea
Jones Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kearley, Hudson, E.
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Kilbride, Denis
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal W.
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Mooney. John J.
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Moss, Samuel
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Reckitt, Harold John
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Reid, Sir R. Thresihe (Dumfries
Richards, Thomas
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs)
Roche, Augustine (Cork)
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair. John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R. (Northants
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Thompson, Dr. E C (Monaghan N
Tomkinson. James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Woodhouse, Sir J T. (Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Churchill and Major Seely.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR claimed, "That the Main Question be now put."

Main Question put accordingly, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for To-morrow.

Whereupon, in pursuance of the Order of the House of the 31st day of July, Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put.

Adjourned at nineteen minutes before Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 2nd August, 1905.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

South Barracas (Buenos Ayres) Gas and Coke Company Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [Lords]. Verbal Amendments made; Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Glasgow Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Glasgow Corporation (Tramways Consolidation) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Glasgow University Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Paisley District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment.

Wemyss Tramways Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read a second time; to be considered upon Friday.

Metropolitan Electric Supply Company (Various Powers) Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Earl of Stamford's Cheshire Estate Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment. Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Bill to be read the third time.

PETITIONS.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION BILL.

Petition from Walsall, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

COUNTY COURTS (PLAINTS AND SITTINGS).

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 1st August; *Mr. Cochrane*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 284.]

DEATHS FROM STARVATION OR ACCELERATED BY PRIVATION (LONDON).

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 24th March; *Mr. Talbot*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 285.]

NATIONAL SCHOOLS (IRELAND) (TEACHERS).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 4th May; *Mr. Dillon*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 286.]

CHINA (No. 1, 1905).

Copy presented, of Report by Mr. A Hosie, His Majesty's Consul-General at Chengtu, on a journey to the Eastern Frontier of Tibet (with a map) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

1. Adjournment Motions under Standing Order No. 10. Return relative thereto [ordered 1st August; *Mr. Caldwell*]; to be printed. [No. 287.]

2. Closure of Debate (Standing Order No. 26). Return relative thereto [ordered 1st August; *Mr. Caldwell*]; to be printed. [No. 288.]

3. Divisions of the House. Return relative thereto [ordered 1st August; *Mr. Caldwell*]; to be printed.

4. Public Bills. Return relative thereto [ordered 1st August; *Mr. Caldwell*]; to be printed.

the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

5. Public Petitions. Return relative thereto [ordered 1st August; *Mr. Caldwell*]; to be printed.

6. Select Committees. Return relative thereto [ordered 1st August; *Mr. Caldwell*]; to be printed.

7. Sittings of the House. Return relative thereto [ordered 1st August; *Mr. Caldwell*]; to be printed.

8. Business of the House (Days occupied by Government and by Private Members). Return relative thereto [ordered 1st August; *Mr. Caldwell*]; to be printed. [No. 289.]

9. Private Bills and Private Business. Return relative thereto [ordered 1st August; *Mr. Caldwell*]; to be printed.

CONGESTED DISTRICTS COUNTIES (IRELAND) (RATES.)

Return ordered, "of Local Rates in Congested Districts Counties in Ireland during the years 1900 to 1905, in the following form:—

Congested Districts County.	Rural district.	Poor rate per £ of valuation for							Total poor rate per £ of valuation.
		General purposes.				Separate charges.			
		County at large charges.	Union charges.	District charges.	Total of Columns 3, 4, and 5.	Railway and harbour charges.	Other charges.	Total of Columns 7 and 8.	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.

—(*Mr. Thomas O'Donnell.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Staircases in Parliament Buildings.

MR. RENWICK (Newcastle-on-Tyne): To ask the hon. Member for Chorley, as representing the First Commissioner of Works, whether it can be arranged to improve and enlarge the existing staircases leading from the Strangers' Smoke Room and the Terrace to the Lobbies; and can such staircases be covered with carpet or felt instead of the oilcloth they are at present covered with.

(*Answered by Lord Balcarres.*) The First Commissioner fears that structural difficulties would prevent the widening of these staircases. He is of opinion that where there is so large an amount of traffic linoleum is preferable to carpet or felt, as it is more cleanly.

Men Recruited for Army in Ireland.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cavan, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state how many Army recruits have been obtained in Ireland for the half-year ended June 30th, 1905; and what was the number of men annually recruited for the Army in Ireland for the past ten years.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The figures are as follows:—

	For Regular Army.	Militia.
During 1895	2,991	4,990
,, 1896	2,796	5,387
,, 1897	3,858	5,845
,, 1898	4,094	6,060
,, 1899	3,987	5,606
,, 1900	4,040	3,574
,, 1901	3,778	3,781
,, 1902	4,691	5,085
,, 1903, first nine months . . .	2,652	4,222
,, 1903, last three months . . .	1,115	1,218
	3,767	5,440
,, 1904	3,624	4,611
During six months ended 30th June, 1905 .	1,362	2,798

The Wheat Supply of Great Britain, Germany, France, and Italy.

Dr. SHIPMAN (Northampton): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade what were the average prices of wheat per imperial quarter in the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and Italy, respectively, at the end of June, 1905; what were the duties on imported wheat per imperial quarter in each of these countries at that time; and what were the approximate percentages of imported wheat in the total wheat supply of each of these countries.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*)

	United Kingdom.	Germany.	France.	Italy.
Average price of Wheat per imperial quarter at end of June, 1905	31*s.* 8*d.* (English *Gazette* price) 31*s.* 2*d.* (average import value during June)	37*s.* 11*d.* (Berlin price) 35*s.* 1*d.* (Breslau price)	41*s.* (official price)	47*s.* 8*d.*
Duty on imported Wheat per imperial quarter at end of June, 1905	Nil.	7*s.* 7*d.*	12*s.* 3*d.*	13*s.* 1*d.*
Approximate percentage of imported Wheat in total Wheat supply (Cereal year 1903–4.)	82 per cent.	37·2 per cent.	2·9 per cent.	13·4 per cent.

Wheat Grown in and Imported into the United Kingdom.

Dr. SHIPMAN: To ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade what were the amounts, respectively, for the year 1904 of wheat grown in the United Kingdom, the wheat imported into the United Kingdom from British Colonies and Possessions, and the wheat imported into the United Kingdom from foreign countries, showing how much came from each of the several countries, Colonies, and Possessions respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) The estimated total produce of the wheat crop of the United Kingdom in 1904 was 4,740,000 imperial quarters. The total quantity of wheat imported into the United Kingdom during the calendar year 1904 from foreign countries amounted to 12,924,567 imperial quarters. The amount imported from British Colonies and Possessions was 9,891,350 imperial quarters. For more detailed information I must refer the hon. Member to the "Agricultural Statistics, 1904" [Cd. 2594], p. 88, and to the "Annual Statement of the Trade of the United Kingdom for 1904" [Cd. 2497], p. 211.

Hours of Duty of Railway Signalmen—Surprise Inspections.

Mr. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade whether he will consider the advisability of introducing a systematic inspection of signalmen by surprise visits; whether he can arrange that in the more important signal boxes, where trains very frequently pass, a sufficient number of signalmen should be on duty, and also that the hours of service should be in ratio with the activity required; and whether the existing method of points and sidings will be considered with a view to greater safety.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) If representations are made on behalf of the signalmen at any particular place that their hours of duty are excessive, such representations will be dealt with under the Railway Regulation Act of 1893. The question of safety in the working of points and sidings is one that receives the unremitting attention of the inspecting officers of the Board of Trade. The other matters raised by the hon. Member do not seem to come within the powers of the Department.

Lancashire Electric Railway Accident—Timing of Trains.

Mr. MARSHALL HALL (Lancashire, Southport): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade if he will direct the attention of the inspector appointed to hold the inquiry into the Hall Road accident to the following facts, viz.: that the local Hall Road train timed to leave Liverpool at 6 p.m. is due at Hall Road at 6.18, and the express train to which the accident occurred leaves Liverpool at 6.10 and is due at Southport at 6.37; and whether the inspector will be directed to report whether, having regard to the relative rate of speed of the two trains, sufficient time is allowed to the local train at Hall Road to shunt into the siding before the express passes through; and how many seconds are allowed by the company's time tables to each stopping train on the Southport and Liverpool branch at intermediate stations for the purpose of setting down and taking up passengers.

(*Answered by Mr. Bonar Law.*) The timing of these trains does not seem to have any direct bearing on the accident referred to, but I will bring my hon. and learned friend's Question to the notice of the inspecting officer who is holding the inquiry.

Post Office Wages—Publication of Correspondence between Post Office and Treasury.

Mr. BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he will lay upon the Table the correspondence which has passed between the Post Office and the Treasury on his scheme for wages in the Post Office.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I do not see that any useful purpose would be served by so doing. Full particulars of the alterations in the pay of the Post Office staff consequent on the proceedings of the Bradford Committee were furnished to hon. Members in the Return issued to the Order of the House in March last.

Appointment of Assistant Postal Superintendent at Huddersfield.

SIR JAMES WOODHOUSE (Huddersfield): To ask the Postmaster-General when the post of assistant postmaster at the Huddersfield Post Office, which has been vacant since October 31st last, and respecting which he stated in April last he hoped to come to a decision very soon, will be filled up; and what is the cause of the delay.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The vacancy referred to by the hon. Member is one for an assistant superintendent on the postal side, and I have now authorised the promotion of the officer who is now doing the duties. The promotion will date from the beginning of the year. The peculiar circumstances of the office, where there is a surplusage of telegraph force, have rendered the filling of this situation unusually difficult.

Postal Facilities in the North of Ireland.

MR. HEMPHILL (Tyrone, N.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether, in compliance with the views submitted to him by the deputation which recently waited on him from the city of Derry and other Ulster municipalities, he has made any arrangements for the dispatch of an additional mail bag from the North *via* Greenore and Holyhead; and, if so, when will such arrangements be carried into effect.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) As I promised the deputation which called upon me with reference to this matter, I have instituted further inquiries on the question of using the Greenore route for the mail service between the North of Ireland and England. These inquiries are not yet complete, and I regret that I am not in a position to give a definite Answer to the hon. Member's Question.

Irish Postal Officials and the Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the repeated assurances of Postmasters-General that the staff have the right to combine, he will state why the local secretaries of the Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association at Armagh, Portadown, and Clones have been interfered with by the postmasters and surveying staff; and will he explain why an attempt is being made to stamp out the Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association in certain small towns in Ireland.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I have nothing to add to my letter of July 11th, 1905, in which I informed the hon. Member that the officer at Clones to whom he referred had no just ground of complaint. A similar Answer applies in the case of the officer at Portadown, and no complaint has reached me as regards Armagh.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR: To ask the Postmaster-General if he will explain why the supervising officials made official inquiries with reference to the sender and object of a telegram handed in at Clones Rail Post Office on March 4th dealing with the work of the Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The explanation for which the hon. Member asks was given in my letter to him of April 4th, 1905.

British Trade in Madeira.

MR. LAWRENCE (Liverpool, Abercromby): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether we have with Portugal any commercial treaty similar to that subsisting between that country and Germany; whether he is aware that British trade in Madeira is in jeopardy owing to special advantages conceded to or demanded by the Germans; and whether any steps are being taken by this Government to see that our trade has equal chances with other countries in Portugal.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) The Answer to the first Question is in the negative. His Majesty's Government are aware of the concessions to which the hon. Member draws attention, and are in communication with the Portuguese Government.

Reports on Progress of Egypt.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will consider the desirability of suggesting to Lord Cromer the expediency of writing Reports showing the progress of Egypt, on lines similar to the Reports showing the progress of India.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) His Majesty's Government see no reason to suggest any alteration in the form of Lord Cromer's annual Reports on Egypt and Soudan, which seem to them admirably suited to their purpose.

Redistribution—Instructions to Boundary Commissioners as to Areas.

SIR CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether the instruction to Boundary Commissions on Parliamentary Redistribution will contain directions as to the areas; and, if so, whether such areas will be rural sanitary districts or petty sessional divisions.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) The instructions to any Boundary Commissioners who might be appointed would, no doubt, contain directions as to the considerations to which regard should be had in determining the boundaries of electoral areas, but I am not at present prepared to say what these directions should be.

The Late District Medical Officer to the Aylesbury Union.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he will explain why a district medical officer of the Aylesbury Union, after being re-elected for twenty-three years in succession, has now, when sixty-four years old and eligible in one year for superannuation, been deprived of his appointment; and whether, in view of the Superannuation Act, 1896, he proposes to take any, and, if any, what, action in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) Until recently the late medical officer did not reside in his district, and hence he was only appointed from year to year. I am not informed why, when an appointment had to be made this year, the guardians preferred to appoint the present holder of the office, but it was within their competence to do so if they thought fit. The matter is not one in which I can take any action.

Powers of the Government to Prohibit the Exportation of Coal.

MR. D. A. THOMAS (Merthyr Tydvil): To ask Mr. Attorney-General if he can state what powers the Government possess to prohibit the export of coal; whence they are derived; and in what contingency they can be exercised.

(*Answered by Sir Robert Finlay.*) This subject has been dealt with by recent legislation, the effect of which is as follows: Under the 8th Section of the Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1879, there is power by Proclamation or Order in Council to prohibit the exportation of arms, ammunition and gunpowder, military and naval stores, and any articles which His Majesty shall judge capable of being converted into or made useful in increasing the quantity of military or naval stores, provisions, or any sort of victual which may be used as food for man. Under the Exportation of Arms Act, 1900, there is power by Proclamation to prohibit the exportation of all or any of the following articles, viz.: arms, ammunition, military and naval stores, and any article which His Majesty shall judge capable of being converted into or made useful in increasing the quantity of arms, ammunition, or military or naval stores to any country or place named in the Proclamation whenever His Majesty shall judge such prohibition to be expedient, in order to prevent such arms, ammunition, military or naval stores being used against His Majesty's subjects as forces, or against any forces engaged or which may be engaged in military or naval operations in co-operation with His Majesty's forces. Coal suitable for use by vessels of war would fall under the category of naval stores in these enactments. The power conferred by the earlier of these enactments is general, and no special contingencies are prescribed for its exercise; the power conferred by the Act of 1900 may be exercised with regard to particular countries or places in the contingency mentioned in the Act.

Deal and Walmer Castles.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will state what sum was realised by the recent sale at Walmer Castle, and out of what funds the castles at Walmer and Deal are maintained; is it proposed to throw open Walmer Castle and grounds to the public; and, if so, will he state the estimated annual cost of upkeep, and from what source the outlay will be derived.

(*Answered by Lord Balcarres.*) I am unable to state the amount realised by the sale of articles, the property of the late Lord Warden. The sale did not take place at Walmer Castle. Deal and Walmer Castles are now maintained out of Civil Votes. Walmer Castle and grounds have been open to the public since June 12th last. The annual cost of upkeep will probably be about £500, to be met out of Votes of Parliament.

Firing, Lighting, and Cleaning of Lemreway School and Public Schools in the Parish of Lochs, Island of Lewis.

Mr. WEIR: To ask the Lord-Advocate if he will state what sum is paid annually for firing, lighting, and cleaning, respectively, at the Lemreway Public School, and at each public school in the parish of Lochs, Island of Lewis.

(*Answered by Mr. Scott Dickson.*) The following table gives the particulars required by the hon. Member for the last four years:—

Name of School.	1901–2. Fuel, Light, and Cleaning.	1902–3. Fuel, Light, and Cleaning.	1903–4.		1904–5.	
			Fuel and Light.	Cleaning.	Fuel and Light.	Cleaning.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Lemreway Public School	1 8 9	1 10 0	1 10 0	—	—	1 10 0
Achmore ,,	1 8 9	1 18 1	1 1 9	—	—	1 10 0
Airidhbhruaich ,,	1 18 4	2 0 0	2 0 0	—	—	2 0 0
Balallan ,,	3 17 6	4 3 0	4 0 0	—	—	4 3 0
Cromore ,,	1 8 9	2 5 0	2 0 0	—	—	2 0 0
Fidigary ,,	4 0 6	4 0 0	4 3 0	—	—	4 3 0
Graver ,,	1 18 4	2 0 0	2 0 0	—	—	2 0 0
Grimshader ,,	1 8 9	1 10 0	1 10 0	—	—	1 10 0
Kershader ,,	2 7 11	2 10 0	2 10 0	—	—	2 10 0
Knock-ian-due ,,	1 6 4	2 16 0	2 10 0	—	—	2 10 0
Lurebost ,,	2 17 6	3 0 0	1 10 0	—	—	3 0 0
Planasker ,,	1 8 9	1 10 0	1 10 0	—	—	1 10 0
Total - -	25 10 2	29 2 1	26 4 9	—	—	28 6 0

Previous to 1903–4 the charges for fuel, light, and cleaning were required to be entered under one heading in the school returns. In that year the item "Cleaning" was made a separate heading, but it seems, from an examination of the returns of their schools, that the Lochs School Board have continued the practice of making, under one or other of the present headings, one entry only in respect of the three charges.]

Deaths from Fire in Factories and Workshops.

MR. TENNANT (Berwickshire): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he can grant a Return of the deaths from fire in factories and workshops during the last five or ten years.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) The figures before 1901 are not available, and could only be procured by a very laborious search among the accident reports. The number of deaths caused by the burning of premises, as reported by the factory inspectors, in each of the years 1901 to 1904 were as follows, seven, twelve, three, and seven.

Sale of Cooper's Hill Engineering College.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE (Bethnal Green, N.E.): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether the premises and apparatus of the Royal Engineering College at Cooper's Hill are to be sold after the closing of the college, or are to be transferred to any other Department of State; what has been the total expenditure defrayed from the Indian revenues on the buildings and apparatus; and whether the Indian Exchequer will be recouped the present market value of the whole property.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) Negotiations for the sale of the college are in progress, but no contract has yet been made. The total capital expenditure from Indian revenues on buildings and apparatus since 1870 has been about £170,000. No sum has yet been agreed upon for the sale of the property.

Treasury Finance.

MR. FIELD: To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can explain the policy of the Treasury in postponing the payment of its debts and increasing balances; and whether, seeing that the total receipts, including payments on Exchequer bonds, are greater and the expenditure less than at a similar date last year, he can explain why, under these circumstances, Treasury bills are renewed.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) In order to avoid an undue amount of borrowing in December next, when a very large amount of Exchequer bonds has to be paid off, the balance in the Exchequer has to be gradually built up, and thus it seems to be unnecessarily large during the first eight months of the financial year.

Appointment of Chaplains to Belfast Workhouse Sanatorium.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the fact that the Belfast Board of Guardians, at their meeting on July 25th, 1905, rejected a motion in favour of the appointment of chaplains to the workhouse sanatorium; whether the Local Government Board had, in a letter dated May 15th last, requested that these chaplains should be appointed; and, if so, whether he proposes to direct that the recommendations of the Local Government Board be complied with immediately.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The appointment of chaplains for the auxiliary workhouse of the Belfast Union devolves upon the Local Government Board under Section 48 of 1 and 2 Vict., cap. 56, and the necessary steps are being taken in the matter.

Overcrowding of Insane Wards in Belfast Workhouse.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the overcrowding of the insane wards in the Belfast Workhouse, due to the fact that the Belfast Corporation refused to supply the necessary asylum accommodation for the patients, and whether this overcrowding was denounced by the official Inspector of Lunacy in December, 1904, who recommended that inexpensive asylum accommodation should be provided for these patients elsewhere; and whether, seeing that in spite of the official recommendation nothing has been done by the corporation in the matter, and that the number of these patients at the workhouse is increasing, he will order an inquiry into the subject, or cause effective representations to be made to the local authorities with regard to it.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The number of insane inmates of Belfast Workhouse has, in recent years, been greatly reduced by the transfer of such persons to the Belfast District Lunatic Asylum. Since 1898 the number of insane in the workhouse has been reduced from 436 to ninety-six. In December, 1904, the Inspectors of Lunatic Asylums recommended that inexpensive buildings should be erected in connection with the asylum for the accommodation of the insane inmates of the workhouse. The necessary buildings are now in course of erection.

Free Railway Passes for Irish Members Travelling to and from the House of Commons.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will consider the advisability of arranging, by legislation or otherwise, that Irish Members shall be enabled to travel free to and from the House of Commons during the session, seeing that such an arrangement prevails respecting Members of Parliament in the Colonies.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) It does not rest with me to consider the question of the feasibility or otherwise of making such arrangements.

Corporal Punishment Rules—Meeting of National Education Commissioners.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what was the date of the meeting and the number of National Education Commissioners present when the new rules with reference to corporal punishment in national schools were drafted and directed to be issued.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The date was December 6th, 1904. Fourteen Commissioners were present out of a possible seventeen.

Average Attendance and Equipment of Model Infants and Harryville Girls' Schools, Ballymena.

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state what was the average attendance in the model infants and Harryville Girls' Schools, Ballymena, for the month of June last; what is the accommodation, allowing ten square feet per pupil; and whether the three girls' schools, stated to have accommodation for 104 pupils more than were in average attendance in the month of June last, are supplied with suitable desks, kindergarten, and other equipment necessary for the teaching of infants.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The average attendance for June was, in Ballymena Model Infants' School, eighty, and in Harryville Girls' School, 213. Allowing ten square feet of floor space per pupil, there is accommodation in the former school for eighty-one, and in the latter for 224 pupils. But on the basis, hitherto adopted, of eight square feet per pupil, there is accommodation in these schools for 101 and 280 pupils respectively. One of the three schools referred to in the reply to the hon. Member's Question of July 24th,† has suitable kindergarten desks and equipment necessary for infants, but the other two have not. On the completion of the Guy's Infant School, towards the cost of which a grant has been made by the Commissioners, there will be ample suitable accommodation for the teaching of infants in Ballymena.

Corporal Punishment Rules.

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that the head teacher in a national school is obliged to make seven entries in the record book before he inflicts corporal punishment; and whether, considering the waste of time, he will consider the advisability of having the rules withdrawn altogether.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The Commissioners have found it necessary to make regulations requiring that a book shall be kept in which all corporal punishment inflicted on children shall be recorded. A similar book is used in elementary schools in England. The entries referred to include the name of the pupil, the standard, the date, the nature of the punishment, and the teacher's signature. The Commissioners have no intention of withdrawing these regulations.

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† See page 37.

Altmore Estate, Letterkenny.

Mr. LIDDELL (Down, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will explain the cause of the delay on the part of the Estates Commissioners in dealing with the Altmore Estate, Letterkenny, the property of Mr. E. C. Mansfield; if the Estates Commissioners will, after twelve months, now communicate their decision either to accept or to decline the offer to purchase this property; how many inspections of it they have already made; and what has been done since the date of the last.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) An originating application in respect of the direct sale, by landlord to tenants, of the estate of Mr. E. C. Mansfield was lodged on July 15th, 1905. Previously the Commissioners had, at the request of the owner, caused a preliminary inspection to be made of the demesne on the estate for the purpose of ascertaining what amount could be advanced upon it. The inspector's report was received on December 1st, 1904, and the result communicated to the landlord. The application which has now been received will be taken up in order of priority. There has been no delay on the part of the Commissioners.

Accounts of late Staff Officer of Royal Irish Constabulary.

Mr. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will give particulars as to the dates upon which the bank pass book and accounts of the late staff officer of the Royal Irish Constabulary Office were checked and audited, within the four years prior to his death, and as to what proof had been brought forward to show that the receipts furnished to the late staff officer by members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, to whom certain moneys were paid, were themselves genuine; and whether he will consider the advisability of granting some allowance, as it were deferred pay, to the widow of this deceased officer, considering the amount deducted from the amount of life assurance accruing to him as the result of the *ex parte* charge of falsification brought against him.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I beg to refer to the very full replies which I have given to the hon. Member's previous Questions on this subject. The Government have already more than once expressed the opinion that the applications made on behalf of the widow were not such as to warrant the expenditure of public money. I may add that the widow of the deceased and her solicitor were afforded full opportunity of satisfying themselves of the misappropriation of funds.

The "Western News" and the Ballinasloe Urban District Council.

Mr. ROCHE (Galway, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, although the Local Government Board had issued a sealed order excluding the representative of the *Western News* from the meetings of the Ballinasloe Urban Council, a magistrate of the Ballinasloe district has signed summonses charging councillors for putting the order in force; and whether, in view of the inconvenience and expense caused to defendants, he will say what action he proposes to take in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The Local Government Board, acting upon a resolution of the Ballinasloe Urban District Council, have issued a sealed order to the effect stated, under the powers conferred on them by Section 15 of The Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1902. I am informed that a summons, at the suit of the proprietor of the *Western News*, has been issued against five members of the council for conspiring to injure him in his trade. The Government cannot interfere with magistrates in the discharge of their judicial functions.

Missionary Work in Chinese Compounds in the Transvaal.

Sir BRAMPTON GURDON (Norfolk, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has any official information showing that the promises made by ministers of religion in the Transvaal before the introduction of Chinese labour, with reference to future missionary work in the compounds, have been fulfilled.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I am not in possession of official information as to the matter. Inquiries were being made in September last among the Chinese whether they desired the services of Christian ministers, but I am not aware with what result.

Marconi Wireless Telegraphy in the Army.

SIR SEYMOUR KING (Hull, Central): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, when the contract between the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company and the Admiralty was negotiated, the Admiralty were prohibited from extending the benefits of their contract to the Army; whether similar privileges and rights were secured at the same time for the Army; and, if so, to what extent have they been availed of

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) I am informed that the Admiralty are pledged not to extend the benefits of their contract with the Marconi Company to other Departments. As regards the rest of the Question, no rights or privileges have been secured for the Army from the Marconi Company.

Suggested Retiring Allowances to Patrick Leary and James Russell, Militiamen, of Longford.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the cases of Patrick Leary and James Russell, of Longford, both of whom have served in the Militia for a period of thirty-five and twenty-three years respectively; and whether, as their conduct was good, there is any fund available from which to give them a gratuity at the close of their service.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) I am glad to have my attention drawn to the long service of the Militiamen mentioned. The regulations, however, do not admit of the grant of any retiring allowance or gratuity at the expiration of Militia service.

Duties, Emoluments, and Rights of Patronage of Warden of the Cinque Ports.

MR. WEIR: To ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he will state the duties of the Warden of the Cinque Ports; and what emoluments or rights of patronage are derived from the office.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) 1. There are now practically no important duties which the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports has to exercise individually except those of the chairman of the Dover Harbour Board. 2. The emoluments arising from the office are practically confined to certain Admiralty droits, the amount of which is insignificant. Walmer Castle is now no longer available for use as a private residence. 3. The patronage attached to the office, speaking generally, consists—(i.) Of the right to appoint the Judge of the Cinque Ports Admiralty Court, the Registrar of the Cinque Ports, and the Marshal of the Court; (ii.) The right of appointing Salvage Commissioners at each Cinque Port; (iii.) The nomination of magistrates for appointment by the Crown; (iv.) The appointment of a deputy to act as chairman of the Dover Harbour Board in case of his absence.

Lincolnshire and the Redistribution Proposals.

SIR CHARLES WELBY (Nottinghamshire, Newark): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he is aware that the county of Lincoln has from time immemorial been divided into three parts, viz., the Parts of Lindsey, Kesteven, and Holland; that each of these parts is a separate county for the purposes of local government; and that they contain, in round numbers, four-sevenths, two-sevenths, and one-seventh, respectively, of the population of the county, exclusive of the large boroughs; whether he is aware that Lincolnshire has now seven Parliamentary divisions, the boundaries of which follow in the main the boundaries of the three parts; whether, under the scheme of the Government, it is proposed, while preserving the borough of Boston, with 20,456 population, to abolish a county divison with a population of some

50,000, thus obliterating, for Parliamentary purposes, the historic division of the county into parts; and whether he will consider the alternative of making the borough of Boston the centre of a county division and thus bring up the average population per division to some 53,000, and the total population of the county to some 370,000, at which figure it would, under the scheme, be entitled to retain its seven Members.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) Lincolnshire is and has been divided into three parts, viz., the Parts of Lindsey, Kesteven, and Holland. Each of these parts is a separate administrative county for the purposes of local government. Exclusive of the two county boroughs of Lincoln and Grimsby and the extra-municipal areas attached to these county boroughs to form the two Parliamentary boroughs of Lincoln and Great Grimsby, the aggregate population of the three parts, according to the Census of 1901, is 370,073, made up as follows:—

Lindsey (exclusive of the two boroughs)	188,501
Kesteven (including Grantham)	103,962
Holland (including Boston) .	77,610
	370,073

One-seventh of 370,073 is 52 867.

Lindsey has therefore less than four-sevenths of the total population. Kesteven has therefore nearly two-sevenths of the total population. Holland has therefore more than one-seventh of the total population. The Parliamentary county of Lincoln as at present constituted has a population of 330,452, and seven Members. The average population per Member being 47,207. The historic divisions of the county were deviated from to some extent in 1885. It does not seem impracticable if the county (minus Boston) is divided into six divisions, as proposed in the Government scheme, to observe more strictly than at present the historic divisions referred to, but this would be a matter for inquiry. If the Parliamentary borough of Boston were merged in the county, the Parliamentary county, with a population of 370,073, would be entitled under the Government scheme to six Members only. To entitle it to retain its present seven Members the population would have to be more than 390,000, *i.e.*, six times 65,000. If the Government scheme was modified by merging Boston in a county division, as proposed, the number of the Lincolnshire borough Members would be reduced to two; whilst the number of the county Members would be six as under the scheme, eight. But under the scheme, as it stands, the total number of the Lincolnshire Members would be nine, viz., six county Members and three borough Members.

Lancashire Cotton Industry—Gambling Operations.

MR. FIELD: To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he is aware that, in consequence of the disorganisation of the cotton industry, mainly due to gambling operations in Liverpool, artificially raising the price of American cotton to 6d. a pound, the Federation of Master Employers in Lancashire have refused to meet the operatives' demand for a rise in wages; and that, as a result, the operatives have threatened to send in notices for a general strike, to begin next month; whether he is aware that it is officially proved that the cause for this advance in the price of raw material is the outcome of misrepresentation in statistics and returns, and that President Roosevelt has ordered an official investigation; and whether he will confer with President Roosevelt with the object of adopting some international co-operative endeavour to prevent the evils arising from gambling operations in options and future contracts.

MR. FIELD: To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he is aware that the Lancashire Federation of Master Cotton Spinners on the 19th of July issued a circular appealing to the spinners on the Continent to co-operate with them in an endeavour to checkmate the manipulation of cotton by speculators; whether he is aware that, in the opinion of the Manchester Cotton Exchange, unless the designs of speculators are defeated, the cotton-spinning industry may again experience unprofitable trade, which would render necessary the adoption of short-time working; that the chairman of the International Cotton Committee has summoned a meeting, to be held in London on the 31st inst., to consider what recommendations should be made to counteract the operations of gambling in the raw material; and whether he can state what steps, if any, the Government intend to propose to safeguard the welfare of the cotton industry.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) In reply to these two Questions, I fear I can only refer the hon. Member to the Answers I have previously given him, as I have really nothing to add to them.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Naval Works Acts Annuities.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he can give an estimate of the amount of the annuities under the Naval Works Acts, chargeable to Vote 10, in each of the six financial years following the present.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): The estimated amount of the annuity in 1906–7 is £1,115,800. It is not possible at present to estimate the amounts for the succeeding years, but it is probable that by 1911–12 the amount of the annuity will have risen to £1,500,000.

The War Secretary's Conference with Volunteer Officers.

COLONEL PILKINGTON (Lancashire, Newton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether a report in shorthand was taken of the proceedings at the meeting which he held with Volunteer officers at the House of Commons on Friday, 28th July; and, if so, whether he will arrange for the printing and circulation among Volunteer commanding officers of a transcript of such report.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): A report was made for the information of the Army Council. Personally I should be very glad to issue the report, as I believe that its publication would do nothing but good; but I confess I am doubtful whether it is altogether in the interests of Volunteer officers that such publication should take place. The recent meeting was a private one, and derives its value from the freedom with which the officers present made suggestions and expressed their opinions. I am by no means certain that subsequent meetings would have the same value, if those taking part in them were aware that they were appealing to the public, nor am I confident that such a proceeding would be in the best interests of discipline.

Rifle Ranges and Ammunition for Volunteers.

MR. RENWICK (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will state if any, and what, progress has been made during the last six months in the provision of an increased number of rifle ranges for Volunteer corps, and a more plentiful and cheaper supply of ammunition than is possible under the existing regulations.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: As regards ranges fifteen have been opened during the last six months and the construction of nine more has been approved and has been commenced. As regards ammunition, my hon. friend's suggestion to supply further ammunition gratuitously would involve the expenditure of public money which is not at present available.

MR. RENWICK: I did not ask for gratuitous supplies of ammunition.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: It is now supplied at the lowest price the War Office can produce it, and the supply must be either at that rate or gratuitous.

MR. RENWICK: Are these new ranges for the Volunteers?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Yes, they are for the Auxiliary Forces.

The Guards' Headdress.

MR. RENWICK: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether it can be arranged that during the existing hot weather lighter headgear than the regulation busbies be worn by the Guards on sentry and guard duty at the Royal palaces and Government offices.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping): Is it not the fact that the term busby has never yet been applied to the headdress of the Guards, and is the bearskin not much more useful in keeping out wet, cold, and heat than any other form of headdress?

MR. RENWICK: I mean, of course, the picturesque but barbarous headdress that is at present worn by the Guards.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I had anticipated the indignant protest of my hon. and gallant friend. According to the Regulations, full dress, with full dress headdress, must be worn by Guards on Royal residences and in London. There is no other full dress headdress for the Brigade of Guards than the bearskin cap, and this is considered to afford perfect protection from the sun. It is not contemplated to make any change.

Army Contracts.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that a firm of contractors are working on orders for his Department excessive hours, while the workshops in the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich, are standing idle and men being discharged who usually execute this kind of work; and will he endeavour to proportion the orders in such a way so as to obviate the necessity of discharging men from the Royal Arsenal.

MR. J. F. HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside): Will the right hon. Gentleman bear in mind that the men of Sheffield are as liable to hunger as the men of Woolwich?

MR. CROOKS: Well, that is strange. We do live and learn.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I am not aware of the facts related, but if the hon. Member would kindly give me the name of the firm and the nature of the work to which he alludes I will have the matter inquired into. The necessity for the discharge of men from the Royal Arsenal is much regretted, but under present circumstances it is unavoidable.

War Office and Motor-Cars.

SIR F. DIXON-HARTLAND (Middlesex, Uxbridge): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if his Department are in negotiation with a Mr. Leinkhauf, or anyone else, to purchase 350 or any less number of motor-cars abroad for War Office use; and, if so, whether any opportunity will be given to English houses to compete for the order.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The War Department is not in negotiation with anyone to purchase motor-cars abroad for War Office use.

Epizootic Lymphangitis.

MR. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will state the approximate date from which South African horse disease recently appeared in Great Britain; the number of Army horses affected; the districts in which the disease has been and is at present; the number of horses slaughtered; and the number of stables closed, and shows and race meetings stopped, in Great Britain because of the outbreak of this disease.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Epizootic lymphangitis appeared in Great Britain in August, 1902. Up to July 31st, 1905, there have been 533 cases of Army horses affected, and of these 419 have been slaughtered. Detailed information as to the military districts in which the cases have occurred will be given in a Return recently promised in another place. As regards the last part of the Question, the actions referred to do not fall within the province of the Secretary of State for War.

MR. CULLINAN: Does the right hon. Gentleman deny the facts set out in this Question?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I know nothing about them.

MR. CULLINAN: What Department is responsible then?

Chinese Coolies in the Transvaal.

Dr. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, having regard to the fact that there are now 40,000 Chinese coolies on the Rand, and to the fact that Sir George Farrar, in commending the introduction of the Chinese coolies to the people of the Transvaal, mentioned from 20,000 to 30,000 coolies as the limit of requirement, to the fact that Lord Lansdowne, in another place, gave the assurance, on February 12th, 1904, that the proposal of the Government was to try the experiment of introducing Chinese coolies to the Transvaal on a limited scale, and to the fact that constant rioting is taking place among the coolies, he will now put a limit to the further importation of Chinese coolies into the Transvaal.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the COLONIES (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington): I would refer the hon. Member to the Answer given by me to a Question of his of similar tenor on February 23rd.† It is not the fact, according to my information, that constant rioting is taking place among the coolies.

Dr. MACNAMARA: Having regard to the facts set out in the Question, will the Government now put a limit to this importation?

Mr. LYTTELTON: I have nothing to add to my previous Answer to that Question.

Dr. MACNAMARA: Then the purport of the Answer is that it is intended to continue the importation of Chinese coolies.

Mr. LYTTELTON: That depends entirely upon the necessities of the mines, and on the opinion of the Transvaal Government.

Grant to Northern Nigeria.

Mr. EMMOTT (Oldham): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been drawn to the statement in Cd. 2564 that the Parliamentary grant for 1905–6 to Northern Nigeria is £375,000, whilst the grant-in-aid in our own Civil Service Estimates, page 456, is stated to be £320,000; and what is the explanation of this apparent discrepancy.

Mr. LYTTELTON: A note should have been added to the estimates for Northern (and I may add Southern) Nigeria, printed in Cd. 2564, to the effect that the figures there given were subject to revision. The correct amount of the grant-in-aid is £320,000.

Treatment of Chinese Coolies in British North Borneo.

Mr. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the conditions under which Chinese coolies are employed in British North Borneo are subject to any pledge given to the Chinese Government to the effect that corporal punishment should not be inflicted upon Chinese coolies; and, if not, will he consider the expediency of securing for these coolies labour rights which will exempt them from flogging.

The UNDER-SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.): So far as the British North Borneo Company are aware, no pledge has ever been asked for by, or given to, the Chinese Government with regard to the flogging of coolies in British North Borneo.

Mr. WEIR: Are we to understand that there is continual flogging of these poor unfortunate individuals?

Earl PERCY: I have no information on the point.

Mr. WEIR: Will the noble Lord inquire?

Earl PERCY: If the hon. Member can submit any facts calling for inquiry I will make it.

Mr. WEIR: Do you want me to go to British North Borneo?

[No Answer was returned.]

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxli., 1092.

Corridor Railway Carriage Exits.

Mr. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade whether the attention of the Board has been called to the growing practice of railway companies of substituting for carriages with compartments of six or more seats and two side doors affording prompt means of exit, long carriages with a narrow corridor with a much smaller proportion of, and, in some cases, no side doors, the result being impossibility of quick exit, and, in case of accident, consequent danger to the passengers; and whether it is proposed to take any steps in the matter in the interests of public safety.

The PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY to the BOARD of TRADE (Mr. Bonar Law, Glasgow, Blackfriars): The Board of Trade are aware that the use of corridor carriages with few or no side doors is increasing on railways, but no accident is known to have occurred, or to have been aggravated through the absence of side doors. It may be pointed out that in the case of most tube railways no use could be made of side doors, if provided, in the event of an accident occurring in the tube. The Board of Trade do not as at present advised consider any action to be necessary, but the whole question will be carefully watched.

Staircases in Parliament Buildings.

Mr. RENWICK: I beg to ask the hon. Member for Chorley, as representing the First Commissioner of Works, whether it can be arranged to improve and enlarge the existing staircases leading from the Strangers' Smoke Room and the Terrace to the Lobbies; and can such staircases be covered with carpet or felt instead of the oilcloth they are at present covered with.

Lord BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley): The First Commissioner fears that structural difficulties would prevent the widening of these staircases. He is of opinion that where there is so large an amount of traffic linoleum is preferable to carpet or felt, as it is more cleanly.

Examination in Languages for Candidates for Certificates as Teachers in English Schools.

Mr. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education what are the languages, other than English, included in the syllabus for the preliminary examination for the certificate in 1907, which is to take the place of the King's scholarship examination.

The PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY to the BOARD of EDUCATION (Sir William Anson, Oxford University): No language other than English is compulsory. Candidates are at liberty to offer one or two languages as optional subjects. The languages which may be thus offered are Greek, Latin, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Welsh, Hebrew. If two languages are offered, one of them must be one of the first four mentioned.

Mr. BOLAND: Is there anything to prevent the Irish language being included?

Sir WILLIAM ANSON: No candidates have yet offered themselves for examination in Irish.

Mr. BOLAND: If some do, will the hon. Baronet consider the advisability of including it?

Sir WILLIAM ANSON: Yes, Sir.

Cruisers Employed on Sea Police Duty.

Mr. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate if he will state the names of the cruisers now employed on sea police duty, their speed, tonnage, and the districts they respectively patrol, specifying which vessels are provided with searchlights.

*The LORD-ADVOCATE (Mr. Scott Dickson, Glasgow, Bridgton): The names, speed, and gross tonnage of the vessels employed on sea police duty are—

"Vigilant"	11 knots	185
"Brenda"	12½ ,,	174
"Minna"	12¾ ,,	281
"Freya"	12½ ,,	280

The cruisers have no specific district to patrol, their stations being changed periodically. All except the "Vigilant" are provided with search-lights. In addition to the above-named cruisers H.M.S. "Harrier" is available for similar duty.

Scottish Congested Districts and the Mansfield Commission Recommendations.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate whether he is yet in a position to state to what extent the Secretary for Scotland proposes to apply the recommendations of the Mansfield Commission to the Island of Lewis and Western Highlands.

*MR. SCOTT DICKSON: The Secretary for Scotland hopes to be in a position at an early date to intimate to what extent he can give effect to the recommendations of Lord Mansfield's Commission both in the counties of Sutherland and Caithness and generally in the congested area.

The Fishery Cruiser "Norna."

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate, having regard to the fact that the Fishery Board cruiser "Norna" was recently sold for £550 owing to the size and design of the vessel not being adapted to face the rough weather which fishery cruisers have to face in superintending the fisheries, will he state in what year this vessel was purchased, and at what cost; was the vessel built to the order of the Fishery Board; and, if not, will he state who recommended her purchase, and under what circumstances she was passed as suitable for the services of the Board.

*MR. SCOTT DICKSON: The "Norna" was built in the commencement of the year 1898 at a cost of £2,350; she was built to the order of the Fishery Board, as it had been decided to try a boat of this type for sea police duty.

The Beaufort Castle Shooting Case.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord-Advocate whether he is now in a position to state when the trial will take place of John Scheffer Phipps and Henry Carnegie Phipps, of Beaufort Castle, Inverness-shire, for shooting at and seriously wounding a man at work on the River Beauly; and will he state whether the Procurator-Fiscal, who has this case in hand, gives his whole time to the duties of his office, or does he engage in private practice.

MR. SCOTT DICKSON: The 29th inst. has been fixed for the trial. As to the terms of the Procurator-Fiscal's appointment, I refer the hon. Member to the Answer I gave yesterday † on the subject.

Importation of Horses into Ireland.

MR. HAMMOND (Carlow): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that a serious horse disease (epizootic lymphangitis) has recently been imported into Ireland through horses brought from South Africa, and that the steps which the Department of Agriculture are taking to prevent its spreading may be rendered nugatory if fresh cases come into the country without restriction, he will say if any inspection of horses coming into Ireland through its eastern seaports from England and foreign countries has been ordered.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (MR. WALTER LONG, Bristol, S.): The question of regulating the importation of horses into Ireland is at present under consideration.

County Longford Land Cases and Appeals.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state whether, with a view to securing the immediate clearing out of a large batch of unheard cases and appeals in the county Longford, under the Land Law (Ireland) Act, he will direct that future sittings of the Sub-Commissions will be held at periods of not less than six months, and of the Appeal Commission not less than one year.

MR. WALTER LONG: Four Sub-Commission sittings for Longford have been held within the past twelve months, and another will be held in September. An appeal sitting was held in May last. There are only nineteen appeals now pending from this county, and the Commissioners can give no undertaking as to the date of the next sitting.

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† See page 1164.

Poulduff Pier.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state how many years it is since the Wexford County Council voted £1,000 towards the improvement of the pier at Poulduff; if he will state when the Department for Agriculture consented to contribute towards the work; if he will state whether the contractor has yet signed his agreement with the Department for Agriculture for the execution of the work; if he will explain the delay of several years that has taken place in putting this work in hand; and if he will state who is responsible for this delay.

MR. WALTER LONG: The council voted the amount in August, 1903, but did not approve of the plans until November, 1904. The plans were subsequently modified at the instance of the county surveyor, and it was not until February last that the Department were in a position to ask for tenders. A satisfactory tender was with difficulty obtained, and accepted on May 6th, and the legal formalities connected with the contract are now approaching completion.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE: Can the right hon. Gentleman say when the tender is likely to be signed?

MR. WALTER LONG: I am afraid I cannot.

Irish Grant for Technical Education.

MR. CULLINAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state what is the amount of the equivalent grant withdrawn for technical education purposes; what is the number of schools affected by the withdrawal; and what are the relative amounts annually spent on technical education in England, Ireland, and Scotland.

MR. WALTER LONG: The amount of the special grant to Ireland for which provision was made in the ordinary Estimates for 1904–5, when it ceased, was £3,500. The circumstances under which payment of this special grant was made and discontinued have been fully explained in the House. In substitution for that grant provision has been made in the Development Grant Estimate for an annual payment of £7,000. Twelve schools participated in the original grant of £3,500; and the amount expended in technical instruction in Ireland in 1903–4 (the last year for which the figures are available) was £93,267. I have no information as to the corresponding amounts expended in Great Britain.

MR. CULLINAN: Is not the withdrawal of this money doing serious injury to the schools?

MR. WALTER LONG: No; because there has been substituted for it one of double the amount.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Has any arrangement been made to enable us to discuss the development grant?

MR. WALTER LONG: That Question should be addressed to the Leader of the House.

Trinity College Estates.

MR. CULLINAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the names of the two estates in which negotiations for sale are being carried on by Trinity College.

MR. WALTER LONG: I gave this information in my printed reply to the Question of the hon. Member for North Kildare on Monday.†

Irish Arterial Drainage.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, with reference to his recent statement that he had appointed a Committee of experts to inquire into the subject of arterial drainage in Ireland, whether he has taken care that the Committee shall consist of or shall include Irish engineers who know the country, or have been engaged in drainage and similar works in that country.

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† See page 902.

MR. WALTER LONG: I hope to be in a position to announce the names of the members of the Commission and the terms of reference in the course of a few days. Perhaps the hon. and learned Member will repeat his Question on Wednesday next.

MR. CLANCY: But surely the right hon. Gentleman can say if any Irish engineers will be appointed on it.

MR. WALTER LONG: Of course the members of the Commission will be mainly Irish.

MR. CLANCY: We want Irish engineers appointed to do Irish work.

Inspection of Irish Intermediate Schools.

MR. CLANCY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been directed to the recently-issued Report of the Board of Intermediate Education for Ireland, and particularly to that portion of it dealing with the question of inspection of intermediate schools; whether he is aware that so far back as June, 1902, the Board submitted to the Government the details of a scheme of inspection which have remained ever since unconsidered, and that the Act of 1900, dealing with this matter, renders it obligatory on the Board, on the Irish Department of the Government, and on the Treasury, to frame and settle a scheme of inspection as a necessary portion of the intermediate system as altered by the Act referred to; and whether, seeing that the Board has discharged its own part of this obligation, he will explain why the Irish Department of the Government and the Treasury, have refused to discharge their portion, and for how long that Department and the Treasury intend to delay the efforts of the Board to carry out its trust.

MR. WALTER LONG: The Government did not refuse to provide for a system of inspection. What it did refuse to establish was a system of inspection conducted by a permanent inspectorate until the question of the parts which examination and inspection respectively played in the distribution of State aid to the schools had been determined. A reference to the Report of Messrs. Dale and Stephens on Intermediate Education will, I think, satisfy the hon. and learned Member of the propriety of the attitude taken by the Government in this matter.

MR. CLANCY: Is it a fact that of the three parties who have to settle this question, the Government is the only one which hesitates and will not do anything.

MR. WALTER LONG: No, Sir.

MR. CLANCY: But the Report of the Board says it is. Is not the statement correct?

MR. WALTER LONG: We are waiting for a complete scheme to be devised. Until that is done it is obviously impossible for the Government to move further.

The Alleged Outrage at Boyle.

MR. JAMES O'KELLY (Roscommon, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will state the number of police investigating the alleged outrage near Boyle, county of Roscommon, on the 11th July, in the course of which it is alleged that serious fighting with firearms took place and lasted for three hours, the alleged result being that one man was wounded and a mansion wrecked; whether he has yet received any report in reference to this alleged outrage from the police; and, if so, whether he will communicate this report to the House.

MR. WALTER LONG: I refer to the reply which I gave yesterday† to the Question addressed to me by the hon. Member for South Antrim. The reply to the last inquiry is in the negative.

MR. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S.): Does the right hon. Gentleman refuse to give the particulars of the report he has received from the police?

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† See page 1173,

Mr. WALTER LONG: The hon. Member knows perfectly well I have repeatedly stated that my Answers are based on the police reports.

Mr. HAYDEN: Does the report contain nothing beyond what the right hon. Gentleman said yesterday. The right hon. Gentleman has not yet answered the Question how many police have been engaged in investigating this matter from the beginning up to the present.

Mr. WALTER LONG: I have said that out of forty policemen in the whole district about five were engaged in this particular work. I also said that they had arrived at the conclusion that there was no foundation for the statement that an outrage had taken place. I do not think the hon. Member is entitled to ask me for more information or for a more explicit declaration.

Mr. HAYDEN: Well, I think I am. Were the windows that were broken broken from the inside or outside of the house? Was not a domestic quarrel the foundation for this slander on a whole district? Does the police report deal with these matters?

Mr. WALTER LONG: No, Sir, it does not, and I said yesterday there was no evidence of any attack having been made on this particular house. I could not possibly say whether the windows were broken from inside or outside. At the very outset I told the House the police believed there was no second party in the matter. I have no precise information as to whether this disturbance was due to a domestic quarrel.

Mr. HAYDEN: Will the right hon. Gentleman answer this Question—Why has it taken the police three weeks to find out that the statement in the newspapers was false?

*Mr. SPEAKER: That Question hardly arises out of the one on the Paper.

Mr. HAYDEN: It is one of the series of Questions we have been pressing.

*Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member must give notice of it.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): Did the police report inform the right hon. Gentleman what newspaper office at Boyle concocted this libel and sold it to the Press Association? I am not alleging anything against the Press Association. I know they are only anxious to put the truth before the public.

*Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not entitled to make a speech.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Well, does the report give that information?

Mr. WALTER LONG: No, Sir. I do not think it does.

Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN: If another opportunity arises I may be able to give the right hon. Gentleman the information.

Mr. CULLINAN: How is it that *The Times* and other papers which published the original libel have not a word to say now about the contradiction?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! That is not a proper Question to ask.

Irish Language in Irish Schools—Proposed Withdrawal of Grant.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will lay upon the Table of the House any correspondence which has passed between the Treasury and the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland on the proposed withdrawal of the grant for the Irish language as an extra subject; and whether he will also lay upon the Table the Minutes of any meetings of the Board at which the subject was considered.

Mr. WALTER LONG: The correspondence with the Treasury is of a Departmental and confidential character, and it would be contrary to the established practice to publish it. The Minutes of the Board contain detailed references to the Treasury correspondence, and for that reason I must decline to lay these Minutes on the Table.

Mr. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): Did the National Board, in coming to a decision, take steps to ensure that Irish would be taught as an ordinary subject in Irish schools?

MR. SPEAKER: Obviously that does not arise out of the Question on the Paper.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL suggested it arose out of the Question asking for the production of the Minutes.

MR. SPEAKER: I take a different view. That part of the Question has already been answered.

Afflicted Children (Ireland) Bill.

MR. CLANCY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received any information leading him to the conclusion that a desire is felt by the Irish public for further time to consider the details of the Afflicted Children (Ireland) Bill, and, if so, whether he intends to proceed further with the Bill this session.

MR. WALTER LONG: I have received information to this effect. I am afraid it will not be practicable to proceed further with the Bill, though I should much regret it.

Edgeworthstown Drainage.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether any application has been recently received for the formation of a drainage board in the vicinity of Edgeworthstown, county Longford; and, if so, will the application be granted.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): No application for the formation of a drainage board has been received by the Board of Works.

Redistribution.

MR. THORNTON (Clapham): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will give a Return containing the names of any boroughs which, under the Redistribution scheme issued lately by the Local Government Board, were to be partitioned and not disfranchised, their voters being divided between neighbouring divisions.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): May I be allowed to answer this Question. Outside London no Parliamentary borough which is not disfranchised will be partitioned between neighbouring divisions. As regards London a Return is being prepared which, among other things, will give the information desired.

MR. THORNTON: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Committee selected to privately advise the Government as to the redistribution of London boroughs will apply to the local working-class clubs and other organisations for information as well as to political and municipal authorities.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I can assure my hon. friend that all persons or institutions who may be thought to have valuable information to offer to the Committee or Commission upon this subject will have an opportunity of conveying their views.

MR. THORNTON asked whether candidates for Parliament would be informed as to the dates of the sittings.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not know anybody more interested than the candidates, and they will have an opportunity of communicating any information which they may have at their disposal.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Will there be a separate Commission for Ireland?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, Sir, there will be a separate Commission.

North Sea Fisheries Investigation.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he will state when a Report showing the progress made in the international scheme of North Sea Fisheries Investigation will be laid upon the Table of the House; will he state what sum has been voted by each European Power for this work; and whether France has yet been invited to take part in the investigations.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR was understood to reply that the information asked for would be found in the Report of the Scottish Fishery Board, which would shortly be circulated. Papers in continuation of those already presented were in course of preparation. The French Government were invited to take part in the work, but declined. As to the sums voted by foreign Powers, he would obtain the information for the hon. Member.

Members of Parliament and Government Contracts.

Mr. THEODORE TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe): On behalf of the hon. Member for the Otley Division of Yorkshire, I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if, in consequence of the increase in the number of limited companies since the passing of the Act, 22 Geo. 3, c. 45, s. 1, under which Members of the House of Commons are, as private traders, unable to undertake Government contracts, he will take steps to strike out of the list of Government contractors such companies the undertakings of which prove on investigation to be, substantially, the property of a Member of the House of Commons and his family.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The Government do not propose any legislation on this subject.

Royal Commission on Poor Law Administration.

Mr. WHITMORE (Chelsea): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the fact that the Unemployed Workmen Bill would introduce new methods for providing employment for able-bodied persons beyond the limits and conditions of the Poor Law, His Majesty's Government will consider the advisability of the appointment at an early date of a Royal Commission to inquire into the working of the Poor Law, and the results of the action of the borough councils in finding work for the unemployed in pursuance of orders and circulars from the Local Government Board, in order to ascertain how far the administration of the boards of guardians and borough councils is efficient, and to what extent, if any, the existing powers of the Poor Law authorities are inadequate and unfitted to modern industrial needs and conditions.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: My hon. friend has been courteous enough to postpone this Question once or twice for my convenience and I thank him for so doing. I have now to say, in behalf of His Majesty's Government, that, having given full consideration to the question, we are of opinion that the time has now come when full inquiry into the subjects referred to by my hon. friend ought to be undertaken. There has been no such inquiry, so far as I know, since the great inquiry in the thirties, which resulted in the passing into law of the new Poor Law Act; and we think the time has now come when a survey of the subject under new conditions, and in connection with modern requirements, ought to be undertaken. In ordinary circumstances, and on a subject like this, Governments have a reluctance to lay themselves open to the charge that they are appointing an inquiry in order to postpone action; but in the present case, as the House knows, we are anxious that the Unemployed Bill, as modified by the Amendments of my right hon. friend the President of the Local Government Board, should be tried as an experiment for three years, and before these three years have elapsed I think we may reasonably hope that even so vast a subject may be thoroughly surveyed by the Commission which we desire to appoint.

Mr. LOUGH (Islington, W.): Is it the intention to appoint this Commission in the recess, and, if so, will it be possible to lay the terms of reference before the House before it separates.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I should doubt whether it would be possible, but I do not say it will not be possible. I cannot give any promise; but the general scope of the inquiry, I hope, has been made quite clear by my Answer. We are anxious to survey everything which appertains to dealing with the problem of the poor, whether poor by their own fault or by temporary lack of employment. We are also anxious to investigate what means can be taken to deal with the problems which thus arise, whether by employment by municipalities or in any other way. The subject is not a small one, and its importance will not be denied by anybody who has in his mind the all-important subject which the question of poor relief has raised in the past and is likely to raise in the future.

DR. THOMPSON (Monaghan, N.): Will the inquiry extend to Ireland?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I should like to consider that question; by which I do not mean that Ireland is not as much interested in the conclusions of such a Commission, or in the conclusion we may arrive at after the Commission has been appointed, as any part of Great Britain, but whether it would not be necessary to appoint a separate Commission for Ireland is a question I should like to consider. So far as I remember, the Commission of 1834 did not deal with Ireland.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: How will Scotland stand?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think the same observation probably applies to Scotland. That subject also I will consider.

MR. LOUGH: Will it be a Royal Commission, and will it be appointed at once?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It will be a Royal Commission. We propose to make no unnecessary delay. I can assure the hon. Gentleman, speaking as one on whose shoulders has rested the burden of appointing many Commissions, that there are few operations more difficult; and it is quite impossible, especially at this time of year, to have any security that we shall be able to bring the operation of appointing it rapidly to a conclusion.

MR. CROOKS: Can the right hon. Gentleman give a general outline of the character of this Commission? ["Oh, oh!"] I am not asking for names. It is very important. I agree as to the absolute necessity of it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am sure the Question is only asked for the purpose of getting information, but I think the hon. Gentleman will understand that it is impossible for us at the present moment to give an indication of the character of the Commission. If I remember rightly, the Commission of 1834 consisted of nine persons, and none of them, so far as I know, were persons greatly concerned in Party politics or connected with any class interest, and they proceeded to consider the question from what I might call the abstract and disinterested point of view. I myself have a great preference for Commissions of that sort, but I know it is very difficult to get the House to assent to their appointment.

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL asked leave to move the adjournment of the House in order to raise the question of the teaching of the Irish language in Irish national schools and the discontinuance of the grant.

***MR. SPEAKER**: Order, Order! The hon. Member must have forgotten that this is one of the days on which such a Motion cannot by Standing Order be made.

SUPPLY [19TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[MR. GRANT LAWSON (Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1905–6.

CLASS II.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £108,629, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department and Subordinate Offices."

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) moved to reduce the Vote by £100, and said that the right hon. Member for West Birmingham and members of the Government had alleged that our Factory and Workshops Acts, our Mines Acts, and our Truck Acts were altogether in advance of those of rival countries, and that the stringency of our laws formed a handicap against our trade. The Amendment he was proposing would be mainly supported on the ground of the conduct of the Government since the debate of last year in regard to the International Labour Conference lately held at Berne. Would it be believed that our Government had declined all opportunities of co-operating with those Powers which were trying to improve the standard throughout the world? Foreign countries had brought up their legislation very rapidly to our level. In the dangerous trades, and as regards the coal mines, France and Germany had gone past this country, and were making the most strenuous endeavours to bring up the backward countries to our and their level. They had brought immense pressure to bear upon countries like Italy and Belgium, in the case of Italy with marked success. There had never been, except perhaps in the case of Japan, so rapid a development of manufactures as in Italy, which was rapidly coming to the front, though she was behindhand both in legislation and in the enforcement of it until three years ago. But through French pressure and by means of an actual treaty between the two countries she had been brought well into line. M. Fontaine, the Director of Labour in France—whose work in connection with the international regulation of labour was world-wide work—had been intimately connected with the origin of the first international conference, which had followed the first international treaties with regard to labour legislation, and the British Government were represented at the conference. But the nucleus of this international action was the work of persons who had, no doubt, been stimulated by the Governments of France and Germany. The French Government were increasing their annual contribution towards that office or nucleus from £200 to £400 a year, and other Governments were now contributing towards the committee that called the conferences together. Our Government alone stood behind, while it was represented at the recent conference by delegates of lesser rank and authority than those of the other Governments.

Last year it was the opinion of those who took part in the debate on that Vote, that as it was known France was to be represented by statesmen of the first rank and highest authority the representation of our country should be on a similar scale, for we had a greater interest in this question than any other country. We were the greatest manufacturing Power, and we ought to take the lead in bringing up other countries to our level. We had led in the past in factory and workshop legislation, and if it was our pecuniary interest it was also our duty in the interests of humanity, which, after all, were at stake, to lead in this movement. Senator Richard Waddington, who stood out supreme for his knowledge of these questions, who as chairman of the French Permanent Labour Commission enjoyed the absolute confidence of both masters and men, represented France, and he was accompanied by M. Millerand, formerly Minister of Commerce and Industry. The Home Office was represented by two delegates against whom personally he had nothing to say. He wished to point out that they were of inferior rank to the delegates sent by other Powers, and the instructions given to them were to be seen in the protocols which, although published in the French tongue, had not been circulated to Members of this House.

In the discussion on phosphorous necrosis that took place the first British delegate stated that so successful had this country been in its legislation that there had not been a single case in 1905, and he thereupon proceeded to lecture his international colleagues on dentistry, and to argue that international action was unnecessary. Then he added the startling assertion that—

> "My Government has not thought fit to authorise us to sign a treaty."

That sentence contained an absolute veto on the result of the deliberations before the British delegates even knew what was to be proposed at the conference. He did not know how far that represented the general policy of the Government, but he hoped that the Home Secretary would be able to explain the Government view to-day. The position of the British delegates at the conference reminded him of the familiar case of Tweedledum in *Through the Looking Glass*, who said it could rain outside but it did not rain under his umbrella. In the same way the British delegates said there could be no phosphorous necrosis here, and therefore we were disinterested and did not care about what happened in other countries. But the British delegate added a foot-note on the proof of the protocol, stating that there had been one recent case of phosphorous necrosis, and since then two cases had been admitted, though he contended that there had been three recent cases all in the same factory—a factory which was now admitted to be well conducted. On being questioned the Home Secretary stated that in the factory stringent special rules were in force, and the right hon. Gentleman added that the rules had been violated in certain cases. The fact was that the precautions laid down under the new regulations never could be or would be strictly observed. It was admitted by everyone that the disease arose immediately from decayed teeth and their removal. Let them take the case of a poor woman, who had a decayed tooth extracted and concealed the fact in order not to be put off her miserable work. Such cases would always happen. All European countries, except Great Britain, had said, or were going to say, that yellow and white phosphorus were to be proscribed; and the question before our Government was whether they would continue to refuse conditional adherence to a unanimous agreement on this point. The Director of Industry, Labour, and Commerce of Hungary had said in reply to our delegates that—

> "The most minute and the most perfect appliances are powerless to suppress necrosis. Other States which make matches by the same improved machinery as the best in Great Britain had been forced to prohibit yellow phosphorus."

To this the German delegates assented. The Hungarian delegate warmly appealed to Great Britain, without whose adhesion the convention would be useless. He pointed out that Great Britain could yield more easily than Belgium or Hungary, each of which had more match-makers than Great Britain, or than Italy, which had nearly three times the number. The German Director of the Interior said—

> "It is a fundamental error to believe that protective measures can stamp out necrosis. The British cases prove this. In Germany also there was strong opposition to the prohibition, but nevertheless it was carried out."

The Belgian Inspector of Labour said that—

> "His country was making a heavy sacrifice, but thought it necessary for the good of the world, though much more difficult than it would be for Great Britain."

Nine countries voted for the resolution and two against—Great Britain and Sweden. Sweden had since withdrawn her opposition and had agreed to come in if Japan came in, and Japan was coming in. Why should not the Government sign with every other European Power the conditional agreement to act if Japan came in? Why not do even as Sweden had done?

On the second question submitted, which was that of the night labour of women, our regulations were ahead of those of other countries with the exception, perhaps, of our exemption of fruit and fish trades; yet the British delegates stood severely apart and refused to sign. But, as M. Millerand pointed out—

> "It is impossible to argue from the goodness of national legislation that one should remain outside international understandings."

Was not that the position which the House would desire to see the Government take up? When he questioned the Home Secretary on the subject the right hon. Gentleman said—

> "In accordance with the instructions given them, the delegates of this country abstained from voting on either of the resolutions when finally put to the vote."

Was the Home Secretary now in a position to make the statement he then promised as to the Government's attitude towards these proposals? This was the first international conference of this kind, and only those subjects were brought forward on which there was a probability of general agreement. No one could doubt, however, that if this international movement proved fruitful in this case it would be extended. A diplomatic conference, for drawing up the general treaty, was to follow. By whom was the British Government to be represented at that conference? By men of rank and standing, capable of enunciating a policy, or by mere Home Office clerks, bound up by definite instructions to agree to nothing? Some people wanted to see labour itself represented in these conferences, but other Governments had not followed that course. He did not know, indeed, if we could select a man so universally acceptable to all classes as was Senator Waddington in the case of France. At any rate, let them at any future conference be represented by men who had a policy to propound, and who would not be fettered by such instructions as had been given on this occasion.

He had dealt with this matter at some length because it was one of first-class importance, and he held that it was the duty of the Committee to force on the Government some definite policy. On the question of lead poisoning in the china and earthenware trades, the Government had been forced by pressure in the House of Commons to adopt stringent regulations, but those regulations had not been sufficient to prevent lead poisoning, though they had diminished the number of cases. A new departure was made under the bold and entirely novel scheme struck out by Lord James of Hereford; but the Home Office failed to obtain the prohibition of lead in certain processes or its reduction to a very low figure. After a considerable decline in the number of cases as a result of the regulations there had been a rise again, and the number—106—was now the same as in 1901, a fact which, considering there had not been much change in the number of people employed during that period, was a source of alarm to some of them. He was not blaming the Home Office for their proposals were not accepted. This increase had taken place in face of a stringent enforcement of the new regulation such as suspending workers susceptible to poisoning. In cases of suspension for susceptibility there was no compensation under Lord James's scheme, and generally none where the suspension was for sickness in which lead was a contributory cause only. These suspensions must involve great hardship in a district like the Potteries, in which there was only one trade. Suspension meant starvation or dependence on charity. If they looked at the Report they would find, on page 311, that Dr. Arlidge said that a woman once suspended should not be allowed to return to lead work, certainly for a year or two. Compensation depended on a certificate of plumbism, which was not easy to obtain, because very often lead was only a contributory cause to the condition of the worker. Where the worker was suspended and then certified for light work, the compensation was reduced or stopped. The report cited the case of a girl of eighteen, whose work was stopped on the 20th October. She was granted 4s. 2d. weekly, but was certified on February 16th as "fit for light work," and the compensation stopped. She could not get light work and was dependent on charity at the present time. In another case the girl was twenty-two. She was stopped working on December 29th, and was awarded 7s. weekly. She was certified as fit for light work on February 6th. She was offered majolica painting—not a harmless form of work, but she was prevented from taking it by the doctor, and was still dependent on charity. The third case was that of a married woman of twenty-three, a majolica paintress, who was stopped in March, awarded 6s. 7d. weekly compensation, and declared fit for light work in May. She could not get any for seven weeks, then she had some for one week only, and lost it again through inability and power to carry it on. The compensation was stopped because there could be no certificate of plumbism, and she was consequently dependent on the Lead Fund. The Committee could judge from cases of that kind what a large number there must be on the border line.

He and his friends had pressed very much in the last three years in the discussion on this Vote for the appointment of additional women inspectors, as the main portion of the workers there were women. Last year some concession was made to the demand. It appeared from the Report now before them that the woman inspector, who did such excellent work, was taken off the duties in which she was engaged and sent to Ireland, where, indeed, there was need for inspection, and where he for one had always thought they should face the facts and have inspectors belonging both to the Roman Catholic and the Protestant religions so that no religious question would arise. He was sorry to say that it had arisen in some cases. They were promised one-third of the time of a woman inspector and they should not always get the same woman inspector. It was not satisfactory that this woman inspector should have been sent to Ireland, and they must press for more satisfaction of their views in that matter. He remained convinced that the solution of this question was the gradual abolition of lead in this dangerous industry. He saw from page 261 of the Report that Miss Anderson, the principal lady inspector, declared that "improvement in health of women and girls not yet noticeable." Miss Martindale, the inspector employed in the Potteries, reported that it was disappointing that manufacturers had not pursued more vigorously their quest of a glaze which had less dangerous results.

The subject on which hon. Members were most agreed was the necessity for a continued increase in the staff of women inspectors. The work had been greatly increased, as was shown by the report of Miss Deane in regard to her laundry area in London. Miss Deane referred to the curious fact that there were in it 286 factory laundries in 1904 as against 185 four years earlier. The women inspectors had not all their time for the work which they did so well. They were set to make special inquiries for the Home Office on matters of first-class importance. The Report showed that this year they had had to make special reports on the laws as to employment of women after childbirth; the number of persons rejected for physical unfitness and their after-employment; and fustian cutting. He mentioned these as examples of the subjects in regard to which these ladies rendered admirable service apart from their ordinary work. In her report Miss Anderson had a pathetic paragraph in which she said that two temporary appointments were made permanent. There had been no increase of inspectors' time, rather less being available. There were 1,500,000 women in the factories and workshops of this country, and the services of the women inspectors had by universal admission been admirable. The women workers expected that the Government would provide for their interests being more carefully protected under the legislation which had been passed regulating their employment. He begged to move.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £108,529, be granted for the said service."—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.) said he wished to call attention to a matter of urgent importance. Since the session began he had succeeded in getting from the Home Office a Return in regard to laundries in conventual institutions, and from that it appeared that there was no possibility of inspection taking place, or of the Home Office knowing exactly what was being carried on in them. There was a Bill known as the Factories and Workshops Act, brought in in 1901, which contained a clause including all charitable and religious institutions doing laundry work. The circumstances of that day prevented the then Home Secretary from carrying that Bill with that clause included. Hon Gentlemen from Ireland took great exception to the inclusion of that clause, and the Government took it out. He regretted to say that the Bill was passed without that clause, and it was for that reason he ventured to engage the attention of the Committee for a short time to bring before its notice what he believed to be an essential thing, namely, the inspection of these institutions which competed with outside labour. It was not a question of religion at all. It was a question as to the advisability of having the employees in these institutions safeguarded by Act of Parliament similar to employees in all other institutions.

The Questions he had put to the Home Secretary were very simple. Was there any such inspection at all? He was well aware there was voluntary inspection, and some of the institutions did not object to the inspectors going in and seeing what was going on. In Ireland the greatest courtesy and kindness was shown to the inspectors at some institutions. But that could not be very satisfactory, because there were a number of these institutions in which inspection of a voluntary character was not taking place at all. Consequently there were places in which abuses were likely to occur. He would like to know where there was inspection attempted if it was resented, and where it was most in favour, in this country or in Ireland. It ought not to be a difficult thing for the Committee to see the advisability of including the clause that was excluded from the Bill of 1901, seeing the large number of institutions which were at the present time under voluntary inspection. Supposing there was an accident in these places, there was no possibility of getting to understand whether the individual should be compensated or what had been the cause of the accident. There was no possibility of getting at the number of hours worked by these persons, and there should be no objection to the passage of a small measure for the purpose of bringing these religious and charitable institutions under the law.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): May I rise to a point of order? The hon. Member for Belfast is recommending legislation. May I respectfully say that is not in order when we are discussing a Vote in Committee of Supply on services actually rendered and matters arising thereon. I would respectfully submit that as the House has rejected this provision it is not in order to make a Second Reading speech on the subject. The House having rejected that clause, discussion ought to be confined to the topics that are strictly relevant.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. and learned Gentleman is quite right. There is no doubt that is so. I did not notice that the hon. Member for Belfast was recommending legislation. Of course it is not in order to discuss in Committee of Supply matters which would require legislation.

Mr. SLOAN said they had a Return before the House which gave the names of the places where work was being performed. The Home Office was in possession of the fact that inspectors might make voluntary inspections; that that inspection was resented in some laundries, while in others it was carried out. With all respect to the House he wanted to know whether he would be in order if he were to put some Questions to the Home Secretary in regard to the necessity of compulsory inspection, because of the voluntary inspection not being satisfactory.

The CHAIRMAN: If compulsory inspection would require legislation it would be out of order.

Mr. SLOAN: Do you say it would require legislation?

The CHAIRMAN: I think it would.

Mr. SLOAN: But that is just my point.

The CHAIRMAN: I think clearly it would require legislation, or else the late Home Secretary would not have thought it necessary to put a clause in the Bill of 1901 to make inspection compulsory.

Mr. SLOAN said the right hon. Member for Croydon, the then Home Secretary, introduced a Bill which contained a clause bringing these institutions under ordinary inspection. That clause was resented by certain Members, and it was taken out of the Bill and the Bill was passed without it.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Our time is very limited. We have only till 10 o'clock to-night to discuss this Vote, and therefore every moment is precious. I think the hon. Member should immediately obey the order of the Chairman and not discuss irrelevant matters.

THE CHAIRMAN: I hope the hon. Member for Belfast will leave that point. He cannot discuss it.

MR. SLOAN said he was not desirous to transgress the ruling of the Chair or keep the Committee from its work. He thought he would be in order if he asked the Home Secretary a few Questions with regard to these institutions. In the first place, was there any inspection at all? If so, to what extent? Was it satisfactory? How was it carried out? And was it resented? He submitted that there was no reason for refusing to bring any of these institutions under the law which at present applied to other laundries.

THE CHAIRMAN again called the hon. Member to order on the ground that he was on the point of transgressing his ruling, and the hon. Member thereupon resumed his seat.

MR. T. RICHARDS (Monmouthshire) said in supporting the Motion for the reduction of the salary of the Home Secretary, he wished to call attention to the necessity for the Government to appoint some person or persons to conduct a special inquiry into the cause of the Wattstown colliery disaster, where 120 lives had been lost during the last few weeks. The reason why he asked for the special inquiry was because of the enormous sacrifice of life continually involved by explosions in the collieries. The Home Secretary was good enough the other day to give him the numbers of lives lost in collieries in South Wales and Great Britain generally during the last fifty years. There were 9,294 deaths from explosions alone. Since then he had found out that in South Wales alone they had had 109 explosions in the last sixty-one years with a loss of 4,104 lives. The loss of life was very great, but through fortunate circumstances not so great as it might have been. For instance, they had had three explosions in South Wales this year, with a loss of 160 lives. Were it not for the fortunate moment at which two of those explosions occurred the loss might have been 1,000 and not 160. That, in itself, was sufficient justification for calling attention to the matter. His object in drawing attention to the matter was not to fix any liability either criminal or otherwise on those who had the management of this unfortunate colliery, because it must be known to everybody that the chief manager thought everything had been done for the safety of the workmen and risked his own life at the time. Neither did he rise for any Party purpose, because the administration of a Government had as much influence in the country as its legislation. While this Government would go to the country after an almost barren session, here was an opportunity for the Home Office to relieve that barrenness by humane administration. His sole desire in this matter was that every advantage possible should be taken of scientific research and investigation to grapple with the problems of these great disasters. In that spirit he asked if everything had been done that might be done to prevent these explosions. People had thought for many years that all had not been done that might be done to prevent these disasters. Whenever a large body of miners congregated together one of the most important resolutions submitted to them was upon the prime need of legislation to prevent these accidents recurring. They had not merely called the attention of the House of Commons to the matter. They had sent deputations to almost every Home Secretary for a great many years.

He was not going to quote his own opinion. He had been fortunate enough, but he hoped the Home Office and the colliery owners had seen an article written in the London *Standard* last week by a gentleman who was one of the greatest authorities in Great Britain upon the causes of these disasters. That gentleman had been a colliery manager, a consulting mining engineer, and was now a professor of mining. Therefore he was well up in the theory and practice of mining. He meant Professor Galloway, who, in a very lengthy and able article on colliery explosions in the *Standard* last week, in dealing with the regulations which were at present in existence, said that—

"These regulations, if well and faithfully carried out by those responsible for the safety of the mines, would render the recurrence of great explosions practically impossible."

He ventured to say that that was a very grave and serious indictment to be made by one of the ablest engineers and scientists who had given his life study to this question. He asked the Committee to consider against whom that indictment was brought. In one instance it was brought against the Home Office, because he maintained that the Home Office was the joint partner with the colliery owners in what Mr. Galloway described as the proper carrying out of these regulations. They had had three great explosions this year in South Wales, the violence of which had been almost as great as that of any explosion that had occurred in this country. Still, they had this eminent scientist saying that this explosion ought not to have occurred if there had been a proper administration of the regulations relating to the management of the mines.

He ventured to say that both the Home Office and the mineowners were quite incompetent to secure an intelligent, careful, and effective administration of the rules for the management of collieries referred to by Mr. Galloway. He called the attention of the Committee to this fact. Take the particular district where this explosion had occurred. In that district there was only one chief inspector and two assistant inspectors. They had to supervise the mines and quarries employing 85,275 workmen, producing 24,109,205 tons annually. In that district alone last year there were 137 fatal accidents and 227 non-fatal. This chief inspector was supposed to inspect these mines and quarries periodically and report upon them to the Home Office. But, in addition to the multiplicity of other duties he had to discharge, he had to attend to the inquests on these 137 fatal accidents. That necessarily meant a great deal of time for him and his assistants. Then he had to write reports, and there was a large amount of correspondence between the office and the colliery owners. In that inspector's report last year he said that the whole of the mines had been inspected except four, but two of those were small mines. He supposed it might be taken for granted that the other two were large proprietary mines. And yet during the whole twelve months neither the chief inspector nor his two assistants had been able to pay a visit to these large collieries. It must not be understood that he was in any shape or form blaming the chief inspector, but he wanted to call attention to the impossibility in a large area to get very efficient inspectorship by the present staff.

Mr. T. Richards.

Then they came to the next parties who had power in the enforcement of the rules. He had said in that House before, and he repeated it, that if he was spared to be a Member of that House for any length of time, and if these reforms were not carried out, he prophesied that the firemen in these collieries, who were the most important men connected with the mines, and who spent a large portion of their time at the top of the pit, would rebel. The firemen were in the colliery day by day and night by night; and they had to act in cases of emergency and at times of crises, at a moment's notice in many instances, and yet these men, entrusted with those responsible duties, had no examination to pass, and they had to satisfy nobody but the colliery manager, who might be satisfied with them for various reasons other than those connected with the duties he had named. He did not want to go into details, but he could give some instances of extraordinary appointments made. One would have thought that, seeing they had to perform duties of such importance, seeing that they had to examine every nook and corner of the colliery for the enemy that destroyed so many lives, no manager would put upon the shoulders of firemen any other duties. He did not know how it was in other parts, but in Wales the firemen appeared to be the general servants of the colliery and had to spend a large portion of their time in performing other multitudinous duties. It might have been necessary in previous years to appoint men with practical knowledge and with no scientific training, but now, with the great advantages of our technical instruction system, there was no excuse for appointing men who were not thoroughly equipped from every standpoint; especially in view of the continued and regular explosions which occurred.

He had heard it said in former debates that this country ought to lead in matters relating to the Army and Navy, and the right hon. Baronet had that afternoon said that we ought also to lead in other matters, but he ventured to say that there could be nothing more important than the proper training of the firemen in collieries. There were, he believed, seventy students from the South Wales collieries at present on the Continent, and they had been taken by their teachers to the various colliery undertakings and institutions. They were there for dealing with mining for the purpose of improving their education, and the following was what was said about them—

"There was a keen interest taken in the visit to a colliery, where the Government has apparatus for testing the effects of air currents containing varying percentages of fire damp on safety lamps and explosives. Several experiments were conducted by the expert in charge, and naturally there was a unanimous desire amongst the students present, all of whom worked in the mines, that application should be made to the British Government to establish similar apparatus in the most dangerous of our coalfields. Who can tell how many lives would have been saved in the South Wales collieries during the last few years if such a testing apparatus were placed at Cardiff. Colliery firemen must be trained to report the presence of small quantities of firedamp. How are they trained?"

That was only in little Belgium, and he asked the Home Secretary and the Committee whether it was too much to expect that in the most dangerous coalfield in the world, producing the best quality coal in the world, they ought not only to have those responsible properly trained, but every apparatus for the safety of the workmen.

He wanted to call the attention of the Committee to what seemed to him the absolute indifference that had been displayed by all parties to this great question in recent years. In 1881 there was a Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the cause of explosions, their prevention, and generally into the whole matter. It sat for five years—he thought the hon. Member for Morpeth was one of the members—and it took all the possible evidence, and great credit was due to the gentlemen forming it for the exhaustive inquiry made and the excellent Report presented. He was not going to say nothing had resulted from that Commission, because the Coal Mines Regulations Act of 1887 was largely based on its findings, and that Act, he thought, had done much to reduce the number of accidents from all causes in mines, but very much less had been done than the importance of the subject demanded. He would give one instance. It was proved to the satisfaction of that Commission by two very able experts, one being Mr. Galloway, whom he had just quoted, that the presence of 2 per cent. of coal gas in the atmosphere of a mine under certain conditions would cause an explosive mixture that would result in a violent explosion. Having found out that fact, they made investigations to find an indicator or a lamp that would detect that percentage of gas, and it would be seen in their Report that they found an indicator, which they recommended, that would detect 0·25 per cent. of gas. It surprised him—and it was, he thought, some cause for reflection by the Home Office and the Committee—that although that was twenty years ago, and although there could be no doubt about the Commission's authority and ability to speak about the matter, they were still putting in the hands of firemen, who had to look for gas, instruments that would not detect 2 per cent. of gas. He thought that was a serious matter, and that the Home Secretary ought now in the last days of his office to do something. The miners of the country would be grateful. The Government had entirely ignored them from the beginning of their life till now so far as legislation was concerned; but here was an opportunity for the Home Secretary not only to distinguish himself, but to render the miners of the country great service by again calling attention to the fact that the recommendations of the Commission had not yet been adopted. The Royal Commission said—

"These considerations have impressed upon us the need for the establishment of some permanent arrangement by which the continuous pursuit of this highly important class of work

> may be secured in order to test the merits of suggestions and inventions."

There had been twenty years since then, but nothing had been done. The Commissioners continued—

> "We consider that if the arrangements we have referred to were used systematically in connection with the usual official inquiry, complete investigation would be greatly promoted in dealing with the difficulties which frequently arise in elucidating the causes of disaster."

There was a recommendation that they should have in existence a permanent authority that should from time to time take advantage of everything that presented itself, whether it was an improved lamp, or a discovery with respect to coal dust, gas, or ventilation, a permanent authority whose business it should be to test from time to time the efficiency of those inventions or suggestions; but although that happened twenty years ago or more, they still had nothing of that kind. They were still satisfied after explosions with the coroner's inquiry. If some 100 men were killed, they got a coroner and a few incompetent jurymen to inquire into the cause of death. Personally he would prefer to have impartial scientific men to see if something further could not be done for the prevention of disasters. The workmen of the country were not satisfied with having simply the coroner's inquiry. There was great outcry and sympathy in the country at that time, and large sums were at that moment being given for those suffering from one of those great disasters, but that was not enough. It would pass away in a few days, and the men in the collieries would be forgotten by the Government and the country until another disaster took place. They could not be satisfied with that method of doing business in the future.

Granting, however, that everything that it was possible for an intelligent country to do in order to protect the lives of miners was done, and that there were certain causes of disaster which could not be obviated, he would then ask if they were doing all that they could to minimise the effect of disasters when they did occur. He would try and make the Committee understand the absolute neglect and indifference that had been shown in regard to disasters when they did occur. The Home Secretary referred him the other day to a Report by Dr. Haldane, but he was inclined to ask him if he had read it. If he had, he really could not understand his calling his attention to it; for, if any one thing more than another called attention to the indifferences of the Home Office it was Dr. Haldane's Report. Dr. Haldane, nine years ago, called special attention to the want of some apparatus and organisation for dealing with the disasters when they did occur, but absolutely nothing had been done. Let the Committee consider what happened: 500 or 600 men were down a mine 100 or 200 yards deep. The explosion in a mine resembled a flash of lightning which filled every chamber and expended itself immediately, and in all these explosions practically all the men escaped the first flash and were living after it had expended itself. But after the flash had gone there came impenetrable darkness unillumined by a single ray of light, and through that darkness the men attempted to make their way to a place of escape, seeing nothing and hearing only the groans of their unfortunate comrades. Let him give one illustration in the case of the Aberlysswg. William Clewer Tirphil, one of the injured men in that explosion, said—

> "I was working on the main level and had just loaded a truck of coal when I heard a noise as of a rush of wind. Immediately after I was struck by a lot of stones and a flame like a flash of lightning passed by me. I heard no report. The train which I had filled was knocked over and I was blown into the side of the road to the height of about four feet. There were seven or eight of us working within about twenty yards of each other. We tried to get out by the main level, but the after damp was too strong and we had to go to the face. We did this about five times, but the air continuing to improve we managed to get out by the main level, but with the greatest difficulty. Two men were overcome and had to fall out. I had gone so weak that if I had had to proceed another step I should not have been able to manage it."

That was enough to show what the position of the men in a pit was after they had escaped the explosion, and somebody ought to be responsible to give them a helping hand. In the meantime what happened at the top of the pit? The men at the top either heard the report or saw the smoke and flame issuing from the pit or some other indication of something having happened below, and every one lost his head and consternation reigned. One ran one way and one another seeking assistance, and the lampman, who ought always to have his lamps ready for the explorers, set to work to trim his lamps. All this time the men below were struggling for their lives. No preparations were ever made, although these explosions took place year after year. The present condition of things in this regard was a perfect scandal. In the case of a wreck on our coasts no time was lost in attempting to save life, every preparation having been made, and an immense organisation was kept in readiness to cope with fire and rescue anyone who might happen to be in the burning building. Even in places of amusement every precaution was taken against any unfortunate accident occurring, but in the case of the mines they had half a million people going down the pits every day, and there was absolutely no provision made to combat these disasters. Was not that sufficient to cause the right hon. Gentleman and his colleagues to get up at once and say that they would order an inquiry into these terrible explosions and see what could be done. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to think this matter might wait until after the inquest. There was no waiting in the case of the accident at Liverpool. He demanded of the Home Secretary that he should use the powers vested in him and have an inquiry into the cause of these disasters.

As a working man he would like to give the right hon. Gentleman a few practical suggestions for his consideration when the inquiry took place. In the first place they might well take up the work laid down by the Royal Commission in 1886, there being a number of inventions which that Commission advocated which ought to be taken up. Take the lamp. Surely the Government were rich enough to take up all the patents there were and concentrate them in one lamp which should be safe. Then there should be closed trams to carry the coal, because it must be borne in mind that they had now no large accumulations of gas. It was not large accumulations of gas that caused these violent explosions which caused such great loss of life, but the coal dust which, hanging in the atmosphere, acted as a feeder and carried the flame along, increasing its strength as it burnt up the atmosphere. That was a practical suggestion that might be considered when the inquiry was held. It was time also that the whole system of inspection of the mines was revised, and there should be properly trained firemen. Some of the men left alone in a mine after an explosion lived for hours, while the men at the top, who were anxious to assist them, were unable to get at them because of the flames. If they had an apparatus which would enable them to go down the pit, a great loss of life would be prevented. Surely such an apparatus might be provided. He had in his hand at that moment some illustrations, sent to him by a Frenchman who knew of this agitation, of an apparatus which would enable a man to go down a mine after an explosion and remain there two or three hours, and some such apparatus might be adopted. He thought he had said sufficient to prove that an investigation was necessary, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary would realise the importance of it and grant the inquiry desired.

MR. T. L. CORBETT (Down, N.) desired to call attention to the official Paper issued in 1903 with reference to the inspection of laundries. According to the official figures there were 82,652 women and girls under the regulations of the Factory Acts, while 144,132, of whom a large number were in religious institutions, were subject to no inspection at all. He asked whether the voluntary inspection to which a comparatively few of these institutions were willing to submit had proved satisfactory, and, if not, what remedy was to be proposed. In view of the ruling of the Chairman he did not intend to pursue the subject at any length. He only regretted that the Party opposite should take every opportunity of preventing light being thrown upon this subject, which urgently demanded attention, and he should be very glad if the Home Secretary was able to give the Committee some assurance that he was awake to the reality of the question, and would promise that if voluntary inspection had failed, as he would probably admit it had, something practical should be done.

*MR. NOEL BUXTON (Yorkshire, N.R., Whitby) said the general trend of the reports of the factory inspectors seemed to indicate an urgent need for greater stringency, and also the existence of some obstacles or interests which prevented that greater stringency being applied. Speaking as an employer of the kind of labour which came under the control of the Factory Acts, he could say that the attitude of many employers was one of cordial appreciation of the work done by the inspectors, and of the interference sanctioned by those Acts. In large factories it was impossible for directors to control the details of conditions of labour and of modes of payment; they were bound to rely upon the interference of the Factory Acts. If the employers wished to be humane and to avoid the competition of lax employers who were willing to take advantage of the liability of labourers to give way to unjust conditions, Home Office intervention was of great assistance. The system of moral suasion which had lately been in vogue was most unwelcome to the good employers, because it failed to bring up all to the same level. What was wanted was equal treatment, and, so far as his experience went, if equal treatment were meted out employers would be in favour of greater stringency. Laxity favoured the worst employers and was the enemy of public health.

There were many topics on which one felt inclined to touch after a perusal of the reports of the factory inspectors, but he would confine himself to two—the administration of the Truck Acts and the extension of the Particulars Order. In regard to the former, much might be done apart from legislation in the way of greater activity as to prosecution. The uncertainty of the law had come under the notice of the inspectors, who had called attention to the large number of cases dismissed as compared with the number of successful prosecutions under other departments of the Factory Acts. Almost anything might be deducted from wages under the heading of "justifiable payments." In one case, mentioned by the inspector at Bristol, a woman engaged in making boot-uppers by a power-driven machine earned 14s. 6d., from which 4s. 9d. was deducted for "other workers' work, doctor, room and machine, and thread," and the bench dismissed the case, saying that the deduction was not unfair. With regard to defective control, one of the women inspectors said—

> "It was a relief to find one firm candid on this point. When I reached the point as to not making a profit out of the worker, the manager coolly said, 'Then I should not touch it, because I thought there was £200 a year in the business.'"

A somewhat similar case appeared in to-day's *Proceedings*. It appeared that deductions could legitimately be made for such items as concert tickets, insurance against compensation for accidents, fees of certifying surgeons, rent, fines, for all manner of offences, such as talking in the factory, and so forth. The Christian Social Union gave a case in which a sackmaker earned 8s. 5d., from which was deducted no less than 3s. 4d. for thread, oil, and hot water for tea.

With regard to the Particulars Order which had been justly described as the charter which prevented the people from being robbed, the Chief Inspector in 1902 strongly urged its extension to many trades outside the textile trades, a suggestion the justice of which was shown by the great success which had attended the extension granted on January 1st, 1904. Why should there not be a general extension to all piecework trades? As examples of the kind of grievances which needed to be removed, the Christian Social Union instanced brush-drawers, where payments were "according to the mood of the employer;" and jam-filling, where less money was received than was expected, it being "a case of the fireman's word against that of the workers." Low prices in many trades had been largely modified when a protection order had been enforced. The 5d. per dozen paid in the sack-making trade compared very unfavourably with the price paid in trades where the Particulars Order had been applied. The fact that during the last two years a large number of trades had voluntarily established a system of granting these particulars, largely answered the objection that in some trades the application of the Order was not feasible.

No doubt influences were brought to bear against the extension of powers of this kind. Certain interests were supposed to be opposed to greater stringency. But there was no interest in which the whole country was more deeply involved than the health and character of the workers, and that they were in danger could not be doubted by anyone familiar with the homes of the workers in the East End of London. Those who knew the suffocating conditions under which the workers through their poverty were compelled to live could not deny that the stringency of the Factory Acts had been to the general advantage of the public health, and therefore to the advantage of capitalist as well as employee. He had seen the deplorable result of conditions of employment upon the physique of the worker's children, and there was a very real danger of losing what was really our national capital by permitting such inroads upon the health and character of the people as were made by the conditions under which the people worked.

There were two main lines of defence by which those inroads could be opposed—viz., the voluntary combination of labour in its own defence and the protection of the operative by the State. This certainly was not a matter in regard to which any laxity ought to be permitted, or where Party principles should lead the Government to oppose stringent legislation. If to-day the nation accepted the principle of the control of labour by the State might they not gratefully acknowledge that it was the work of Conservative statesmen in the past. Nobody ever denounced more vehemently than Mr. Disraeli the horrors of the truck system. Lord Shaftesbury, whose name would always be associated with this beneficent law, said this legislation dealt with the most tragic realities of our national life and went home to the real pleasures and sufferings of every family in the country. He said—

> "It is a great political, moral, and religious question: political, because it would decide whether the poor should be left in just discontent; moral, because it would determine whether the rising generation should be raised above the enjoyment of mere brute sensualities; religious, because it evolved the means to tens of thousands of being brought up in the faith and fear of the Almighty."

*MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe) urged that more opportunities should be given for the discussion of these questions, and the Home Secetary ought to have more time given to him for replying to debates of this kind. It was impossible for any Minister to reply to all the points raised over the wide field of labour, and certain subjects ought to be selected for one day, and then everybody would get a reasonable opportunity of stating his views. These labour questions would loom larger in the discussions of the future.

He wished to refer to the question of time cribbing, which meant that instead of working 55½ hours a week sometimes the workpeople were obliged to work on for 60 hours by the employers "nibbling" at the starting and stopping time. He once worked in a mill himself where by starting the engines before the proper starting time and running them after they ought to be stopped he worked about fifty minutes a day overtime, and this practice was going on to-day in Lancashire. This was very unfair to the decent employers, because where this practice prevailed the pieceworkers earned better wages and thus attracted the best employees. Employers had complained to him of this system of "nibbling" time. In fairness to the decent employer the Home Office should be on their guard. Last year he was told that the employees themselves were responsible, because they had scouts to watch for the appearance of the inspector. Personally he doubted the truth of that charge, and he had caused careful inquiries to be made. He would remind the right hon. Gentleman that it was not those operatives who were complaining of the overtime. There were operatives in the position of overlookers and foremen. At the mill he used to work at there were four members of the firm employed, and all the four of them were scouting when the engines were set on and stopped. They had made suggestions to the Home Office for checking this evil. There was a machine in use in many cotton mills which automatically registered the number of minutes an engine was running, and the employers had these machines in their own interests. In this way the employers could tell whether the engines had worked fifty-five or sixty hours, and they could judge whether the amount of their production was up or down, and they could obtain these results for weeks back. These registers might be taken by the inspectors as evidence of the time the engines had been running, and when an inspector found this practice going on and he was confronted with the excuse that it was a mistake, he could look at the register, and if it recorded more than the legal time for weeks back, that ought to be conclusive or additional evidence before the magistrate that this was not an isolated case, but a deliberate breach of the law. He made that as a suggestion to the right hon. Gentleman, and he hoped the matter would be attended to.

With regard to ventilation, he would not criticise anything which had been done during the past year, because they had been changing the system of inspection, and he wished the new system to be given a fair trial. He thought it would be admitted that the effectiveness of inspection was largely due to the help given by the operatives, and in regard to ventilation their assistance had enabled those who broke the law to be prosecuted. Therefore he thought more confidence ought to be placed in the operatives. He thought they were entitled to have a copy of the report of the inspector's visit as well as the employer, and if this request was granted there would be much more satisfaction with the operation of the ventilation clauses. He thought the table which would shortly be issued ought to give some evidence of the number of tests made and the results of them. These particulars might be given in tabulated form and supplied in a public document, so that they would know how they were going on.

With regard to machinery accidents, he was pleased to say that some inquiries had been made with regard to the spinning room, and he was hopeful that certain regulations would be issued which would do a great deal to lessen accidents in the spinning rooms. The results of these inquiries in the Oldham district had been satisfactory, but they would have been still better but for the opposition from the Masters' Federation in Oldham and neighbourhood. He thought the fact that there had been considerable opposition in regard to the fencing of machinery by some of the employees in the Oldham district ought to be noted. It was most unfair that a man who held the dual position of solicitor to the employer should be magistrates' clerk to decide charges brought against employers. That gentleman should give up one or other of the offices, and there ought to be some power to tell him not to act as Judge and jury in what was practically his own case. The Home Secretary appreciated the unfairness of the position, but he had no power to alter it. In regard to the carding-room operatives, he was sorry to say that very little improvement had taken place. He would call the attention of the Committee to six cases of accidents to workers whose ages ranged from nineteen to forty, most of them being under thirty. Loss of right hand; loss of right arm; fatal—right arm fearfully mangled; loss of right hand; loss of left hand; loss of left hand. The report stated that these terrible accidents were all preventable. That was the opinion of the inspector for the district who was responsible for making the report. The people whom he represented in that House had done their best to bring before the Home Office the seriousness of this matter. There were machines in the market which would prevent many of these accidents. About eight or nine months ago a deputation visited the Home Office and showed a model of one of those machines. Not only the maker, but employers who had used it gave the assurance that it would be impossible for these serious accidents to happen if this "cover" were put over the machine. If accidents could be prevented surely no effort should be spared to save the lives and limbs of the people who were engaged in factories.

The recent legislation in regard to the Particulars Clause had been of great benefit to the textile operatives, and he was pleased to be able to state that many other trades were now receiving advantage from it. Employers in the cotton trade would agree with him when he said that it had been a great preventive of strikes. Formerly an employer who did not pay the proper price got an advantage over a decent employer who did, and the operatives had no remedy except by closing the mill. If the amount in dispute was only 3s. or 4s. they hesitated about taking that step, and the result was that an unprincipled man got the benefit of the position. Now all that was changed. They had simply to add up the total deficiency and take the men into Court, a strike being in this way averted. It had not in a single case in his experience been necessary to go into Court yet, each dispute having been settled out of Court. One of the inspectors stated in his report that the average penalty imposed when convictions were obtained under the Factories and Workshops Act was 3s. 6·8d. Unless employers looked upon appearance in a Police Court as a source of degradation, such penalties would never act as a deterrent. It was nonsense to fine a man 3s. 6d., for he could make more next day by means of deductions.

He wished to call the Home Secretary's attention to a case from Belfast to which reference was made in the report of the Chief Inspector. He had had a tremendous amount of correspondence in regard to this case, and he had also had an opportunity of examining the minute-book of the operatives' association, and therefore he knew how the matter stood. Briefly, the facts were these. The Home Office some time since—he did not know when—decided that handkerchiefs were wearing apparel; but how they came to say so he did not know. It had, since that decision was given, been possible for firms to bring in a claim for exemption from the regulations affecting overtime work for quite a number of other articles besides handkerchiefs. It was alleged in connection with this particular case that the law was continually being broken, and that this firm or these firms—he did not know how many of them were concerned—had been going on in work in a way that was not legal. It was legal to work overtime in the making of handkerchiefs, but it was illegal to work overtime in making bed-linen, table-linen, and things of that sort. It was difficult for an inspector, when he went into a factory, to say what overtime was being worked legally and what overtime was being worked illegally, because one girl might be working at handkerchiefs and another at other articles. The ordinary common-sense way of dealing with this matter would have been to make overtime work on handkerchiefs illegal, especially when it was known that the operatives did not desire overtime. In his opinion overtime work ought to have been made illegal for all the articles. It appeared that in Belfast a warehouse was said to be a non-textile factory while the other part was a textile factory, and that overtime was allowed in one part of the same works and not in the other. It appeared to him that the proper course would have been to say that handkerchiefs were not wearing apparel. No amount of argument could convince ordinary persons that they were wearing apparel. It must have been a legal mind that had been convinced.

He complained that the Home Office took this action without the knowledge of the operatives. He knew it was not so easy to obtain information from operatives in Belfast as in Lancashire, but it was possible to obtain it. There was evidence to show that what had been done was not in accordance with the desire of the operatives themselves. Resolution after resolution had been passed protesting against overtime, and nowhere could he find any expression of opinion in Belfast by the operatives asking this extension to be granted. He thought the best way out of the difficulty would be to revert to the regulation which made overtime in regard to handkerchiefs illegal. It appeared to him that that was the most sensible course to take in this matter. If it was decided that all these things could be brought under the head of the overtime clause he did not know where it was going to stop.

The hon. Member called attention to what had occurred at Liverpool in connection with the dock labourers' strike, and stated that the course pursued by the employers amounted to a breach of the Truck Act. A number of men were imported to take the places of the labourers on strike, and the employers provided them with clothes, boots, and tobacco, deductions being made in respect of the goods from the wages of the men. They received only the balance of money due to them. The Home Secertary had told him this was illegal, but, as the case was not one arising in a factory or workshop, an inspector had no power under Section 13 of the Act of 1887 to take any action in the matter. If that was so, there was nothing to prevent the Home Secretary from instructing one of his clerks to prosecute. He spoke as a layman, but he did not agree with the decision of the Home Secretary in the matter. He thought that that could be shown to be a part of the duty of the inspector. He referred to Section 119 of the Act to prove that. He thought it was most unfair that any preference should be given to one side or the other; and he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would reconsider the Answer which he had given.

Mr. COGHILL (Stoke-upon-Trent) said that he did not propose to follow the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean in the line which that right hon. Gentleman had traversed. It seemed to him that the right hon. Gentleman had presented his case in regard to china and earthenware factories in somewhat strong colours. It appeared to him that the cases of lead poisoning were slowly dying away and there was every reason to believe that the causes for these would disappear. The chief causes of that improvement were the greater cleanliness inculcated in the workpeople, the greater use of fans, and the power of suspension which the doctors now enjoyed. If workpeople could only be induced to thoroughly cleanse themselves after being in contact with the lead, cases of poisoning would be almost entirely eliminated. But that was difficult. It was all very well to make rules; the difficulty was to get people to obey them. The right hon. Gentleman went on to quote, from the official report of Mr. Shooter, particulars with regard to a case at Plymouth. He insisted that there were two reasons for the diminution of colic cases in the dockyard. One was the provision of more washing appliances, and the other was the order issued to the effect that men who had once contracted lead poisoning should not be employed in any process which would bring them in contact with the lead. That was very similar to what was being done in the Potteries. Mr. Shooter went on to say that it was surprising to find how indifferent workmen were to the need for personal cleanliness, and he mentioned a case of workmen eating with filthy hands in a room which contained all the appliances for washing. Time must be allowed for men to get accustomed to the new rules and to see the necessity for using the conveniences which were now placed at their disposal for cleansing themselves. He also gave instances of people who neglected to adopt precautions; of a plumber who persisted in chewing tobacco at work, which tobacco became contaminated, and of girls who ate sweets which became contaminated with lead from their pockets.

He believed that the power of suspension had had a most beneficial effect. The right hon. Baronet seemed to suggest that that power was being used in a somewhat wholesale fashion; but he showed, by references to the reports, that that was not the case. The hon. Baronet contended that the use of yellow phosphorus should be forbidden altogether; but he thought in the present state of knowledge it was absolutely impossible to prohibit its use. They were told two years ago that the use of lead would gradually disappear, and that leadless glazes would become almost universal. So far from progress having been made in that direction, the use of leadless glaze was actually going back. The reason was that great losses had been entailed upon manufacturers by its use. People using leadless glaze could not possibly make the ordinary trade profit, and could not meet the severe foreign competition to which they were subjected. In fact, leadless glazes had broken down. They would be glad if they could be used universally; but they were a long way from that. A great deal more had to be learned about the industry, and further discoveries must be made before the Home Office, however anxious it might be to do it, could forbid the use of lead in the process of pottery manufacture. So far as they were concerned in North Staffordshire, the prevailing opinion was that the present rules were working very satisfactorily and that there had been a very gratifying diminution in the number of cases of lead poisoning.

MR. TENNANT (Berwickshire) said he thought it would be acknowledged that the debate had been of a most interesting character. On his own part he must confess that it would be impossible to exaggerate the importance of this question, and he regretted that this debate had been delayed to the last days of an exciting session. He might be allowed to say that he could not congratulate the right hon. Gentleman on the progress he had made in regard to the employment of young children in the streets. At one time he carried an Amendment prohibiting altogether the employment of children under sixteen in the streets; but they were told by the Government that they would leave it to the local authorities to make the best provision they could for their protection. In many cases local authorities had suggested that it would be wise to prohibit altogether girls under sixteen being allowed to sell in the streets, but the right hon. Gentleman had caused to be inserted in by-laws a provision that children should be allowed to sell in the streets so long as they were accompanied by their parents or guardians. He said it did not matter if they had got their parents with them. He joined issue with the right hon. Gentleman there. The right hon. Gentleman had caused an inquiry to be held into the matter by Mr. Chester Jones, and at that inquiry Mr. Footes, a very competent person, said that the fathers did not do much work, and sometimes the mothers were not very particular about their own children. Some of the worst cases were where children were employed by parents. One of the worst cases in his list was that of a boy whose father was a hairdresser, and who worked forty-nine and a-half hours a week besides school hours. What hold could they have upon people if they were allowed to trail their little boys and girls through the streets in order to make some few pennies. It was said that those men and women were very poor and that it was really a necessity, but at that very inquiry it was shown that out of sixty-nine cases there was only one which was necessitous.

It was now exactly ten years since he had the honour of sitting upon a Commission to inquire into dangerous trades. They reported that there were twenty-four such trades, and they recommended that seventeen of them should be specially regulated. How many of these seventeen had been so regulated? Precisely two and a-half. There were three or four trades which were now under a sort of voluntary system, which he ventured to say wa most unsatisfactory. There were seventeen recommended for special regulations, two and a-half had been so regulated, three or four were under voluntary schemes, and ten had been left wholly untouched. Of the two and a-half dealt with by the Home Office, one was the indiarubber trade, which was dangerous for two or three reasons; one being owing to the naphtha which was given off in the atmosphere and which was used in every part of the building. What did the inspector say with regard to naphtha? He said—

> "Some cases to which my attention was drawn of sickness, colic, and anæmia, alleged to be caused by white lead, occurring amongst girls in the rubber-solution room of an asbestos factory, were investigated by Miss Paterson at the works and at the homes, inquiry also being made at the infirmary. The process was that of coating and joining asbestos strips with rubber solution of a milky, glutinous character, emitting strong fumes of naphtha. 'Many of these girls were markedly anæmic and had symptoms similar to those so common amongst rubber-shoemakers. One who was under treatment at the hospital as an out-patient for loss of power of arm was strikingly pale and

nervous. On inquiry, I found that many of the workers ate their breakfast and dinner in the workroom, and, undesirable as this is in any factory, it is especially so in one where the air is loaded with the heavy fumes of naphtha and rubber solution.'"

That was one of the subjects recommended by the Dangerous Trades Commission for treatment by the Home Office, and yet they had done nothing.

He now came to the perennial question of laundries, on which subject they would not rest until it was dealt with. In the Report to which he had just alluded, it was stated that those places were physically and morally dangerous and unhealthy even when parents were present.

There was in the china and earthenware trade no doubt great difficulty experienced on the part of employers to get the workpeople to avail themselves of the opportunities placed at their disposal for cleanliness and to utilise in every possible form the appliances provided for the safety of their health, and he wished to strengthen the hands of the inspectors and employers in that matter. It was, however, childish to try and make out that the whole of the illnesses in the pottery trade were owing to the neglect of the workpeople to seize these opportunities. If they were to wash their hands at every available time, and to use all the opportunities at their command, lead working would always remain a dangerous occupation. It was true that there had not been so many suspensions, but, after all, suspension was only a palliative, and it was less cruel to ask women who proved to be susceptible to lead poisoning to go to some other employment. He rejoiced that there were fewer suspensions, but he thought it meant that many poor women were now living upon the charity of other people and were not able to earn their livelihood in other trades. He suggested that a small Commission should be appointed to inquire whether it was economically and commercially possible to make leadless glaze ware which would compete satisfactorily with the ordinary ware, and that they should communicate with foreign countries on the point. He believed that a great deal of leadless glaze had been manufactured that was extremely good. He himself had a dessert service which would bear comparison with any modern service. One might certainly learn a great deal by discovering what was the result of experience with regard to this matter in foreign countries.

There was one other point he would like to make with regard to the china and earthenware trade, and that was with reference to the question of compensation. Schedule B which was hung up in factories was so complicated that women thought it was limited to men. He suggested that the Home Secretary should have a little abstract made setting forth the manner in which a person who was a victim of lead poisoning should acquaint the authorities. If the right hon. Gentleman would have an extract hung up instead of Schedule B it would, he thought, do a great deal of good.

Turning to the cases of poisoning from every cause, he was sorry to see that if they took the five months ending May, 1904, they would find the number of cases was 229, whilst the number for the corresponding period in 1905 was 239. The deaths were eight in 1904, and eleven in 1905. That showed a considerable increase. But if they investigated further and looked at the Return of what were called the diseases of occupation, which included poisoning by mercury, phosphorus, arsenic, and anthrax, in the *Labour Gazette*, they would find that the figures were 258 last year and 268 this, whilst the deaths were ten last year as against nineteen this. That was very striking, the number of deaths this year having nearly doubled. As many as eight deaths had been caused by anthrax, which was a very serious thing, and he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he could not do something to improve the condition of those trades in which these diseases occurred.

With regard to the question of lifting heavy weights, he called attention to the report of Miss Squire. On page 26 of the annual Report Miss Squire said—

"It is surprising how little thought is given in many factories of various kinds to the means of transference of goods from one department to another, little girls toil backwards and forwards up and down stairs with loads of material or goods which could be much more quickly or safely carried by means of a lift."

And further on she said of a girl who was pushing a trolley up an incline, the paving of which was rough and broken—

> "I watched her do this difficult task with astonishment that anyone could set a girl to such an awkward and exhausting employment."

He would give three examples of the lifting of heavy weights. A boy of thirteen years of age struggling up a steep flight of stairs carrying a piece of clay weighing seventy-eight pounds; a woman carrying twelve boards each six feet in length and each weighing four pounds, forty-eight pounds in all; and four women employed solely as clay carriers, each making 128 journeys a day, some of which were a fair distance, and at each journey carrying a piece of clay weighing half a hundredweight. We were very far behind other nations in this matter. It was a most remarkable thing that while learned and right hon. Gentlemen went about the country declaring that in these matters this country was in front of others, we were far behind France, and both Germany and Austria had given us most admirable examples.

Then with regard to electrical accidents. Two years ago the inspector reported and made certain recommendations, and in view of the fact that the Committee over which he (Mr. Tennant) presided six years before had made precisely the same recommendations—it was rather remarkable that no legislative or *quasi*-legislative action had been taken. By a stroke of the pen the right hon. Gentleman at any rate could make special rules with regard to electric power stations. The inspector said—

> "The number of unprotected and dangerous switches, for instance, which I have caused to be protected will run into many hundreds."

He really desired to show the House what the nature of electrical accidents was. They mostly occurred from bad lighting, from want of fencing, and other causes of a like character. There were thirty-three non-fatal and three fatal cases last year due solely to electric current and Mr. Scott Ram, the inspector, made this statement with regard to them—

> "The fatal electrical accidents during the year occurred under widely different conditions of system and pressure and again prove that unless proper precautions are taken any system or pressure may be dangerous. Fatal shocks occurred at pressures ranging from 10,000 volts to 200 volts. Some of those at low pressures appeared to bring about instant death while in one case at 10,000 volts death occurred after an interval of ten days, during which the victim lost both legs and one arm by amputation in the fruitless efforts of the surgeons to save his life. In most cases which I investigated the victims were found by post-mortem examination to have been of sound constitution, and the usual excuse of a weak heart contributing to the fatality was not borne out. Some of the non-fatal accidents were again of a very serious nature, involving permanent injury."

He thought there was very strong ground there for the Home Office taking action, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would have something to tell the Committee of what he proposed to do.

With regard to the factories, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean had asked for an increase in the inspectorate, and he was glad to see that the two women inspectors who had been appointed temporarily were now placed on the permanent staff. He was also glad to think that the club associations of which Miss Montague was the president or secretary was petitioning the right hon. Gentleman for an increase in the inspectorate. Finally, he would remind the Committee that there were 4,700,000 people employed in the factories and workshops of this country, and that in 1904 there were 93,000 accidents; that is to say, there was one accident to every fifty people employed. It was a most unfortunate thing that in many of these cases the only way to secure immunity from accidents was to have recourse to the Employers' Liability Act or the Workmen's Compensation Act.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University) said he hoped that when the Home Secretary replied he would explain to the Committee what was being done under the Employment of Children Act. The employment of children in the hours they were not at school had frequently been brought before the House. The mischief of that employment was that children came to the schools so exhausted with labour that they were quite incapable of profiting from the instruction provided by the State at great expense. In regard to this matter two official inquiries had been made, one by the Board of Education in 1891 and the other by the Home Office in 1899 or 1900, and in 1903 a Bill was brought in and passed. The Employment of Children Act had now been in force two years, and there were two Questions he wished to put to the right hon. Gentleman in regard to it. Under the Act the local authority for the Metropolis had power to make by-laws as to the employment of children, but those by-laws had no force until they had received the sanction of the Home Secretary. The local authority had at last made by-laws, which had been submitted to the Secretary of State, and there was an inquiry now going on not only as to the merits of the particular by-laws, but, as he understood, the whole question had been reopened. It was not a question depending on the poverty of the parents, as some of the very poorest would not allow their children to be employed in this way. A most remarkable case had come out in evidence. There were a large number of Jewish barbers, but it was impossible to obtain Jewish lather boys, because their parents, although extremely poor, would not allow them to be so employed out of school hours. As to the country at large, he would like to know how many local authorities had made by-laws, and whether the Secretary of State regarded it as a part of his duty to urge upon the local authorities the propriety of making such by-laws. The Act was of no use for the protection of children unless the local authorities could be induced to make by-laws, and a judicious circular from the Home Office, pointing out the action which had been taken in London and elsewhere, might greatly accelerate the framing of by-laws throughout the country generally, as it would bring home to local authorities their responsibility under the Act.

In view of the number of Members who desired to speak, he would only make two general observations. At the first Labour Congress held in Berlin fifteen years ago Great Britain was ahead of almost every other country in Europe in the matter of factory legislation, and the argument used to foreign employers was that our regulations in no way interfered with the efficiency of our production, but that, although a protection to the workers, they were also an advantage to the employer. He did not quarrel with tariff reformers for saying that our factory legislation was a great burden on our industries and gave our foreign competitors an advantage over us; of course it was not true, but they had so few arguments to place before the working classes that one could not blame them for using any argument that they were able to furbish up for the occasion. But he did earnestly hope that such an argument would not be countenanced by the Government either at home or abroad. The second observation he desired to make was that much greater opportunities for the discussion of these social questions ought to be afforded at an earlier period of the session, when Members were fresher and better able to deal with the subject properly. Nothing could have been more proper in the deliberations of Parliament than the speeches delivered that afternoon. They had been clear, practical, and to the point. The Home Office had enormous power over labour questions in the way of making regulations and so forth, and upon the efficient administration of the Home Office depended a great deal of our industrial happiness and prosperity. He made no attack upon the Home Office; on the whole their action was extremely good, but it was most essential that that action should be discussed in the House. It was only by the application of criticisms and Questions by such Members as the hon. Member for Clitheroe and others who had practical knowledge of the trades that the working of the Home Office could be made of a wholly satisfactory character. He hoped, therefore, that the right hon. Gentleman, if in office next session, would press upon the Cabinet the importance of these matters being discussed earlier in the year.

*Mr. EMMOTT (Oldham) agreed as to the desirability of discussing these questions earlier in the session, and suggested that, if necessary, to secure that end the House should be willing to take the debate even before the factory inspectors' reports were available. He was glad to notice that there was a considerable diminution in the number of accidents in textile mills, particularly cotton mills, and especially that so few fatal accidents occurred inside the mills. There ought really to be none at all. The new restrictions with regard to mules in cotton mills had had an excellent effect, the accidents from mules having decreased from 810 in 1900 to 587 in 1904, which he thought was ample justification for the imposition of the restrictions. Suggestions had been made with regard to the carding room which had not earned the acquiescence of either employers or operatives. It was frequently difficult to introduce into old machines improvements which might very properly be insisted upon in the case of new machines. He noticed with regret that Oldham was animadverted upon by the inspector for its conservatism in adopting improvements. Oldham was conservative in some respects; the people were apt to think that in these matters they knew a great deal better than any inspector from outside. In other matters they were fairly open-minded, as was shown by the fact that in 1900 they returned his hon. friend his colleague in the representation of Oldham as a Conservative and himself as a Liberal.

In regard to some matters the report of the factory inspector laid the blame, and he thought properly, upon the operatives. For instance, accidents due to cleaning machinery while running often occurred through the operators being so anxious to leave their work at the earliest possible moment on Saturday. If necessary, it would be perfectly justifiable to keep the mill doors closed until twelve o'clock, the Saturday hour for the men to leave. There was a slight increase in the accidents from flying shuttles. Some of these occurred through the shuttleguard being tied up by the operatives. When operatives were guilty of these misdemeanours they ought to be prosecuted. Time-cribbing was a misdemeanour from which both honest employers and honest operatives suffered very much, because the people who ran their works for a longer time than they ought were able to give the piece-workers a larger wage and to secure larger profits for themselves. Some factory inpectors said the operatives lent themselves to the system of scouting and thus helped to defeat the proper carrying out of the law. The operatives got a larger wage owing to the cribbing of time just as the employer obtained a larger profit; their interest, therefore, was to defeat the law. He did not know how it was to be overcome. It was utterly unfair to the honest employer who desired to keep to the time allowed by law. In the large inspecting districts it was impossible for the factory inspectors to do more than catch a few offenders here and there. There were machines which would record to a fraction of a second what time was worked, and if there was no other way of enforcing the law he would be very glad to see those mechanical appliances generally adopted.

On the question of women inspectors he pointed out that those appointed had to cover immense districts and were overworked; they were mostly employed on special reports, and many more of those women inspectors were wanted in order that the enormous number of women employed in factories might have adequate protection. Ghastly stories were told of the way in which the comparatively new law with regard to women returning to work after childbirth was infringed. That could be stopped if the law were altered. There were certain recommendations in the Report of the Physical Deterioration Committee which, if carried out, would stop it. This infringement was the cause of a terrible amount of suffering, and if it was permitted it would be impossible to raise up a virile race of men in the large towns who would be able to carry on the traditions of the country. He was pleased to see the new boiler legislation of the last Factory Act was working satisfactorily. He wished the same kind of safeguards were applied to other boilers as were now applied to boilers in factories and workshops.

The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean Division of Gloucestershire had referred to the subject of international agreement with regard to dangerous trades and factory legislation. He complained that they had sent to the conference last year men of inferior rank with far too stringent instructions. Great Britain ought to be doing everything possible to forward the aims of this conference. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University that there was no reason to suppose that our factory legislation had gone too far. He had no sympathy with the views he had heard so often expressed that they had far too much grandmotherly legislation. The Factory Acts had levelled up the worst employers to the position of better employers, they had helped the honest as opposed to the unscrupulous employers, and at the same time the effect had been to improve the physical well-being of the people. All factory legislation was a question of levelling up, and the Factory Department had never required anything to be done that the better class of employers were not already doing. On the Continent in the past they had been treated as pioneers, but they were not pioneers in everything now, although in regard to many things they were still ahead. An effort was being made to induce them to alter fundamentally their fiscal system in order to secure better conditions for workmen, but that seemed to him to be an entirely wrong method. He did not think that anything could be done for the workers in that way, although they might do a good deal more by factory legislation and by international agreement. Just as factory legislation at home had helped the honest and humane employer, so would international agreement help to obtain the best conditions for labour and assist the progressive nation in competing with the backward nation.

He did not altogether accept the reasoning of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University, though he thought there was a great deal to be said for the view that all these restrictions had not seriously handicapped them in the commercial race. On the other hand, if the right hon. Gentleman had been able to look at this matter from the point of view of an employer he would have seen how all these requirements must cost money and must *pro tanto* handicap them. They nevertheless got a benefit from it in the physical well-being of the workers, and this he hoped in the long run paid them. When, however, one employer ran his works upon the most approved principles and he saw another employer competing with him who paid less wages and worked longer hours in old factories, then, for the moment, the employer who observed the better conditions felt that he was considerably handicapped, and that was the view that he particularly desired to emphasise in regard to this question of international agreement. It was not only just, but it was economically wise for this country to do all it could to encourage other nations to come up to our level. With regard to the forthcoming conference, which he understood was to be held next year, he hoped the Home Secretary, if he continued in office, would not only send men of adequate rank for the purpose, but that he would also give very liberal instructions and help them to secure on behalf of this country an advance in the direction of an improvement in dangerous trades and other matters of factory legislation. He pressed that view upon him for the credit of this country and because he believed that it was a wise as well as a just and humane thing to do.

*MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck) said he associated himself with those who had expressed the hope that more time would be devoted to the consideration of the Home Office Vote in future sessions. Hon. Members who had sat through the debate must have been struck with the important character and the great variety of the subjects to which attention had been drawn on a Vote such as they were now considering. The time at their disposal was insufficient and was not fair to the Home Secretary, who was most anxious to give the fullest information in regard to every detail which came within the scope of his duties. It was not fair that they should be deprived every year of opportunities for the full consideration of the vital questions which concerned the social life of those they represented in Parliament. The industrial holocaust from year to year was largely due to preventable causes, and it therefore became a matter of grave importance that due time should be given for the practical consideration of remedies. He wished to support the appeal which had been made to the Home Secretary by the hon. Member for West Monmouthshire in the eminently practical speech which he had addressed to the Committee. In answer to a Question by the hon. Member the Home Secretary informed them the other day that during the last fifty years something like 9,294 lives had been lost in coal mines through explosions. Although at the present time the average loss of life in proportion to the number of persons employed and the quantity of minerals produced was less than it had ever been, the total still stood at an alarmingly high figure. It was over 1,000 per annum. That was a serious sacrifice of human life to be going on year after year.

The question for them to consider was what could be done to minimise this terrible sacrifice of life. As one who had some practical experience of the work done in mines and the dangers to be faced, he confessed that the difficulty of providing a remedy for the terrible evil of accidents was very great indeed. Experience taught them that one of the penalties they had to pay for the discoveries of modern science for the saving of life and limb in mines was that while on the one hand they had been providing a remedy against certain evils, they had created new, and probably, in many respects, more serious dangers. For many years their contention was that if they could only have a system of ventilation in coal mines approaching anything like perfection, they would be able to chase the dangerous fire damp out of the mines and procure for the miners almost perfect immunity from danger, but just as they had succeeded in developing the ventilation of the mines they had created new dangers, for the more perfect the system of ventilation of a mine was the more it tended to stir up the fine particles of coal dust strewn all through the mines from the shaft to the working face. These finely-divided particles of coal dust in suspension throughout the mine were capable, if sufficient violence were brought to bear on them, of being ignited and creating a most serious explosion. It was not necessary to have a large quantity of inflammable gas in a coal mine in order to have a serious explosion. If they had a blown-out shot in a mine where there was a large quantity of finely-divided particles of coal dust in a very dry condition, there was imminent risk of a very serious explosion indeed. The evil which they had to contend against was therefore one of a complex character.

Some of the suggestions made by his hon. friend the Member for West Monmouth were of an eminently practical character, and if they were attended to by the Home Office they might go a long way indeed in preventing accidents from occurring in mines and in saving a number of valuable lives. Attention had been called that afternoon, as had been done again and again before, to the necessity for closer and more careful examination of mines by the staff of inspectors. He knew there was great reluctance on the part of the Treasury to find the necessary money when applications for factory and mining inspectors were made. They found the money necessary to destroy life, but when it came to a question of preserving life then they were very economical and very reluctant to find the money for that purpose. He contended that without a large increase in the number of what might be called expert inspectors a very great deal could be done if those gentlemen were relieved of a vast amount of the clerical duty which they had now to perform. Many of these gentlemen had to spend the greater part of their year's service in attending inquests, making special reports to the Home Office, and attending to their general clerical duties. If some assistance were given to them whereby they would be enabled to get rid of a lot of their clerical work they would be able to devote more attention than now to the real work of inspection of coal mines. He would be the last man to bring any charge against the staff of inspectors employed by the Home Office. He knew that they were greatly overworked, and he hoped something would be done to give them relief.

His hon. friend the Member for West Monmouth had referred to the indifference of the Home Office in the way of giving assistance in regard to experiments which coalowners carried out in various parts of the country in the interest of the industry in which they were concerned. In France and Prussia there were permanent advisory boards, which took charge of matters of this kind, and he thought we might very well follow their example in that respect. He had the honour a short time ago of serving on the Royal Commission on Coal Dust which was presided over by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, who, he was bound to say, rendered very valuable service in that matter. During the time the Commission was conducting its inquiry in the North of England the coalowners of Durham and Northumberland were spending a large sum of money in the erection of galleries for the purpose of conducting experiments in shot firing in an atmosphere of coal dust and fire damp. Perhaps the Home Office had not the power to offer some assistance to enable the coalowners to carry on their experiments, but it had power to apply to the head of the Government on the subject. These experiments, which were of an eminently useful and practical character, had to be abandoned because there were not funds enough to continue the investigations. He thought some useful work could be done in that way either by a permanent national board or by district boards. Experiments of the character referred to could be conducted from time to time with regard to explosives, shot- firing, and the testing of the safety lamps to be used in mines. He thought also something might be done by the Home Office to enforce the suggestions of the Royal Commission of 1886 with regard to the qualifications of shot-firers. The position of shot-firer was one of great responsibility, and great care should be taken to see that the man who was placed in that position was possessed of the qualifications necessary to enable him to satisfactorily discharge his duty. They should be men of a steady and sober character, capable of discharging their important duties. He thought that more care ought to be taken in the selection of the men who were to be employed as firemen.

Then he thought that the Home Office should insist that at every mine, especially a mine of a known fiery character, there should be in readiness apparatus which would enable rescuers to descend into the mine immediately after an explosion had taken place. If there was a big fire in the city, everyone knew that it was important to have the fire brigade on the spot in a few minutes. Delay was costly. And so it was when an explosion took place in a mine; the delay of an hour, or a couple of hours, sometimes led to the sacrifice of valuable lives, and that delay was often caused from the want of proper appliances to get down into the mine at once. He did not want to give a testimonial to any inventor of such appliances, but it was well known that there were such appliances. His hon. friend the Member for Chester-le-Street told him that at his collieries such appliances were always in readiness in case an explosion took place. He had seen men operating such appliances as he had referred to when he was a member of a Committee of that House, and he held that every colliery should be provided with such apparatus for immediate use in case of an explosion. He himself believed that if an intimation from the Home Secretary were given to colliery proprietors that such appliances were in existence, and that they should provide themselves with them, the suggestion would be at once adopted.

In conclusion, he wished to back up the appeal which his hon. friend the Member for West Monmouthshire had made to the Home Secretary to grant a special inquiry into the causes of the recent disaster at Wattstown. He did not believe that the right hon. Gentleman would refuse such an appeal. The Home Secretary had a perfectly free hand in the matter. The Act of 1857 gave him the power to institute such a special inquiry, and he was sure that if such a special inquiry were made it would be a satisfaction to the friends of all those who had suffered from that terrible disaster in South Wales.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's) said he could not complain of the tone of the debate. Several hon. Members had stated that it would be desirable in future to have this Vote put down at an earlier period of the session; to that he agreed. So far as he was concerned, he could assure the House that his influence had been on the side of an early and full discussion of the Vote. Not only was that desired by a large number of hon. Gentlemen opposite, who represented to a large extent workmen who had great practical knowledge of the matters discussed in the debate, but it would have been of advantage to himself to have had the debate earlier in the session, when it would have been easier for him to avail himself of the advice of hon. Members. He had not made himself in any way hostile to the views of hon. Gentlemen opposite, and he had received the greatest help from them with regard to various rules and regulations. He was extremely grateful for it, and he hoped it would be continued. The hon. Member for Wansbeck, who had spoken, had given great and valuable services to the Home Office; and he trusted he would agree with him that the staff of the Home Office, whether they were mining inspectors or Departmental officials, were always ready to recognise assistance given them.

He had got a very long list of matters to deal with, and he had not a very long time in which to do it. The right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean had brought forward the question of the international conference which took place in the spring of the present year. At that conference there were two matters considered. One was the absolute prohibition of white phosphorus and the sale and importation of matches made from it, and the other was the regulation of night work for women. The right hon. Baronet suggested that the delegates they appointed were not equal in rank to the delegates of other countries. From information he had from the delegates themselves, he was not of that opinion. It was perfectly true that there were at Berne one or two delegates of higher Governmental rank than the British delegates, but these latter were certainly not inferior to the delegates of Germany, Austria, Sweden, Denmark, and other countries. The right hon. Baronet said that limitations were imposed upon the delegates. As he had pointed out, they were sent as delegates and not as plenipotentiaries. The instructions they had were to lay before the conference the results already obtained with regard to the use of white phosphorus in match making and with regard to the night working of women, to give the fullest information of the system adopted in this country, and to submit a report of the proceedings of the conference. They, therefore, had no power to bind their country to anything without the consideration of their Government.

With regard to the two subjects which were under consideration, the Committee would remember that, so far as the use of white phosphorus was concerned, it was only five years ago that a set of very strict rules were settled. The result was that the number of cases of "phossy jaw" greatly decreased. After the passing of the rules in 1900, there were three cases in 1901, four in 1902, one in 1903, and none in 1904. When our delegate spoke at the conference, he was able to say there were none that year, but, as the right hon. Baronet and the Committee knew, there had since been an outbreak of three cases. It was stated then that the number was three, but he was assured now that one of those three was not a case of "phossy jaw." With regard to the night working of women, our law was very much stricter than the regulations proposed by the conference. Women in this country worked only ten hours in the textile factories and ten and a-half hours in the non-textile trades. They could not be employed before six nor after eight, nor more than five hours without an interval of half-an-hour for meals. They had weekly half-holidays, Sundays, and Bank Holidays, and the exemptions allowed in respect of the season trades and perishable goods were not so wide as those proposed by the conference. Therefore they were asked to agree to regulations which did not give quite so much to our employees as they had under existing circumstances.

The resolutions were intended to be of an international character, and to lead to an international convention. Since the conference the Government had received an invitation to enter into such a convention. The two subjects had been considered, and so far as he could see they could not at present prohibit the use of white phosphorus. Such prohibition would destroy the remainder of the industry of match-making with white phosphorus in this country. Even if red phosphorus were all that it was said to be, manufacturers would require time to learn new processes and to teach them to their workmen. All this would have to be done before the Government could assent to prohibition. It was an open question whether the existing special rules would not satisfactorily deal with this matter and succeed in stamping cut this terrible disease. They were still awaiting the result of an inquiry which had been ordered into the Gloucester cases. They ought not to sign a convention which, if not universally observed, would do commercial injury to our own people. The right hon. Gentleman was so well informed in these matters that he would not venture to contradict him on any matter of this kind, but he had that afternoon refreshed his memory on the point, and he understood that, so far as the information of his Department went, there was no reason to suppose that other countries, especially Japan, were likely to come in. So far as night labour for women was concerned, there would be no harm in joining a convention to regulate it, provided that the other countries who signed the convention gave adequate pledges that the regulations would be enforced. We enforced our own factory laws strictly; but if in one of two countries bound by identical regulations those regulations were less strictly enforced than in the other, considerable hardship would be inflicted on the country where there was the more rigid enforcement. The general policy of entering into international agreements on these industrial matters would have to be considered. He was not prepared on the part of the Government to say that they could enter into any binding international agreement on industrial matters until they were assured that all the competing industrial countries could be brought into the agreement, and had further, complete guarantees for the uniform enforcement of the agreed regulations in all of those countries. The question of the duration of such agreements would also have to be carefully considered.

On the question of lead poisoning, he thought the inspector's report was not unsatisfactory. There had been a slight increase in cases in the last two years; but there were fewer cases in the first part of the present year than in the first half of 1904, and so far as the year had gone it compared favourably with previous years. The figures must be watched with care, but the existing special rules were only recently settled, after an exhaustive arbitration, by Lord James, and they would not be justified in making an alteration in them at the present time.

Many important matters had been discussed, one of the most important having been raised by the hon. Member for Monmouthshire, who, in an extremely able speech, made a request to him that he would grant an inquiry under Section 45 of the Act of 1887 into the dreadful accident which had recently occured at Wattstown. The hon. Member had formed the erroneous impression that he had already refused an inquiry, but what he had said throughout was that he could not take any steps for the appointment of a special inquiry until the result of the inquest, now being held, was known. Such inquests had in the past proved to be very thorough and careful, and in this instance special care had been taken to ensure its completeness. At the request of the hon. Member for Rhondda, whose absence and the cause of it they much regretted, counsel who could speak the Welsh language had been employed to attend on behalf of the Home Office, and the mines inspectors of the districts and adjoining district were also in attendance. These gentlemen had examined the workings, and would give the inquest all possible information. When the verdict had been given, and he had considered the report of the Home Office counsel and of the two inspectors, if he found reason to suppose that an inquiry was desirable he should direct one without hesitation. It had never, hitherto, however, been found necessary to hold an inquiry under Section 45 in a case where an inquest had already been held. Such special inquiries were held in Scotland up to 1895, but since the passing of the Fatal Accidents (Scotland) Bill in that year, none had been held even in Scotland.

The hon. Member for Wansbeck had dealt with several questions arising out of this accident. One of his suggestions was that steps ought to be taken to provide all mines with appliances and apparatus both in the nature of ambulance and for the artificial supply of breathable air. He understood from the report of the inspector, that so far as the ambulance and first-aid appliances prescribed under General Rule 34 were concerned, all the requirements of that rule were well observed at this particular colliery. He was sorry to say, however, that in this district, for some time past, it had been difficult to get men to attend the St. John's Ambulance lectures or to pass the first-aid examination. As to the oxygen apparatus, he would consider whether a circular letter should be sent to colliery owners suggesting provision of this apparatus. Such appliances did exist, and some of them were safe and met probable requirements. There were, however, some descriptions of the apparatus against which he had been warned, as they might be dangerous to those using them. The matter, however, was certainly well worthy of attention.

The hon. Member for Monmouth had criticised the system of inspection, quoting Professor Galloway to the effect that, if the inspection were effectually carried out, there should be no accidents. The hon. Member suggested that the inspectors were overworked. He was, of course, aware of the large amount of work inspectors had to do, but did not think that the staff was inadequate; and, so far as he could learn from owners and men, they were energetic and well qualified. It had been suggested that men with more technical knowledge would be better qualified to discharge the duties of inspectors, but he thought that the Inspectors' Education was such as to fit them in every way for the work they had to perform.

MR. T. RICHARDS said his remarks about having better educated men applied to firemen.

MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS: That firemen occupied extremely important positions he quite agreed, but they were appointed by colliery owners, not by the Home Office. He associated himself with the desire to see them well qualified for their position.

The hon. Member for Monmouth had called attention to the large number of mining accidents, quoting figures in support of his contention. But those figures had relation to a long series of years, and applied to the whole country, and if the Committee would look at the table of accidents caused by explosions it would be seen that there had been happily a falling off in recent years.

The subject raised by the hon. Members for Down and Belfast gave rise to much discussion upon the occasion when his right hon. friend the Member for Croydon had charge of the Bill for amending the Factory Act. The House would probably remember that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon intended to deal with the question, but that owing to very strong opposition at the last moment the particular clause in his Bill relating to the inspection of laundries had to be abandoned. Since then his right hon. friend had given a pledge that he would deal with the question on the first opportunity. He had tried for the past two or three years to do what he could by voluntary inspection, and a large number of conventual houses carrying on laundry work had voluntarily accepted inspection. On the other hand, he confessed that inspection under the voluntary system was not wholly satisfactory. The inspector could not visit without notice being given of his coming, and had, of course, no power to insist on his recommendations being carried out. He adhered to the pledge given by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon, and although he could not talk about legislation then while they were in Committee, he was prepared at once to introduce legislation to carry out the intention of his right hon friend.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress: to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING

SUPPLY [19th Allotted Day].

Considered in Commitee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. Grant Lawson (Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1905-6.

Class II.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £108,629, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department and Subordinate Offices."

Sir ALFRED THOMAS (Glamorganshire, E.) said that they had in the Wattstown explosion one of those dreadful calamities that from time to time shocked civilisation. Thoughtful people asked each other, were all the precautions that science and experience taught us exercised in those perilous industries. There were many reasons for fearing that such was not the case. They believed that many facts brought out by scientific research and practical experience were altogether ignored in the conduct of working in fiery seams. It was now more than twenty-seven years ago since he accompanied a scientist, who also was a near relative, for some two months in visiting all the great collieries then working in South Wales, for the purpose of collecting gas from blowers and other sources, and this scientist gave his experience in a work entitled "Coal Mine Gases and Ventilation." Among the facts that he brought to light was that an admixture of air and marsh gas which, under normal pressure, was non-explosive, would under greater pressure become explosive. The experiments were conducted with samples of air and gas free from coal dust. Those experiments proved why it was that explosions in collieries known to be comparatively free from gas, except in one or more small areas, would in the event of an explosion often extend to all the workings in that particular seam. Therefore he contended that the real point of danger was not that at which a quantity of gas and air would explode under atmospheric conditions, but the quantity that would explode under greater pressure. This, of course, was but one of many instances brought out by the gentleman to whom he had referred, and others working in the same field.

Principal Griffiths, of the University College of South Wales and Monmouth, of which he had the honour to be President, was prompted to write a letter to his hon. friend the Member for the Rhondda in which he made some most valuable suggestions. They all regretted that this great labour leader was absent to-day, but they were also cheered with the fact that he had so far recovered that it needed physical force on the part of his medical attendant to restrain him from coming to the debate. They had seen that afternoon what a splendid lieutenant he had in the hon. Member for West Monmouth. He would read a paragraph of the letter of Principal Griffiths—

> "We have had Royal Commissions and we have the experience of practical men; but I make bold to believe that we have not yet had that real devotion of the highest scientific intellect which would enable us to say that all that human endeavour can do has been done. Suppose that we were able to devote to this matter some of the keenest intellects in the kingdom, the minds of men trained to accurate observation, to the consideration of experimental evidence and to the practical application of knowledge, I am so sanguine as to think that great results might follow."

It was a question whether the time had not arrived when another Royal Commission should be appointed to take the evidence now available. Since the last Royal Commission great strides had been made in scientific research and by later experience, and it would be well to have some such tribunal to focus the knowledge now scattered and widespread and make it available for practical purposes. In the admirable speech just made by his hon. friend the Member for West Monmouth, in which he showed his great mastery of the subject, he told them that some three inspectors were all that were employed to inspect the work of 85,000 men. Three inspectors for 85,000 men employed in the most hazardous and dangerous calling in the world! Such a number was simply absurd. He would say that a large number of men should be employed, not the highly-paid inspectors as at present, but another class, one analogous to the engine-room artificers as compared with the engineer officers. There were to-day, thanks to the mining classes of the county councils, hundreds of young men in South Wales qualified to take any posts in colliery administration, and who would be admirably qualified to perform the duties he indicated. He would say that there should be one such inspector for every 2,000 men employed in mines, and then they would have some reason to believe that mines would be properly inspected.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £108,529, be granted for the said Service."—(*Sir Alfred Thomas.*)

MR. RENWICK (Newcastle-on-Tyne) said he quite agreed that a Commission should be appointed to inquire into the Welsh mining disaster. The Home Secretary had said he did not think it necessary because there had been an inquest, but there was great difference between an inquest, when the minds of people were swayed by grief or sentiment, and a scientific inquiry such as had been asked for. As representing a centre of coal mining in the North of England, he felt extremely pleased that the Home Secretary had been able to give such figures as to the decrease in the number of accidents throughout the country. He well remembered the time, thirty or forty years ago, when accidents were much more frequent in the North of England than at present. It was many years since they had had so serious an accident as had lately taken place in South Wales, but he felt sure in such a lamentable event they would have been anxious for such an inquiry as was asked for by the Welsh Members. They all admired the heroism of the coal workers, and especially of those who formed the rescue party, and he thought the men had a great claim on the favourable consideration of the Home Secretary.

Another question he desired to ask was one with regard to the regulations proposed for dealing with the loading and unloading of ships. Shipowners in vain endeavoured to find out definitely what the regulations were, and as they were laid upon the Table of the House of Commons for forty days while Parliament was not sitting, there was no opportunity of discussing them. Under these regulations shipowners were called upon to provide appliances to safeguard life in connection with ships in dock. He was on board a ship in the docks that day, and it was pointed out to him that the gangway provided under the new regulations was never used by the sailors. Very often accidents were caused by the carelessness of the men. This often happened in mines, and every miner ought to keep watch on his fellows.

He asked the Home Secretary for information as to the action of magistrates in connection with motor fines; but the Chairman ruled that he could not refer to that subject. He (Mr. Renwick) then asked for information in regard to the working of the new Licensing Act, and the number of licences extinguished. He asked, further, if any action was being taken in regard to magistrates who were passive resisters and refused to carry out the Education Act. He also referred to an increase of £6,500 in the item of contributions to certified reformatories and asked how it arose, and requested to be informed whether one increase of £1,481 in the item of salaries and allowances to inspectors was due to the increase in the number of women inspectors. He would also like to know whether any progress had been made in the rearrangement of the duties of the Home Office? It was a remarkable state of affairs that the Home Secretary should be both Minister of Justice and factory inspector.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil) said he hoped the Home Secretary would be able to give some assurance on the question of the increase of inspectors under the Factories Act. Last year there was a promise that something should be done, and two women inspectors had been transferred from the temporary to the permanent staff, but that was not an increase, and it was common knowledge that the need for an increase was very great. With regard to the Wattstown disaster he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to give a more decided reply when he again addressed the Committee. In the case of an explosion of such magnitude as this an independent inquiry should follow as a matter of course. The primary cause of explosions in mines was the accumulation of gas; but, as Professor Galloway stated, such accumulations of gas would be an impossibility under a proper system of ventilation.

In regard to the statement of the Home Secretary about the Berne Conference, he was sorry to hear the right hon. Gentleman say that the British representatives at the conference had not got a free hand and that they entered into that conference without being fully armed to agree to the decisions of the conference being binding on the Government. The hon. Member for Stoke said that the only reason for that was to protect British manufacturers from foreign competition, but that he denied. He wished to ask the Home Secretary whether he would cause inquiry to be made into the disturbance in the streets of Manchester two days ago in connection with an unemployed procession. He admitted that if there was obstruction in the streets caused by such a procession, steps should be taken to prevent it, but he denied that it was part of the duty of the police to use force on that occasion, the question of the use of the streets being one for a civil action at law. No such force was necessary for the preservation of order, and he hoped that the Home Secretary would see to it that the rights and liberties of working men to demonstrate—which were already sufficiently restricted—should not be further interfered with.

Mr. BURT (Morpeth) said he wished to emphasise the necessity for a careful examination of shot-firers, whose duties were very responsible. He thought these men should be allowed to confine themselves to their special functions and not have an addition to their duties of manual labour of other kinds. It was exceedingly desirable that there should be a special inquiry into the lamentable disaster in South Wales. The Home Secretary's statement that he would await the result of the inquest before deciding whether he would take steps to hold another inquiry was very good so far as it went, but in his opinion it did not go far enough. He agreed with the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil that an accident of this sort, involving the loss of 119 lives, was of itself a sufficient reason for a special and larger investigation than usually took place before a coroner. He joined with the hon. Member for East Glamorgan in the hope that the right hon. Gentleman would see his way to provide a wider inquiry into the question of accidents in mines, and that might to some extent supersede the necessity for that more limited inquiry.

The hon. Member for West Monmouth had referred to the Royal Commission which reported in 1886. That Commission was appointed in 1879 and he had the honour of being a member of it. There were several scientific men connected with it, and it made a complete and thorough investigation into everything connected with accidents in mines. They made hundreds of experiments, and the Commission demonstrated the enormous importance of coal dust as a factor in connection with mine explosions. In fact, they proved that quantities of gas that could not be detected by any ordinary methods of examination could with an admixture of coal dust become terribly dangerous in a mine. Some of the recommendations of the Commission had been carried out and immense advantage had occurred from its investigations. Even in the face of the accident that had occurred in

South Wales he thought they should recognise that a great deal had been done in the way of endeavouring to prevent accidents in mines. Notably in the last ten or fifteen years there had been an enormous diminution in the number of fatalities in mines; that ought to encourage them to make further efforts to try to prevent these accidents and he hoped further steps would be taken in the matter.

He hoped the Home Secretary had not said his last word on the subject of investigation into the terrible disaster in South Wales; and he would associate himself with the remarks made as to the exceedingly narrow limits of time within which they were bound by the debate. He was sure the Home Secretary must be the first to admit that the debate had been very interesting and had covered a wide series of subjects. Under the circumstances the Home Secretary admitted that he could not say all it was necessary to say in replying to the various speakers who had taken part in the debate. In matters affecting the life, health, and well-being of hundreds of thousands, he might say millions of the population, the House of Commons should be given opportunity for full discussion.

Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS said the hon. Gentleman opposite had urged the importance of having the debates on this Vote at an earlier period of the session in order that fuller opportunity might be given for discussion. He had pointed out before that the matter did not rest with him. He would have been glad to have the Vote taken earlier, but the time when it was brought on rested more with hon. Members opposite.

Mr. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): We do not admit that.

Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS said he knew that the Prime Minister himself constantly appealed to hon. Gentlemen on the other side to say what business should be taken, and the Government had done their best to carry out their desires. He had no wish to refer to this matter in a controversial spirit. He admitted that an important Vote of this sort ought to be taken at a time when it could be properly discussed. Hon. Members who had been in the House that day would agree with him that the discussion on all sides had been of a practical character, and that it had been carried on in a businesslike spirit with no desire to make Party capital out of it.

The chief subject which they had discussed was the unfortunate and regrettable mine accident which occurred recently. He had been asked whether he would order an inquiry into that accident. He had stated before that he was perfectly prepared to consider with an open mind whether an inquiry was necessary, but he did not think he could do so until he had received the verdict of the coroner's jury, the report of counsel, whom he had specially appointed to represent him on this occasion, and the reports of the two mines inspectors who also attended the inquest. It had been pointed out that though there was an inquest in the case of a fatal railway accident, the Board of Trade at once sent an inspector to hold an inquiry. In the same way in this case the Home Office sent their inspectors, and they had two inspectors attending the inquest and holding their inquiry practically at the same time. Those inspectors would make a special report to the Home Office. That was the practice which had been followed for many years past, and he knew of no instance in which advantage had been taken by the Home Secretary of Section 45 of the Act of 1887 to hold a special inquiry in England when an inquest had been held; but he would have no hesitation in taking that course, if it appeared to him that the inquest had been unsatisfactory or had failed to elicit the whole of the facts. He recognised that this disaster was of a more terrible kind than we had had for some time in the mining industry. If, after the reports had been received, it should appear possible to obtain any further information, he should not hesitate to take the step of ordering a special inquiry.

The hon. Member for West Monmouth had referred to the fact that there had been no general inquiry into the question of explosions in mines. The hon. Gentleman had forgotten that a very strong Commission sat during the years 1891–1894 to inquire into the question of explosions from coal dust in mines, and that on the Report of that Commission the legislation of 1896 was based. The Act which was then passed gave extended powers of making special rules, and prescribed that only certain explosives might be used in fiery mines. That, however, was really a small point, and he did not wish to cavil at the speech which the hon. Member made on this occasion. He regretted from one point of view that he could not comply with the request of the hon. Member to order an inquiry now.

The hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil had referred to a conflict which took place between the police and a procession of unemployed in Manchester two or three days ago, and asked whether he proposed to hold an inquiry into the matter. As he pointed out the other day, he had only a limited power over the police forces other than the Metropolitan Police. The hon. Member stated, perfectly truly, at Question time that the powers which the Secretary of State had over the police arose from the fact that a portion of the cost of their maintenance came out of Imperial funds, and that it was possible by withholding the Home Office certificate of the efficiency of any particular force, to deprive that force of its contribution from the Exchequer. The case of the three defendants were *sub judice*, and was to be heard next week. Pending the decision of the magistrate he did not propose to take any action. If there was to be an inquiry, it would be, in the first instance, for the Manchester Watch Committee to hold it, and he certainly should not be disposed to interfere with the local authority unless they failed to hold an inquiry, if it was necessary, or unless the result of their inquiry was unsatisfactory. He should not interfere for any other reason. The Manchester Watch Committee quite recently held an inquiry into the conduct of some of their constables, and that inquiry was conducted in the most efficient manner. That was another reason which would prevent him from interfering until it could be shown that the watch committee were not conducting their affairs in the way they should do. He thought the watch committee were perfectly capable of managing their police force, and he further thought that, as far as he had been able to ascertain, the action of the police had been very proper on this occasion.

Much had been done by the Department in respect of making regulations for dangerous trades. Several sets of such regulations, including a set dealing with the ventilation of flax and linen factories, had been drafted, and published in draft for anyone who wished to make objections or criticisms. The right hon. Baronet the Member for Forest of Dean referred to the staff of inspectors, both male and female. He would point out that last year they added two female inspectors to the staff, and with regard to the male and female inspectors alike, the sufficiency of the existing staff was under his consideration. The hon. Member for Clitheroe had called his attention to time cribbing, and had shown him the drawings of a machine for registering the time worked by the engines. He was not aware how this invention worked, but the officials of his Department were considering whether it would be possible to make any use of it for the purpose of checking the abuse complained of.

And, it being Ten of the clock, the Chairman proceeded, in pursuance of Standing Order No. 15, to put forthwith the Questions necessary to dispose of the Vote under consideration.

Question put, "That a sum, not exceeding £108,529, be granted for the said Service."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 188; Noes, 246. (Division List No. 322.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.
Allen, Charles P.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams

Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Bright, Allan Heywood
Broadhurst, Henry
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Buxton,N.E.(York,NR,Whitby
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Cheetham, John Frederick
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Doogan, P. C.
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, CaptEC(SAndrw'sBghs.
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, SirFrancisH.(Maidstone
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Partick
Fenwick, Charles
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alexander(LanarkNE
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis
Hardie, J.Keir(MerthyrTydvil)
Harrington, Timothy
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Non. Sir Arthur D
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones,DavidBrynmor(Swansea)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones,William (Carnarvonshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, P. J. (Westmeath, N.
Kennedy, VincentP.(Cavan,W.
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Sir James
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, SirJosephF.(Accrington
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Kean, John
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col.JohnP.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow,W.
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, James(Roscommon,N
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestly, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E.(Waterford)
Reid, SirR.Threshie(Dumfries)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Seely,Maj.J.E.B.(Isle of Wight)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt.Hn.C.R.(Northant
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, DavidAlfred(Merthyr
Thompson, Dr.E.C(MonaghanN
Tillett, Louis John
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyon, Charles Philips
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galoway
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George(York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J.(York,W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid).
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Woodhouse, SirJT.(Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Tennant and Mr. Richards

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allhusen, AugustusHenryEden
Anson, Sir WilliamReynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt.Hn.HughO
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hon.SirH
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hon.A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, RtHnGeraldW.(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bathurst,Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry

Bond, Edward
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J.H.M.(Dublin Univ
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W.(Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, RtHn.J.A.(Worc
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton
Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir HoratioD.(Chatham
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt.Hon.SirJohn E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt.Hon.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Faber, George Denison (York
Fellowes, Rt.HnAilwynEdward
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.SirJ.(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, RtHnSirR.B.(Inv'rn'ss
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, PhilipS.(Warwick, S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Godson, Sir AugustusFrederick
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj Evans-(T'rHm'lets
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Greene, HenryD. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond- (Cambs.
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, Marq.of(L'nd'nderry
Hardy, Laurence(Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, ArthurHoward(Hanley)
Heath, SirJames(Staffords, N.W
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, SirA.(Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, John(Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hon.James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks., N.R.)
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon.ArthurFred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hon.Geo.T.(Denbigh
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Hn.H.L.W.(Mile End)
Lee, ArthurH.(Hants., Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliot (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, FrederickN.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col.CharlesW. (Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, ReginaldJ.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W.J.H.(Dumfriessh.)
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hon. J.Scott(Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, DavidJ.(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike(Darlington
Peel, Hn.Wm.RobertWellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reed, Sir Edw. James (Cardiff)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie, Rt.Hon.Chas.Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Samuel, SirHarryS.(Limehouse
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos.Myles
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, H.C.(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith, Rt.Hn.JParker(Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hon.Arthur(Ormskirk
Stanley, EdwardJas.(Somerset)
Stanley, Rt.Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stewart, SirMarkJ.M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G.(OxfdUniv.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Turnour, Viscount
Vincent, Col.SirCEH(Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt. Hon.SirWilliamH
Warde, Col. C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E.(Taunton
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und. Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, John (Glasgow)

Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart.
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

Original Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 245; Noes, 190. (Division List No. 323.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.)
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Charles Sir William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A (Worc.
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton)
Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Davies, Sir Horatio D. (Chatham)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fellowes, Rt Hn. Ailwyn Edward
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Rt. Hn. Sir R. B. (Inv'rn'ss
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S. W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj. Evans (T'r Hm'lets
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'ndery)
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley)
Heath, Sir James (Staffords. NW.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, John (Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks., N.R.)
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Hn. H. L. W. (Mile End)
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants., Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hon. W. F.
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriess.)
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvan, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington)
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.

Reed, Sir Edw. James (Cardiff)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie, Rt. Hon.Chas,Thomsn
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Samuel, SirHarryS.(Limehouse
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw. J.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford,East)
Smith, H.C.(North'mbTyneside
Smith,Rt.Hn.J.Parker(Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley,Hon.Arthur (Ormskirk)
Stanley,EdwardJames(Somrset
Stanley, Rt.Hon. Lord (Lancst)
Stewart, Sir J.Mark M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxfd'Univ
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Turnour, Viscount
Vincent, Col.SirC.E.H.(Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt.Hn.SirWilliamH.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E.(Taunton
Whiteley, H. (Ashtonund.Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby, de Eresby Lord,
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn.E.R.(Bath)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B.Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Allen, Charles P.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Bright, Allan Heywood
Broadhurst, Henry
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, N.E.(York,NRWhitby
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Doogan, P. C.
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, CaptEC(S.Andrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans,Sir Francis H.(Maidstone
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alexander(Lanark,NE
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond John
Harcourt Lewis
Hardie, J.Keir (MerthyrTydvil)
Harrington, Timothy
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson, Dr. CharlesFredk.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, DavidBrynmor(Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, P. J. (Westmeath,N.
Kennedy, Vincent P.(Cavan,W
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Sir James
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Law, HughAlex.(Donegal, W.
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leese, SirJosephF.(Accrington
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col.JohnP.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James(Wicklow,W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon,N
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E.(Waterford)
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)

Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Samuel, Herbert L.(Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Seely, Maj.J.E.B.(Isle of Wight
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair,*John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
SpencerRt.Hn.C.R.(Northants)
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan. E
Thomas, DavidAlfred(Merthyr)
Thomas, JA(Glamorgan,Gower
Thompson,Dr.EC(Monaghan,N
Tillett, Louis John
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke, (York, E. R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.
Whitley, J. H. (Halfax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Woodhouse, SirJT.(Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES — Mr. Soares and Mr. Layland-Barratt.

The Chairman then proceeded to put severally the Questions, That the total amounts of the Votes outstanding in each Class of the Civil Service Estimates, including Supplementary Estimates, and the total amount of the Votes outstanding in the Estimates for the Navy, Army (including Ordnance Factories), and Revenue Departments, be granted for the Services defined in those Classes and Estimates.

CLASS I.

2. Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding £1,528,761, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for Expenditure on the following Services included in Class I. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£.
3. Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens . . .	62,400
4. Houses of Parliament Building (Supplementary)	3,150
5. Miscellaneous Legal Buildings, Great Britain . . .	33,960
6. Art and Science Buildings, Great Britain .	29 000
7. Diplomatic and Consular Buildings . . .	40,900
8. Revenue Buildings. .	433,700
9. Public Buildings, Great Britain . . .	284,000
10. Surveys of the United Kingdom . . .	117,650
11. Harbours under the Board of Trade. .	16,565
12. Peterhead Harbour .	22,000
13. Rates on Government Property . . .	356,295
14. Public Works and Buildings, Ireland	104,509
15. Railways, Ireland . .	24,632
	£1,528,761

CLASS II.

3. Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding £1,319,058, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for Expenditure in respect of the following Services included in Class II. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
1. House of Lords Offices .	10,051
2. House of Commons Offices	20,500
3. Treasury and Subordinate Offices	58,595
5. Foreign Office . . .	40,103
6. Colonial Office . . .	28,920
7. Privy Council Office . .	6,370
9. Mercantile Marine Services	69,919
10. Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade .	5
11. Board of Agriculture and Fisheries . . .	65,605
12. Charity Commission .	15,689
13. Civil Service Commission	24,905
14. Exchequer and Audit Department	40,155
15. Friendly Societies Registry	4,680
16. Local Government Board	146,954
17. Lunacy Commission, England	10,458
18. Mint, including Coinage .	48
19. National Debt Office .	7,063

	£
20. Public Record Office	14,560
21. Public Works Loan Commission	19
22. Registrar-General's Office, England	22,895
23. Stationery and Printing	413,283
24. Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, etc., Office	12,633
25. Works and Public Buildings Office	43,395
26. Secret Service	25,000
Scotland.	
28. Fishery Board	14,786
29. Lunacy Commission	3,384
30. Registrar-General's Office	2,781
Ireland.	
32. Household of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland	2,822
33. Chief Secretary for Ireland, Offices	13,950
34. Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction	111,692
35. Charitable Donations and Bequests Office	1,042
36. Local Government Board	39,097
37. Public Record Office, Ireland	3,359
38. Public Works Office	23,111
39. Registrar-General's Office	7,510
40. Valuation and Boundary Survey	13,719
	£1,319,058"

CLASS III.

4. Question put, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,997,391, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for Expenditure in respect of the following Services included in Class III. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
1. Law Charges	32,202
2. Miscellaneous Legal Expenses	21,516
3. Supreme Court of Judicature	181,574
4. Land Registry	26,102
5. County Courts	6,000
6. Police, England and Wales	26,945
7. Prisons, England and the Colonies	406,443
8. Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain	119,799
9. Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum	23,806
Scotland.	
10. Law Charges and Courts of Law	51,841
11. Register House, Edinburgh	27,481
12. Crofters' Commission	2,545
13. Prisons	50,750
Ireland.	
14. Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions	32,416
15. Supreme Court of Judicature and other Legal Departments	58,025
17. County Court Officers, etc.	65,423
18. Dublin Metropolitan Police	37,906
19. Royal Irish Constabulary	699,413
20. Prisons	68,430
21. Reformatory and Industrial Schools	55,281
22. Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum	3,493
	£1,997,391"

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 248; Noes, 191. (Division List No 324.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord

Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Cambell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt HnJ.A.(Worc.
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton
Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, W. Bromley
Davies, Sir HoratioD.(Chatham
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Dorington, Rt.Hon.Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt.Hn.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fellowes, Rt. Hn Ailwyn Edward
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.Sir J. (Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Rt HnSirR.B (Inv'rn'ss)
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S.(Warwick, S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Godson, Sir AugustusFrederick
Gordon, J.(Londonderry, South
Gordon, Maj.Evans-(T'rH'ml'ts
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Henry D.(Shrewsbury)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John

Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'donderry
Hardy, Laurence(Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanle y
Heath, SirJames(Staffords, NW
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, Sir A.(Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, John(Kent, Faversh'm
Hozier, Hon.James HenryCecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks., N.R.)
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt.Hon. Arthur Fred
Jessel, Captain HerbertMerton
Kenyon, Hon.Geo.T.(Denbigh)
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Hn, H.L.W.(Mile End)
Lee, Arthur H.(Hants., Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col.Charles W.(Evesham)
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter (Bristol, S)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col.Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W.F.
Maxwell, W.J.H (Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hn.J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, David J(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)

Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike(Darlington
Peel, Hn.Wm.RobertWellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederick Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reed, Sir Edw.James (Cardiff)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas.Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashir
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Samuel, Sir HarryS.(Limehouse
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford, East)
Smith, H C(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith, Rt HnJ.Parker(Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur(Ormskirk)
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset
Stanley, Rt.Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J.M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Turnour, Viscount
Vincent, Col.Sir C.EH(Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt.Hon.Sir WilliamH
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E (Taunton
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und.Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)

Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R (Bath)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood, and Viscount Valentia.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Allen, Charles P.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Bright Allan Heywood
Broadhurst, Henry
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, N. E (York, NR, Whitby
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Doogan, P. C.
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Sir Francis H. (Maidstone
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alexander (Lanark, NE
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Harrington, Timothy
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, Lief (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, P. J. (Westmeath, N.
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Sir James
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfred (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willan
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P J (Tipperary, N)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S)
O'Donnell, T (Kerry, W)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N,)
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P J
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J A (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M
Redmond, John E (Waterford)
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H (Denbighs)
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Samuel, Herbert L (Cleveland)
Samuel, S M (Whitechapel)
Seely, Maj J E B (Isleof Wight)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr John G
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J
Spencer, Rt Hn C R (Northants
Sullivan Donal
Taylor, Theodore C (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A (Glamorgan, E)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Thomas, J A (Glamorgan, Gower
Thompson, Dr E C (Monagh'n, N
Tillett, Louis John
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Villiers, Ernest Amhster
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, ER)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York, W R)
Whitley, J H (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Hudd'rsf'd
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Robson, and Sir Joseph Leese.

CLASS IV.

5. Question put, "That a sum, not exceeding £7,619,937, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for Expenditure in respect of the following Services, included in Class IV. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz:—

	£
1. Board of Education	5,652,548
2. British Museum	100,501
3. National Gallery	9,014
4. National Portait Gallery	2,619
5. Wallace Collection	3,593
6. Scientific Investigation, etc., United Kingdom	29,900
7. Universities and Colleges, Great Britain, and Intermediate Education, Wales	137,300
8. Public Education, Scotland	1,047,290
9. National Gallery, etc., Scotland	405
Ireland.	
10. Public Education	631,721
11. Endowed Schools Commissioners	510
12. National Gallery (including a Supplementary Sum of £1,390)	1,986
13. Queen's Colleges	2,550
	£7,619,937"

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 245; Noes, 187. (Division List No. 325.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r.
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M (Dublin Univ.
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A (Worc.
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton)
Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E,
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, W. Bromley
Davies, Sir Horatio D. (Chatham
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fellowes, Rt Hn. Ailwyn Edward
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r)
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Rt. Hn Sir R. B (Inv'rn'ss)
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S. W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, South)
Gordon, Maj Evans-(T'r H'mlets
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'donderry
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, Sir James (Staffords, NW
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside)
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, Jn. (Kent, Faversham)
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks., N. R.)
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh
Keswick, William

Kimber, Sir Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson,Hn.H.L.W (Mile End)
Lee,Arthur H.(Hants.,Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower,Frederick N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long,Col.Charles W.(Evesham)
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas,Reginald J.(Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell,W.J.H (Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants)
Moon Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan,DavidJ.(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)

Murray Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease,HerbertPike(Darlington
Peel, Hn.Wm.RobertWellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reed,Sir Edw.James (Cardiff)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie,Rt Hon.Chas.Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Round, Rt. Hon, James
Royds, Clement Molyyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Samuel,Sir HarryS.(Limehouse
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw J.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)

Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford,East)
Smith,HC(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith,Rt.HnJ.Parker(Lanark
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand
Spear, John Ward
Stanley,Hon Arthur(Ormskirk
Stanley,Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stanley,Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stewart, Sir Mark J.M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'd Univ
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Turnour. Viscount
Vincent,Col.SirC.E H(Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond,Rt.Hon.Sir William
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby,Lt -Col.A.C.E.(Taunton
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse,Rt.Hn. E.R.(Bath)
Wortley,Rt.Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia

NOES.

Abraham,William (Cork, N.E.)
Allen, Charles P.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Bright, Allan Heywood
Broadhurst, Henry
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Buxton,N.E.(York,NR,Whitby
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Clancy, John Joseph
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Eugene
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal

Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Delany William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon, Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Doogan, P. C.
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,Capt.E C(S.Andrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans,Sir FrancisH.(Maidstone
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay,Alexander (Lanark,NE
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gilhooly, James

Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J,
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis
Hardie, J.Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Harrington, Timothy
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon.Sir Arthur D.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt Hn. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson,Dr. Charles Fredk.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones,David Brynmor(Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jordan, Jeremiah

Kearley, Hudson, E.
Kennedy, P. J. (Westmeath, N.)
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan,W
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Sir James
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfred (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F.(Accrington
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Kean, John
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Muldoon, John
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col.JohnP.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Kendal (TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow,W.
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon,N
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John (Galway, East)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Seely, Maj. J. E. B (Isleof Wight
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, RtHn C.R.(Northants)
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C.(Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan,E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Thomas, J. A(Glamorgan,Gower
Thompson, DrEC(Monaghan,N
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whiteley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J.(York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Woodhouse, Sir J.T(Hudd'rsfi'd
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Mr. Lamont, and Mr. Lyell.

CLASS V.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich): Mr. Chairman, will you ask those who oppose this Vote to stand up?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, I could not do that. To do so I must declare the division is frivolously claimed, and I could not say that on this occasion.

6. Question put, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,032,445, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for Expenditure on the following Services included in Class V. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz.:—

	£
1. Diplomatic and Consular Services	303,847
2. Colonial Services	671,703
3. Telegraph Subsidies and Pacific Cable	41,645
4. Cyprus (Grant in Aid)	1,000
5. Treasury Chest Fund	14,250
	£1,032,445"

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 246; Noes, 144. (Division List No. 326.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt.Hn.Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn.Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. Gerald W(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-

Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J.H.M.(Dublin Univ.)
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire)
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A(Worc.)
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton)
Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, W. Bromley
Davies, Sir, Horatio D.(Chatham
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fellowes, Rt Hn. Ailwyn Edward
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r)
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Rt Hn Sir R. B. (Inv'rn'ss)
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S.(Warwick, S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, South
Gordon, Maj. Evans-(T'r H'mlets
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'donderry
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley)
Heath, Sir James (Staffords. NW
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, John (Kent, Faversh'm
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks., N.R.)
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Hn. H. L. W. (Mile End)
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants., Fareh'm
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesh'm)
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W. J. H(Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, David J. (Walthamst'w
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlingt'n
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reed, Sir Edw. James (Cardiff)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. (Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse
Saunderson. Rt. Hn. Col. Edw. J.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, H.C. (North'mb. Tyneside
Smith, Rt Hn J. Parker (Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hon. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset)
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Turnour, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E H(Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col. A A E(Taunton
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, John (Glasgow)

Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E.R.(Bath)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

NOES,

Abraham, William (Cork, N. E.)
Allen, Charles P.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atherley-Jones, L
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Bright, Allan Heywood
Broadhurst, Henry
Bryce, Rt Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, N.E (York.NR, Whitby
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cogan, Denis J.
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Delany, William
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobbie Joseph
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, CaptEC(S.Andrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Fenwick, Charles
Findlay, Alexander(Lanark NE
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Haldane, Rt Hon Richard B.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis
Harwood, George
Hayter, Rt Hon Sir Arthur D.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill Rt. Hon Charles H.
Higham, John Sharp
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson Dr. Charles Fredk.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, P J. (Westmeath, N.)
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Sir James
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex (Donegal, W)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
M'Fadden, Edward
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North
Mansfield, Horace (Rendall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Nolan, Col John P (Galway, N
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willians
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary, Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny
O'Kelly, Conor (Mayo, N.)
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Samuel, S. M (Whitechapel)
Seely, Maj. J.E B (IsleofWight
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt.Hn.C.R(Northants
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Thomas, J A. (Glamorgan, Gower
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitley, J H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. George Whiteley and Mr. Wallace.

CLASS VI.

7. Question put, "That a sum, not exceeding £497,002, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for Expenditure in respect of the following Services included in Class VI. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz.:—

	£
1 Superannuation and Retired Allowances .	348,378
2. Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions . .	800
3. Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances	572
4. Hospital and Charities, Ireland . . .	263
5. Savings Banks' and Friendly Societies' Deficiencies . .	146,989
	£497,002"

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 244; Noes, 122. (Division List No. 327.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r.)
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey
Balfour, Rt. Hn. Gerald W (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.)
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hn. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J. A. (Worc.
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton
Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T L. (Down, North
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir Horatio D (Chatham
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hn. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fellowes, Rt Hn. Ailwyn Edward
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J (Man'cr
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Rt. Hn. Sir R. B (Inv'rn'ss
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S. W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Godson, Sir Augustus Frederick
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj. Evans (T'rH'mlets
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nderry
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, Sir James (Staffords NW
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, John (Kent Faversham
Hozier Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks. N.R.)
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Hn. H. L. W. (Mile End)
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants, Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliot (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W. J. H (Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants.
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, David J. (Walthamst'w
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reed, Sir Edw. James (Cardiff)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford

Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse
Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Col. Edw. J.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, H. C (North'mb. Tyneside)
Smith, RtHnJ Parker (Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hon. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset)
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Turnour, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. (Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. Bath
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

NOES.

Allen, Charles P.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Black, Alexander William
Bright, Allan Heywood
Broadhurst, Henry
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, N. E. (York, N.R. Whitby
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt. E C (S. Andrw's Bghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Sir Francis H. (Maidstone
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Fenwick, Charles
Findlay, Alexander (Lanark, NE
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hn. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Lewis
Harwood, George
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Higham, John Sharp
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, P. J. (Westmeath, N.
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Seely, Maj. J. E. B (Isle of Wight)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R. (Northants
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
Thomas, J A (Glamorgan Gower
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Young, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Mr. Stuart Samuel and Mr. Slack.

CLASS VII.

8. Question put, "That a sum, not exceeding £137,772, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for Expenditure in respect of the following Services included in Class VII. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz :—

	£
1. Temporary Commissions .	12,804
2. Miscellaneous Expenses .	6,308

3. Repayments to the Local Loans Fund . . .	698
4. Ireland Development Grant	85,000
5. Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales (Visit to India) .	20,000
6. Repayment to Civil Contingencies Fund . .	12,962
	£137,772 ”.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 242; Noes, 117. (Division List No. 328.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r.
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Michael Hicks
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boscawen, Arthur Griffith-
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hn. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J A (Worc.)
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton
Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Davies, Sir Horatio D. (Chatham
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fellowes, Rt. Hn. Ailwyn Edw.
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Rt Hn Sir R. B (Inv'rn'ss
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj. Evans-(T'r H'ml'ts
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Goschen, Hn. George Joachim
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, H. D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond- (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'dond'ry)
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur H. (Hanley)
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, J. (Kent, Faversham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks. N.R.)
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Hn. H. L. W. (Mile End)
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hn. W. (Bristol, S.)
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriess.
Middlemore John Throgmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, David J. (Walth'mst'w
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlingt'n
Peel, Hn. Wm Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert

Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reed, Sir Edw. James (Cardiff)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie, Rt.Hn.Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. (Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col. Edw. J.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford E.)
Smith, H.C (North'mbTyneside
Smith, RtHnJ.Parker(Lanarks.
Smith, Hon.W. F. D. (Strand
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'd Univ
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Turnour, Viscount
Vincent, Col.Sir C E H(Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt-Col. A. C.E. (Taunton
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn. E.R.(Bath)
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

NOES.

Allen, Charles P.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Baker, Joseph Allen
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Black, Alexander William
Broadhurst, Henry
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, NE.(York,NR,Whitby
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, CaptEC(SAndrw's Bghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Sir FrancisH.(Maidstone
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Fenwick, Charles
Findlay, Alexander(Lanark,NE
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Gladstone, Rt Hn.Herbert John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Lewis
Harwood, George
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Higham, John Sharp
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor(Swansea
Jones, Lief (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, P. J. (Westmeath, N.)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F.(Accrington
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Hanry
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Nolan, Col.John P. (Galway,N.
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Seely, H Maj J E B(Isleof Wight
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C R (Northants
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, David Arthur (Merthyr
Thomas, J A (Glamorgan Gower
Thompson, Dr.E C (Monagh'n,N.
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whiteley George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr Barran and Mr. Bright.

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1905–6.

9. Resolved, "That a sum, not exceeding £9,399,300, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for

Expenditure on the following Navy Services, viz. :—

	£
2. Victualling and Clothing for the Navy . .	2,256,600
3. Medical Establishments and Services . .	277,500
4. Martial Law, etc. . .	14,000
5. Educational Services .	161,900
6. Scientific Services . .	69,300
7. Royal Naval Reserves .	420,600
9. Naval Armaments . .	2,986,000
11. Miscellaneous Effective Services . . .	454,000
12. Admiralty Office . .	336,400
13. Half-pay, Reserved, and Retired Pay . .	800,900
14. Naval and Marine Pensions, Gratuities, and Compassionate Allowances	1,233,900
15. Civil Pensions and Gratuities . . .	388,200
	£9,399,300 ”

ARMY ESTIMATES, 1905-6.

10. Question put, “That a sum, not exceeding £15,082,100, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for Expenditure on the following Army Services, including Army (Ordnance Factories), viz. :—

	£
2. Medical Establishment, Pay, etc. . . .	482,000
3. Militia: Pay, Bounty, etc.	817,000
4. Imperial Yeomanry: Pay and Allowances . .	438,000
5. Volunteer Corps: Pay and Allowances . .	1,220,000
6. Quarterings, Transport, and Remounts . .	2,190,000
8. Ordnance Department Establishments, and General Stores . .	838,000
9. Armaments and Engineer Stores	2,489,000
10. Works and Buildings .	2,330,000
11. Establishments for Military Education . .	130,000
12. Miscellaneous Effective Services . . .	72,000
13. War Office and Army Accounts Department	545,000
14. Retired Pay, Half Pay, and other Non-Effective Charges for Officers, etc. . .	1,677,000
15. Pensions and other Non-Effective Charges for Warrant Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, Men, and others. .	1,673,000
16. Civil Superannuation, Compensation, Compassionate Allowances, and Gratuities . .	181,000
Ordnance Factories .	100
	£15,082,100 ”

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 233; Noes, 111. (Division List No. 329.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardiner, James Tynte
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, R. Hon. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. Gerald W (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Michael Hicks
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hn. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A (Worc-
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton
Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thomas, H. A.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt, Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir Horatio D. (Chatham
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph

Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. Sir A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fellowes, Rt. Hn. Ailwyn Edw.
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, R, Hon. George H.
Finlay, Rt Hn. Sir R. B. (Inv'rn'ss
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj. E. (T'r Hamlets)
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond- (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, Marq of (L'nd'nderry
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, Sir Jas. (Staffords., N.W
Helder, Sir Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, John (Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks., N.R.)
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry

Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Hn. H. L. W. (Mile End)
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Bristol, S.)
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon Alfred
Macdona John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, Jgmes A. H.
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph.
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W. J. H (Dumfriesshire
Middlemore, John Throgmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth Sir Lewis
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, David J (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Charles J (Coventry
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne

Ratcliff, R. F.
Reed, Sir Edw. James (Cardiff)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas, Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East
Smith, H. C (North'mb. Tyneside
Smith, Rt. Hon. J. P. (Lanarks
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk)
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G (Oxf'd Univ.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Turnour, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H (Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

NOES.

Allen, Charles P.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Bright, Allan Heywood
Broadhurst, Henry

Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, N. E (York, NR., Whitby
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick

Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Dobbie, Joseph
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Eve, Harry Trelawney

Fenwick, Charles
Findlay, Alexander (Lanark, NE
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Harcourt, Lewis
Harwood George
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Helme, Norval Watson
Higham, John Sharp
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Kearley, Hudson, E.
Kennedy, P. J. (Westmeath, N.
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Seely, Maj. J. E. B (Isle of Wight)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt. Hn. C. R (Northants
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Thomas, J. A. (Glamorgan, Gower
Thompson, Dr. E C (Monagh'n, N.
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.
Whiteley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr Eugene Wason and Mr Weir.

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1905-6.

11. Question put, "That a sum, not exceeding £12,005,475, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, for Expenditure in respect of the following Services included in the Estimates for Revenue Departments, viz.:—

	£
1. Customs. . . .	574,600
2. Inland Revenue . .	1,406,000
3. Post Office . . .	6,920,538
4. Post Office Packet Service . . .	531,790
5. Post Office Telegraphs .	2,572,547
	£12,005,475"

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 228; Noes, 104. (Division List No. 330.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r.
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hn Gerald W (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Chirstch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beach. Rt. Hn. Sir Michael Hicks
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.)
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Worc.
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton
Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir Horatio D. (Ch'tham
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore

Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fellowes, Rt Hn. Ailwyn Edward
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r.
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Rt. HnSir R B. (Inv'rn'ss.
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Gordon, Maj. Evans-(T'rH'mlets
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nd'rry
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley)
Heath, Sir Jas. (Staffords. N.W)
Helder, Sir Augustus
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hope, J.F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, John (Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks, N.R.)
Jameson, Major S. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hn. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees

Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Hn. H. L. W. (Mile End)
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants, Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.)
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
McKillop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriessh.
Middlemore, John Throgmorton
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Charles J. Coventry
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neil, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkingron, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy

Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reed, Sir Edw. James (Cardiff)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Ridley, S. Forde
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, H C (North'mb Tyneside
Smith, Rt Hn J Parker (Lanarks
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Turnour, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C E H. (Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walrond, Rt. Hn. Sir William H.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby, de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wylie, Alexander

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

NOES.

Allen, Charles P.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Baker, Joseph Allen
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bell, Richard
Black, Alexander William
Bright, Allan Heywood
Broadhurst, Henry
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buxton, N. E. (York NR, Whitby
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight

Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cremer, William Randall
Crombie, John William
Dobbie, Joseph
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Fenwick, Charles

Findlay, Alexander (Lanark NE
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Harcourt, Lewis
Harwood, George
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Helme, Norval Watson

Higham, John Sharp
Holland, Sir William Henry
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Kennedy, P. J. (Westmeath, N.
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway N.)
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Richards, Thomas
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel
Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Sinclair, John (Forfarshire)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt Hn C R (Northamps.)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan. E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Thomas, J A (Glamorgan, Gower
Thompson, Dr. E C (Managh'n N.
Toulmin, George
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W. R.
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Corrie Grant and Mr. Griffiths.

Resolutions to be reported To-morrow.

NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1903–4.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Whereas it appears by the Navy Appropriation Account for the year ended the 31st day of March, 1904, and the statement appended thereto, as follows, viz.:—

(a.) That the gross expenditure for certain Navy Services exceeded the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £272,038 9s. 7d., as shown in Column No. 1 of the schedule hereto appended; while the gross expenditure for other Navy Services fell short of the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £174,087 14s. 2d., as shown in Column No. 2 of the said appended schedule, so that the gross actual expenditure for the whole of the Navy Services exceeded the gross estimated expenditure by the net sum of £97,950 15s. 5d.

(b.) That the receipts in aid of certain grants for Navy Services fell short of the total estimated receipts by the sum of £5,310 9s. 8d., as shown in Column No. 3 of the said appended schedule, while the receipts in aid of other Navy Services exceeded the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £121,284 10s. 2d., as shown in Column No. 4 of the said appended schedule, so that the total actual receipts in aid of the grants for Navy Services exceeded the total estimated receipts by the net sum of £115,974 0s. 6d.

(c.) That the resulting differences between the Exchequer Grants for Navy Services and the net expenditure are as follows, viz.:—

	£	s.	d.
Total Surpluses - -	255,627	10	3
Total Deficits - -	237,604	5	2
Net Surplus -	£18,023	5	1

And whereas by a Vote of Parliament during the present session (House of Commons Paper, No. 265, of 1905) a further sum of £100 has been granted for the expenditure of the year 1903–4, and the appropriation of additional receipts in aid of such expenditure has been sanctioned to the amount of £97,850 15s. 5d.

And whereas the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application of so much of the said total surpluses on certain grants for Navy Services as is necessary to cover the said total deficits on other grants for Navy Services.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the application of such sums be sanctioned."

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax) said the Resolution in simple words meant that £250,000 had been spent for purposes for which it was never voted, and that another £250,000 had been raised by the Admiralty and had never been spent. He wished to draw attention to one item which unfortunately was growing year by year and to ask one or two Questions, hoping to get a promise that some step would be taken to prevent its further increase. The item referred to the victualling of the Navy. The Committee would no doubt remember that some three years ago a new system of victualling was introduced into the Navy, and the idea was that the sailors were going to be better fed. Nothing of the kind had happened, and they found that the money had gone in what was euphemistically called "savings in lieu of food" in the Estimates. It had gone in cash, and not in meat or any kind of food to sailors. They therefore had the curious result that they were asked to transfer the sum of £66,000, in addition to £520,000 originally voted for the purpose. That was a growing evil, and some steps ought to be taken to deal with it. In the current Estimates the evil was even greater than in the year under discussion, for it had grown from £520,000 to £730,000, whereas in 1903–4 £586,000 was paid in lieu of food as compared with a total of £1,250,000 provided for the actual food of the sailor. In the present Estimates there was £730,000 paid in lieu of food compared with a total of £1,000,000 devoted to the actual food of the Navy. That simply meant that the intentions of the House were being made of non-effect. He considered it was quite time some inquiry was held into the system. It was a bad system and ought to be abolished.

MR. HIGHAM (Yorkshire, W.R., Sowerby) said the hon. Gentleman had stated that a large amount had been spent on purposes for which it was not voted, but the position was worse than that, because nearly £200,000 had been expended which ought not to have been spent, and the surpluses of £150,000 to put against that were only nominal surpluses, expenditure having simply been postponed till another year. The remarks of the hon. Member for Halifax did not, therefore, meet the merits of the case.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge) said he thought there was some misapprehension in the minds of the hon. Gentlemen who had spoken, because the expenditure on victualling occurred in a manner which did not involve the extra expenditure as it appeared on the Paper. It was not expected that the new scheme would involve such large "savings in lieu of food." Curiously, for the first three months that anticipation was realised; then there was a change, and it became the fashion in the Navy to take money instead of food. Men preferred to take money and buy food. Where the difficulty arose this year was that food had been provided to meet anticipated requirements, and "savings" then had to be found as well as food. The food, however, remained and was used up during the current year. There was no waste, and therefore it was an apparent and not a real extra expenditure.

MR. WHITLEY: Will the right hon. Gentleman explain the further increase of £250,000?

MR. PRETYMAN said that £250,000 was not an excess. The increase in "savings" was balanced by a decrease in expenditure on food. Sailors preferred to buy food locally to taking that which was supplied, and he did not think it was wise to interfere too much in such matters. Reforms in that direction were best initiated by the Navy itself. He admitted that on the face of it the criticisms were perfectly justified. It did not seem a sound thing that money should be taken instead of food, but it was a very old custom in the Navy and was greatly followed, and he did not think it would be wise to attempt to force a change. He did not admit that the system was altogether satisfactory, but any change would come better from the Navy itself than from the House.

MR. BRIGHT (Shropshire, Oswestry) said he should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman if he could explain the item "irrecoverables."

MR. PRETYMAN said he was afraid he could not explain the details. The amount was made up of a very large number of small items, such as petty thefts, and losses of stores which could not be recovered from the individuals responsible for various reasons.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) said it seemed rather curious that there should have been such a miscalculation in losses occurring in small sums.

MR. PRETYMAN said the item was not on the Estimates. There was to be an Appropriation Account in any case.

Question put, and agreed to.

Schedule.

Number of Vote.	Navy Services, 1903–1904. Votes.	Gross Expenditure.		Appropriations in Aid.	
		Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure. 1.	Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure. 2.	Deficiencies of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 3.	Surpluses of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 4.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1 ..	Wages, etc., of Officers, Seamen, and Boys, Coastguard, and Royal Marines	43,638 16 5	..	271 6 3	
2 ..	Victualling and Clothing for the Navy	82,112 2 7	..	..	11,180 16 11
3 ..	Medical Establishments and Services	..	3,692 4 5	..	601 9 10
4 ..	Martial Law	..	1,294 15 11	84 11 8	
5 ..	Educational Services	..	4,160 17 9	..	940 0 0
6 ..	Scientific Services	..	654 5 3	..	31 7 7
7 ..	Royal Naval Reserves	..	13,384 3 1	3,337 18 11	
8 ..	Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, etc.:				
Sec. 1 ..	*Personnel*	..	589 17 2	..	1,192 15 1
Sec. 2 ..	*Materiel*	17,715 13 4	..	..	47,382 6 1
Sec. 3 ..	Contract Work	8,123 18 2	..	..	2,053 4 5
9 ..	Naval Armaments	..	94,281 12 4	..	46,759 12 11
10 ..	Works, Buildings, and Repairs at Home and Abroad	..	56,029 18 3	..	5,770 8 6
11 ..	Miscellaneous Effective Services	92,483 17 9	..	..	5,357 15 1
12 ..	Admiralty Office	3,477 8 9	..	..	14 13 9
13 ..	Half-Pay, Reserved and Retired Pay	6,612 11 0	..	704 0 0	
14 ..	Naval and Marine Pensions, Gratuities, and Compassionate Allowances	4,590 19 11	..	822 1 3	
15 ..	Civil Pensions and Gratuities	6,818 18 4	..	90 11 7	
	Amount written off as irrecoverable	6,464 3 4			
		272,038 9 7	174,087 14 2	5,310 9 8	121,284 10 2
	Add Excess Vote ..	..	100 0 0		
		272,038 9 7	174,187 14 2	5.310 9 8	121,284 10 2

Net Deficit, £97,850 15 5 Net Surplus, £115,974 0 6

Net Surplus .. £18,123 5 1

Whereas it appears by the Army Appropriation Account for the year ended the 31st day of March, 1904, as corrected in accordance with the Third Report of the Committee of Public Accounts of the present session, and the statement appended thereto, as follows, viz.:—

(a.) That the gross expenditure for certain Army Services exceeded the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £742,114 16s. 1d., as shown in Column No. 1 of the Schedule hereto appended; while the gross expenditure for other Army Services fell short of the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £1,079,388 0s. 9d., as shown in Column No. 2 of the said appended Schedule; so that the gross actual expenditure for the whole of the Army Services fell short of the gross estimated expenditure by the net sum of £337,273 4s. 8d.

(b.) That the receipts in aid of certain Army Services fell short of the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £405,336 0s. 2d., as shown in Column No. 3 of the said appended Schedule; while the receipts in aid of other Army Services exceeded the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £309,669 1s. 6d., as shown in Column No. 4 of the said appended Schedule; so that the total actual receipts in aid of the Grants for Army Services fell short of the total estimated receipts by the net sum of £95,666 18s. 8d.

(c.) That the resulting differences between the Exchequer Grants for Army Services and the net expenditure are as follows, viz. :—

	£.	s.	d.
Total Surpluses .	1,143,259	15	4
Total Deficits .	901,653	9	4
Net Surplus	£241,606	6	0

And whereas the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application, in reduction of the net charge on Exchequer Grants for certain Army Services, of the whole of the sums received in excess of the estimated Appropriation-in-Aid, in respect of the same Services, and have also temporarily authorised the application of so much of the said total surpluses on certain Grants for Army Services as is necessary to cover the said total deficits on other Grants for Army Services.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the application of such sums be sanctioned."—(*Mr. Victor Cavendish.*)

MAJOR SEELY (Isle of Wight) entered a protest against what he considered an unbusinesslike proceeding. The authority of Parliament over expenditure was neutralised by the practice of diverting money voted for one purpose to the fulfilment of another purpose. In this case there had been such a diversion of £1,000,000. If it were desired to make this the occasion for a long discussion, it would be quite easy to discuss it at considerable length, but on this occasion they did not desire to do so. They regarded this proposal as a serious infraction of the rights of Parliament, which had culminated in the diversion of £1,000,000 from one purpose to another purpose for which it was not originally intended. The result of this practice was that their discussions in Committee of Supply were unreal. He would take the Volunteer Vote as an example. In this matter the War Office had laughed at the House of Commons because they knew that they could spend the money just as they pleased, and not as Parliament pleased. In the case of the Volunteers the estimated actual gross expenditure was £46,865 less, whereas the War Office salaries and miscellaneous charges were £18,000 more. It simply meant that although the House decided that the money should be spent upon the Volunteers, the Secretary for War decided that something else should be done with the money. The right hon. Gentleman did this behind the back of Parliament, and they were now being asked to consent to the transfer of this money. It might be again put forward that matters had been complicated by the war, but he hoped the Committee would not be too ready to believe that the war had anything to do with it. He did not propose to discuss this important question at further length, and all he wished to do was to enter a protest against what he considered was a wrong system of finance. Under the system now adopted by the Government, it did not appear to matter at all whether an estimate of expenditure was right or wrong, because the decision which Parliament arrived at could be deliberately over-ridden by the Secretary of State for War. He understood that it was not possible to move an Amendment, but in order to test the matter, he would move that all the sums mentioned in the Resolution be sanctioned, with the exception of Item 5, amounting to £46,865, the sum for the Volunteers.

THE CHAIRMAN said that, although he agreed that this was a rather remarkable statement, it would be contrary to precedent to accept the Amendment which had been moved. Although the Amendment could not be moved, the Committee was at liberty to reject the whole system upon which the hon. Member had commented, but it would be out of order to attempt to correct the figures in the account. If the item referred to in the Amendment were struck out, the money would then go into the new Sinking Fund.

MAJOR SEELY said he would content himself with the protest he had made. It was quite possible that Amendments had not been permitted in former years, because the statement had, perhaps, not been so remarkable as in this case. He trusted hon. Members would vote against the whole of this Resolution as a protest against a bad system of finance which rendered nugatory the authority of Parliament.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.) said his belief was that there never would be a change in the principle illustrated by the Resolution, because in an Empire so large as ours, and with an expenditure so vast, no mortal man could foresee with absolute accuracy every item of expenditure that would be incurred. Considering the totals of expenditure the variations were exceedingly small. The items had been affected by the war and its cessation. This system must continue as long as the practice was continued of returning to the Consolidated Fund any money which was not expended.

MR. FULLER (Wiltshire, Westbury) asked for some explanation of the fact that all the money voted for the Volunteers had not been expended on them.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER explained that this was due to the fact that a smaller number of Volunteers attended camp than was expected, and to other similar causes. It had nothing to do with the policy of the War Office. There was an item of £13,000 due to the fact that it was not possible during the year to make a commencement with the formation of transport for the Volunteers. Another item of £10,000 was due to the fact that the number of officers under instruction fell considerably short of the estimate. These items indicated no policy, and the whole sum was exceedingly small.

MR. GUEST (Pymouth) said the reply of the right hon. Gentleman amounted to the contention that because this was a bad system they must endure it. He had told them that mortal man could not devise a more accurate estimate. It might be true that the War Office was incapable of producing a more accurate estimate, but at any rate that did not apply to the other services. With regard to the Militia, the right hon. Gentleman's predecessor estimated for £183,000 more than was actually spent. He thought that represented a very large miscalculation, and 10 per cent. was a large margin even for the War Office. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would explain that item. There was also another item for works, buildings, and repairs, for which £93,000 too much was asked. He thought the House was entitled to a fuller explanation in regard to the £109,000 than they had received from the hon. Gentleman. He entirely agreed with his hon. friend that this was a bad system of finance. It undermined the authority and control of Parliament and destroyed the value of the criticism which was directed against the Administration.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER said there was one satisfactory thing about the Answer of the Secretary of State. The right hon. Gentleman said the whole thing was due to the war. There would be no possible excuse for its recurrence in future. He supposed that the right hon. Gentleman would undertake that in future years this would be a small item when there was no war to account for it. It was quite true that there had been larger differences, but he thought they had only occurred in war time. This was the largest amount that had occurred in this way except in time of war. He thought it was absolutely necessary to protest against such a large misappropriation of money.

Mr. BRIGHT said the protests from his side of the House were timely at present. He wanted to know more about the £109,000 under the head of "Balances Irrecoverable." Why should there be such a large amount? If it was a matter of bad debts then the business methods of the War Office must be very bad indeed. When a business was well managed the debts were small.

Mr. CHARLES ALLEN (Gloucestershire, Stroud) said he understood the Secretary of State to say that fewer Volunteer officers had submitted themselves for training. He should like to know whether that was still going on, and, if so, whether there was any special reason to account for it. Was it because the war was over, or was it due to a feeling of disquietude in the Volunteer force?

The FINANCIAL SECRETARY to the WAR OFFICE (Mr. Bromley Davenport, Cheshire, Macclesfield) said that a very small number of Volunteers went into camp last year, and a very small number of officers presented themselves for training. A very large number of men had been going into camp this year and all the money that could be found for that purpose would be used. The hon. Members who had asked about the accounts would find the whole of the information they wanted in the schedule to the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General. It contained the most minute explanations of the item "Balances Irrecoverable." In regard to the Militia accounts he assured hon. Members that it was no part of the policy of the War Department to induce the House of Commons to vote money for the Militia with the idea of using the balances for other services.

Sir JAMES JOICEY (Durham, Chester-le-Street) said it was a very bad system to give a Department power to apply money to some purpose different from that for which it was voted. If the expenditure on any particular service exceeded the amount voted for it by Parliament, a Supplementary Estimate ought to be presented so that it might be discussed. He hoped the Government would take steps to avoid this bad system in future.

Mr. WHITLEY asked if they could have an assurance that the Treasury were taking a strict view on these matters.

The FINANCIAL SECRETARY of the TREASURY (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.) said that the power which the Treasury possessed in this matter had always been exercised with the greatest possible desire to avoid allowing unnecessary liberty to the Departments. The Treasury would maintain the strictest possible supervision over the Departments in order to avoid extra expenditure.

Sir A. HAYTER (Walsall) said that from his experience in the Public Accounts Committee he agreed that the power possessed by the Treasury to supervise these accounts was necessary.

Mr. COURTENAY WARNER said that the question raised ought to be thoroughly probed by the House.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 169; Noes, 55. (Division List No. 331.)

AYES.

Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt.Hn.Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hon.Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hon.A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, RtHn.GeraldW.(Leeds
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bentinck, Lord Henry C.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brymer, William Ernest
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J.H.M.(Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C.W.(Derbyshire
Chamberlain, RtHnJ.A.(Worc.

Chapman, Edward
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, W. Bromley-
Davies, SirHoratioD.(Chatham
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon.Sir JohnE.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Dyke, Rt.Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fellowes, Rt.HnAilwynEdward
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.SirJ.(Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch,Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Rt Hn Sir R.B(Inv'rn'ss
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzroy, Hon. EdwardAlgernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, PhilipS(Warwick, S.W.
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, J. (Londonderry,South
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hamilton, Marq.of(L'donderry
Hardy, Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Heath, ArthurHoward(Hanley
Heath, SirJames(Staffords.NW
Hill, Henry Staveley
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, John (KentFaversham
Hozier, Hon.JamesHenryCecil
Hunt, Rowland
Hutton, John (Yorks, N. R.)
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain HerbertMerton
Keswick, William
Knowles, Sir Lees
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, Hn. H.L.W.(Mile End
Lee, ArthurH.(Hants,Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliot (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower,Frederick N.S.
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (BristolS.
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Marks, Harry Hananel
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W.J.H.(Dumfriessh.)
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Morgan, David J.(Walthamst'w
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Charles J. Coventry
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike(Darlington
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt. Col.-Edward]
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy.
Rankin, Sir James
Reed, Sir Edw. James (Cardiff)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renwick, George
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sadler, Col. Sir Samuel Alex.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Skewes-Cox, Sir Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford,East)
Smith,H.C(North'mb.Tyneside
Stanley,Hon.Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley,Rt.Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Turnour, Viscount
Walrond,Rt.Hon.SirWilliamH.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E (Taunton
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B.Stuart
Wylie, Alexander

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood, and Viscount Valentia.

NOES.

Allen, Charles P.
Baker, Joseph Allan
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Black, Alexander William
Bright, Allan Heywood
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Dobbie, Joseph
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Fenwick, Charles
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone,Rt.Hn.Herbert John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Griffith, Ellis J.
Harcourt, Lewis
Hardie,J.Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Healy, Timothy Michael
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Joicey, Sir James
Jones,David Brynmor(Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William Carnarvonshire
Kennedy, P. J. (Westmeath, N.
Lamont, Norman
Lawson, Sir Wilfred (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lyell, Charles Henry
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Moss, Samuel
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Richards, Thomas
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Shackleton, David James
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer,Rt.Hn.C.R (Northants
Taylor, Theodore C.(Radcliffe)
Thompson,Dr.EC.(Monagh'n,N
Toulmin, George
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilson, Henry J.(York,W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Major Seely and Mr. Guest.

Schedule.

Number of Vote.	Army Services, 1903-1904. Votes.	Gross Expenditure.		Appropriations-in-Aid.	
		Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure. 1.	Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure. 2.	Deficiencies of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 3.	Surpluses of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 4.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1	Pay, etc., of Army (General Staff, Regiments, Reserve, and Departments) ..	..	180,560 0 0	..	32,546 17 4
2	Medical Establishments: Pay, etc. ..	69,254 2 7	..	..	28,109 15 0
3	Militia: Pay, Bounty, etc.	..	183,430 8 4	..	1,100 11 10
4	Imperial Yeomanry: Pay and Allowances	..	64,367 12 7	..	135 2 6
5	Volunteer Corps: Pay and Allowances	..	46,865 3 0	..	1,465 13 5
6	Transport and Remounts	318,972 19 3	..	152,584 19 4	..
7	Provisions, Forage, and other Supplies	..	104,383 9 4	189,651 6 10	..
8	Clothing Establishments, and Services	17,647 7 10	..	..	78,317 15 4
9	Warlike and other Stores: Supply and Repair	..	380,789 2 8	..	132,296 19 10
10	Works, Buildings, and Repairs: Cost, including Staff for Engineer Services	..	93,864 16 1	53,918 17 3	..
11	Establishments for Military Education	..	1,576 13 11	4,715 19 5	..
12	Miscellaneous Effective Services ..	65,778 16 4	..	..	31,391 14 5
13	War Office: Salaries and Miscellaneous Charges	18,848 0 10	..	..	273 7 3
14	Non-effective Charges for Officers, etc.	141,930 10 0	..	..	4,031 4 7
15	Non-effective Charges for Men, etc. ..	..	17,754 9 0	4,452 0 5	
16	Superannuation, Compensation, and Compassionate Allowances	..	5,796 5 10	12 16 11	
	Balances irrecoverable	109,682 19 3			
		742,114 16 1	1,079,388 0 9	405.336 0 2	309,669 1 6

Net Surplus, £337,273 4 8 Net Deficit, £95,666 18 8

Net Surplus ... £241,606 6 0

Resolutions to be reported this day.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

1. Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to His Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1904, the sum of £1,445 17s. 4d. be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

2. Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to His Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1906, the sum of £66,495,748 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Resolutions to be reported this day.

Whereupon, in pursuance of the Order of the House of the 31st day of July, Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put.

Adjourned at half after One o'clock.

[APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

PUBLIC BILLS

DEALT WITH IN VOLUME CL.

Those marked thus * are Government Bills. The figures in parentheses in the last column refer to the page in this volume. "[H.L.]" following title indicates that the Bill originated in the Lords.

(A.) HOUSE OF LORDS.

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
*Aliens	*Lord Belper*	Read 2^a 28th July (749)
*Churches (Scotland)	*Marquess of Linlithgow*	Read 1^a 27th July (464) Read 2^a 31st July (840)
Coal Mines, Weighing of Minerals	*Lord Newton*	Read 3^a and passed 27th July (464)
Compensation for Damage to Crops	*Lord Newton*	Committee 25th July (127) Report 1st August (1055)
*County Courts (Ireland) [H.L.]	*Lord Ashbourne*	Committee } 25th July (127) Report }
Matrimonial Causes [H.L.]	*Earl Russell*	Second Reading defeated 1st August (1064)
Public Health Act Amendment [H.L.]	*Lord Hylton*	Committee 1st August (1055)
Public Roads (Ireland)	*Earl of Dunraven*	Committee 25th July (128) Report 27th July (464) Read 3^a and passed 31st July (896)
Shipowners' Negligence (Remedies)	*Lord Ludlow*	Read 3^a and passed 24th July (15)
Trade Marks	*Earl Spencer*	Read 1^a 27th July (464) Read 2^a 1st August (1071)

(B.) HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
*Alkali, etc. Works	*Mr. Gerald Balfour*	Bill withdrawn 31st July (1052)
*Bills of Exchange Act (1882) Amendment [H.L.]	*Sir R. Finlay*	Bill withdrawn 28th July (833)
*Churches (Scotland)	*Mr. Scott Dickson*	Report } 26th July Read 3^a and passed } (369)
Companies Acts Amendment (Dentists)	*Sir J. Tuke*	Bill withdrawn 25th July (323)

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
Companies Acts Amendment (Physicians, etc.)	*Sir J. Tuke*	Bill withdrawn 25th July (323)
*Congested Districts (Scotland)	*Mr. Scott Dickson*	Bill withdrawn 26th July (460)
*East India Loans (Railways)	*Mr. Brodrick*	Read 2° 31st July (1039)
*Expiring Law Continuance	*Mr. Victor Cavendish*	Read 1° 26th July (360) Read 2° 1st August (1287)
*Extradition [H.L.]	*Sir R. Finlay*	Read 1° 31st July (951)
Factories and Workshops	*Mr. Tennant*	Read 1° 25th July (323)
*Ferries (Aquisition by Local Authorities)	*Mr. Grant Lawson*	Bill withdrawn 26th July (460)
Highways (No. 2)	*Mr. Arthur Stanley*	Read 1° 26th July (360)
*Irish Education (Afflicted Children)	*Mr. Walter Long*	Read 2° 26th July (410)
*Isle of Man Customs	*Mr. Victor Cavendish*	Read 1° 26th July (360) Read 2° 31st July (1050)
Land Values Assessment (Scotland)	*Mr. Munro Ferguson*	Read 1° 27th July (621)
*London (Equalisation of Rates)	*Mr. Gerald Balfour*	Read 1° 26th July (360)
*Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports	*Mr. Akers-Douglas*	Read 1° 31st July (955)
*Marine Insurance	*Sir R. Finlay*	Bill withdrawn 28th July (834)
Marine Works (Ireland)	*Sir T. Esmonde*	Read 1° 26th July (360)
*Merchant Shipping	*Mr. Gerald Balfour*	Bill withdrawn 28th July (834)
*Merchant Shipping (Scottish Trawlers)	*Mr. Scott Dickson*	Bill withdrawn 28th July (834)
Metropolitan Borough Councils Association	*Capt. Jessel*	Read 1° 25th July (198)
*Military Manœuvres [H.L.]	*Mr. Arnold-Forster*	Bill withdrawn 28th July (833)
Motor Car Act (1903) Amendment	*Mr. Soares*	Bill withdrawn 26th July (460)
Motor Car (Aliens Drivers) Licences	*Mr. Scott Montagu*	Read 2° 27th July (715)
*National Galleries (Scotland)	*Mr. Scott Dickson*	Read 1° 25th July (198)

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
*Naval Works	*Mr. Pretyman*	Read 1° 25th July (322) Read 2° 28th July (787)
*Post Office (Money Orders)	*Lord Stanley*	Bill withdrawn 31st July (1052)
*Provisional Order (Marriages)	*Mr. Cochrane*	Read 2° 28th July (835)
*Public Works Loans	*Mr. Victor Cavendish*	Read 1° 31st July (955)
Purchase of Land	*Mr. George White*	Read 1° 31st July (953)
*Reserve Forces [H.L.]	*Mr. Arnold-Forster*	Bill withdrawn 28th July (833)
*Seamen and Soldiers False Characters [H.L.]	*Mr. Arnold-Forster*	Bill withdrawn 31st July (1052)
*Secretary of State for Trade and Local Government	*Mr. A. J. Balfour*	Read 1° 31st July (955)
*Service of Militiamen [H.L.]	*Mr. Arnold-Forster*	Bill withdrawn 31st July (1052)
Summary Jurisdiction (Children)	*Mr. Tennant*	Read 1° 25th July (324)
Trade Marks	*Mr. Moulton*	Report 26th July (459)
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APPENDIX II.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, SESSION 1905.

List of Rules, Orders, &c., which have been presented during the Session, and are required by Statute to lie for an appointed number of Days upon the Table of the House.

In Continuation of List given in preceding Volume.

Title of Paper.	Date from which the Period runs.	Period to lie upon the Table.
Shop Hours Act, 1904 (Closing Order—Borough of Newport, Mon.)—Copy of Order made by the Corporation of the Borough of Newport, Mon., and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the hours of closing for Hairdressers' and Barbers' Shops within the Borough [4 Edw. VII., c. 31, s. 3 (3)].	31 July	40 days
Shops Hours Act, 1904 (Closing Order—Ballymoney Urban District)—Copy of Order made by the Urban District Council of Ballymoney, and confirmed by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, closing certain Shops within the Urban District of Ballymoney [4 Edw. VII., c. 31, s. 3 (3)].	1 August	40 days

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PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

[AUTHORISED EDITION].

TENTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1905.

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Where in the Index * is added with Reading of a Bill, or a Vote in Committee of Supply, it indicates that no Debate took place on that Stage of the Bill, or on that Vote.

Subjects discussed in Committee of Supply are entered under their headings, and also under Members' Names, without reference to the actual Vote before the Committee.

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Ordnance Department Establishments, and General Stores—£838,000, *com.* Aug. 2* 1448.

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Quarterings, Transport and Remounts—£2,190,000, *com.* Aug. 2*, 1448.

Retired Pay, Half Pay and other Non-effective Charges for Officers—£1,677,000, *com.* Aug. 2*, 1448.

Volunteer Corps, Pay and Allowances—£1,220,000, *com.* Aug. 2*, 1448.

War Office and Army Accounts Department—£545,000, *com.* Aug. 2*, 1448.

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- County Courts—£6,000, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1424.
- Customs—£574,600, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1451
- Cyprus Grant-in-aid—£1,000, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1434.
- Diplomatic and Consular Buildings—£40,900, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1421.
- Diplomatic and Consular Buildings (Excess)—£1,345 17s. 4d., *Com., July 31*, 1036.

Civil Service Estimates—*cont.*
- Diplomatic and Consular Services—£303,847, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1434.
- Education, Board of—£5,652,548, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1429.
  - Salaries and Expenses—£5,652,548, *Com., Aug. 1*, 1185, 1249.
- Exchequer and Audit Department—£40,155, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1422.
- Foreign Office—£40,103, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1422.
- Friendly Societies Registry—£4,680, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1422.
- Harbours under Board of Trade—£22,000, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1421.
- Home Department, Salaries and Expenses of—£108,629, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1350.
- House of Commons Offices—£20,500, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1422.
- House of Lords Offices—£10,051, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1422.
- Houses of Parliament Building (Supplementary)—£3,150, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1421.
- India, Visit of Prince and Princess of Wales to—£20,000, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1443.
- Inland Revenue—£1,406,000, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1451.
- Ireland.
  - Agriculture and Technical Instruction Department — £111,692, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1423.
  - Charitable Donations and Bequests Office—£1,042, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1423.
  - Chief Secretary for, Offices of—£13,950, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1423.
  - County Court Officers—£65,423, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1424.
  - Development Grant—£85,000, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1443.
  - Dublin Metropolitan Police—£37,906, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1424.
  - Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum—£3,493, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1424.
  - Education—£631,721, *Com.* July 25*, 198, 255; *Aug. 2*, 1429.
  - Endowed Schools Commissioners—£510, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1430.
  - Hospitals and Charities—£263, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1438.
  - Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions—£32,416, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1424.
  - Local Government Board—£39,097, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1423.
  - Lord Lieutenant's Household—£2,822, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1423.

Civil Service Estimates—*cont.*
- Ireland—*cont.*
  - National Gallery—£1,986, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1430.
  - Prisons—£68,430, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1424.
  - Public Record Office—£3,359, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1423.
  - Public Works Office—£23,111, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1423.
  - Public Works and Buildings—£104,509 *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1422.
  - Queen's Colleges—£2,550, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1430.
  - Railways—£24,632, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1422.
  - Reformatory and Industrial Schools—£55,281, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1424.
  - Registrar - General's Office —£7,510, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1423.
  - Relief of Distress in—£20,000, *Com., July 31*, 1031.
  - Royal Irish Constabulary—£699,413, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1424.
  - Supreme Court of Judicature, etc.—£58,025, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1424.
  - Valuation and Boundary Survey—£13,719, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1423.
- Land Registry—£26,102, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1424,
- Law Charges—£32,202, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1424.
- Local Government Board—£146,954, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1422.
- Local Loans Fund, Repayments to—£698, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1443.
- Lunacy Commission—£10,458, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1422.
- Mercantile Marine Services—£69,919, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1422.
- Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions—£800, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1438.
- Mint, including Coinage—£48, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1422.
- Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances—£572, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1438.
- Miscellaneous Expenses—£6,308, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1442.
- Miscellaneous Legal Expenses—£21,516, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1424.
- Miscellaneous Legal Buildings—£33,960, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1421.
- National Debt Office—£7,063, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1422.
- National Gallery—£9,014, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1429.
- National Portrait Gallery—£2,619, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1429.
- Parks and Pleasure Gardens, Royal—£62,400, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1421.
- Police—£26, 945, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1424.

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Post Office—£6, 920, 538, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1452.
Post Office Packet Service—£531,790, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1452.
Prisons—£406, 443, *Com.*Aug. 2*, 1424.
Privy Council Office—£6,370, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1422.
Public Buildings—£284,000, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1421.
Public Record Office—£14,560, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1423.
Public Works Loan Commission—£19, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1423.
Rates on Government Property—£356,295, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1422.
Reformatory and Industrial Schools—£119,799, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1424.
Registrar-General, Office of—£22,895, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1423.
Revenue Buildings—£433,709, *Com.*Aug. 2*, 1421.
Savings Banks' and Friendly Societies' Deficiencies—£146,989, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1438.
Scientific Investigation—£29,900, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1429.
Scotland.
  Crofters' Commission—£2,545, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1424.
  Education—£1,047, 290, *Com.*Aug. 2*, 1490.
  Fishery Board—£14,786, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1423.
  Law Charges and Courts of Law—£51,841, *Com.,* Aug. 2*, 1421.
  Lunacy Commission, £3,384, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1423.
  National Gallery—£405, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1430.
  Peterhead Harbour—£22,000, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1421.
  Prisons—£50,750, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1424.
  Register House, Edinburgh—£27,481, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1424.
  Registrar-General's Office — £2,781, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1423.
Secret Service—£25,000, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1423.
Stationery and Printing—£413,283, *Com.* Aug. 2* 1423.
Superannuation and Retired Allowances—£348,378, *Com.* Aug 2*, 1437.
Supplementary—Estimate presented, *July 27*, 581.
Supreme Court of Judicature—£181,574, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1424.
Surveys—£117,650, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1421.
Telegraph Service—£2,572,547, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1452.
Telegraph Subsidies and Pacific Cable—£41,645, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1434.
Temporary Commissions—£12,804, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1442.
Treasury and Subordinate Offices—£58,505, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1422.
Treasury Chest Fund—£14,250, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1434.
Universities and Colleges, and Intermediate Education, Wales—£137,300, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1429.
Wallace Collection—£3,593, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1429.
Woods, Forests, and Land Revenue Office—£12,633, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1423.
Works and Public Buildings Office—£43,395, *Com.* Aug. 2*, 1423.

Clancy, Mr. J. J. [Dublin Co., N.]
Development Grant Fund—Unexpended Balance, Arrangements as to Deposit of, *July 26*, 350.
Drainage, Arterial—Constitution of Commission of Inquiry, *Aug. 2*, 1340, 1341.
Education, Intermediate—Inspection of Schools, Proposals as to, *Aug. 2*, 1341, 1342.
Irish Education (Afflicted Children) Bill, 2R. *July 26*, 414.
  Proposals as to, *Aug. 2*, 1345.

Clifden Harbour
Pier Construction, Decision as to.
  Q. Mr. O'Malley; *A.* Mr. Long, *July 27*, 609, 610.

Clonakilty
Evicted Tenants—Applications from Mrs. O'Brien and Representatives of Mrs. O'Driscoll.
  Qs. Mr. E. Barry; *As.* Mr. Long, *July 31*, 944, 945.

Clones
Postal Telegraph Clerks Association, Alleged Interference with, by Postmaster.
  Qs. Mr. James O'Connor; *As.* Lord Stanley, *Aug. 2*, 1313, 1314.

Cloonagh
Telegraph Extension to, proposed.
  Qs. Mr. Farrell; *As.* Lord Stanley, *July 31*, 949.

Closure of Debate
Application of Standing Order No. 26.—Return Ordered, *Aug. 1*, 1144; Presented, *Aug. 2*, 1306.

Coal
Welsh Steam, Government Power of Prohibiting Export of.
  Q. Mr. D. A. Thomas; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Aug. 1*, 1178.
  Q. Mr. D. A. Thomas; *A.* Sir R. Finlay, *Aug. 2*, 1316.
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Whitworth Estate.

Purchase of, by German Syndicate, alleged—Inquiry proposed.
Q. Lord Muskerry; *A.* Marquess of Lansdowne, *July 25,* 127, 128.
Q. Col. Lucas; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Aug. 1,* 1178.

Value of Coal on, etc.
Qs. Mr. Markham; *As.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 26,* 344, 345.

Coal Mines

Experiments made by Coalowners—Lack of Support from Home Office.
Os. Mr. T. Richards, *Aug. 2,* 1365, 1369; Mr. Fenwick, 1395.

Explosions.

Appliances for descending into Mines, and First-Aid Appliances, Necessity for Provision of.
Os. Mr. Fenwick, *Aug. 2,* 1396; Mr. A. Douglas, 1401.

Commission of 1881, Reasons for not adopting Recommendations of.
Os. Mr. T. Richards, *Aug. 2,* 1365, 1366, 1367, 1369.

Inquiries into Alteration in System of, proposed.
Os. Mr. T. Richards, *Aug. 2,* 1367-1370; Sir A. Thomas; 1403, 1404; Mr. Burt, 1408; Mr. A. Douglas, 1411.

Inspection of—Necessity for Closer and more careful Examination.
Os. Mr. Fenwick, *Aug. 2,* 1393; Mr. A. Douglas, 1401; Sir A. Thomas, 1405.

Lives lost in, Statistics as to, for Last Fifty Years.
Os. Mr. T. Richards, *Aug. 2,* 1361; Mr. Fenwick, 1393; Mr. A. Douglas, 1402.
Q. Mr. T. Richards; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 27,* 600.

Regulations, Administration of, by Mineowners, etc.
Os. Mr. T. Richards, *Aug. 2,* 1362-1365.

Shot-Firers, Qualifications of—Enforcing Recommendations of Royal Commission of 1886, proposed.
Os. Mr. Fenwick, *Aug. 2,* 1395; Mr. Burt, 1408.

Wattstown Disaster, Special Inquiry into Causes of, proposed.
Os. Mr. T. Richards, *Aug. 2,* 1361-1370; Mr. Fenwick, 1396; Mr. A. Douglas, 1400, 1401, 1410; Mr. Renwick, 1405; Mr. K. Hardie, 1407; Mr. Burt, 1408, 1409.

Coal Mines (Weighing of Minerals) Bill

l. Report from Standing Committee,* *July 25,* 127.
3R.* *July 27,* 464.

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O. Mr. F. Robertson, *July 28,* 808.

Lambay Station, Reason for Closing, etc.
Q. Mr. Field; *A.* Mr. Pretyman, *Aug. 1,* 1153, 1154.

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Coghill, Mr. D. H. [Stoke-upon-Trent]

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Q. Sir T. Dewar; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 25,* 179.

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Qs. Mr. C. Wason; *As.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 24*, 30, 46.

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Os. Lord Ludlow, *July 31*, 893, 896; Earl of Halsbury, 893-896; Earl Carrington, 895.

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Statistical Tables (1903), Presented, *July 24*, 3, 20.

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Q. Mr. Murphy; *A.* Mr. Long, *July 31*, 945, 946.

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Q. Mr. C. Craig; *A.* Mr. Long, *July 26*, 342.

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Q. Mr. V. Kennedy; *A.* Mr. Long, *July 25*, 192.

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Os. Mr. Sloan, *Aug. 2*, 1358–1361; Mr. T. L. Corbett, 1370; Mr. A. Douglas, 1402, 1403.

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Q. Mr. Field; *A.* Mr. B. Law, *Aug. 1*, 1152.

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Q. Mr. Farrell; *A.* Mr. B. Law, *July 27*, 618, 619.

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